Alex. Jas. Baird.
A presented by Rev. T. Trocke
(127).

GENERAL COLLECTION
OF
VOYAGES
AND
DISCOVERIES,

MADE BY THE

PORTUGUESE AND THE SPANIARDS,

DURING THE FIFTEENTH AND SIXTEENTH CENTURIES.

CONTAINING

THE INTERESTING AND ENTERTAINING VOYAGES OF THE CELEBRATED

GONZALEZ AND VAZ,
GONZALEZ ZARCO,
LANZEROTA,
DIOGO GILL,
CADA MOSTO,
PEDRO DI SINTRA,
DIOGO D'AZAMBUZA
BARTHOLOMEW DIAS,
VASCO DE GAMA,
VOYAGES TO THE CANARY ISLANDS
VOYAGES OF COLUMBUS,
NINO AND GUIERRA,
OJEDA AND VESPUSIUS
CORTEREAL,
ALVAREZ CABRAL,
FRANCIS ALMEED,
ALBUQUERQUE,
ANDREA CORSALI,
VOYAGE TO ST. THOMAS,
VOYAGE OF DE SOLIS, PINZON, &c.
VOYAGE OF JOHN PONCE,
GRIJALVA,
NICUESSA,
CORTES,
OJEDA AND OCAMPO,
MAGELLAN.

WITH OTHER VOYAGES,
TO THE EAST-INDIES, THE WEST-INDIES, ROUND THE WORLD, &c.

Adorned with COPPER-PLATES, MAPS, &c.

William Trocke

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M DCC LXXXIX.

WILLIAM TOOKE

DISCOVERIES

IN A

VOYAGE

TO THE

GENERAL COLLECTION

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE invention of the mariner's compaſs forms a grand epocha in the hiſtory of navigation. Before that period, the voyages of the Europeans were principally confined to coaſting; but the fortunate diſcovery of the properties of the magnet, and the ſubſequent invention of the compaſs, have enabled the mariner to explore new ſeas and diſcover new countries, which, but for that invaluable acquiſition, would probably have remained for ever unknown.—From that time the preſent collection commences. Not that we conceive the relation of nautical affairs antecedent to that æra to be unworthy of notice, but that the moſt celebrated actions have undoubtedly been performed ſince. That the former part may not be entirely neglected, we have determined to combine all that hiſtory has furniſhed us with on this head, in a conciſe hiſtorical diſſertation; and ſhall here proceed to lay before our readers the plan we have digeſted for this undertaking; which is, that all the early voyages ſhall be printed at large, excepting ſuch parts only as are too trivial to deſerve notice, and which would increaſe the work too conſiderably. Where any other voyager has afterwards purſued the ſame tract, what is new only will be inſerted; but all variations will be carefully marked, and particular attention paid, to do juſtice to every one, who, by his diſcoveries or remarks, hath contributed to the information of mankind.

Copious prefaces will be annexed to the different voyages, where neceſſary; and where any authentic information, reſpecting the adventurer, the motives of the undertaking, or any other circumſtance deſerving notice, can be obtained.

tained. In this compilation, ſome voyages will be introduced that have not been tranſlated into Engliſh, others which have not appeared in print.

The proprietors of this work were induced to undertake it, from obſerving that the moſt valuable voyages with which this country and the other maritime parts of Europe are furniſhed, appeared in ſo detached a ſtate, that many of them were in danger of being loſt. To compile, therefore, and ſecure to poſterity whatever is valuable in this way; to ſeparate what is uſeleſs from what is eſtimable; and to give to our country ſuch nautical information as has hitherto been confined to foreign languages, is the intention of this compilation.

The advantages which this country has derived from navigation are ineſtimable. If not firſt in point of time in our diſcoveries, we have been at leaſt equal to our cotemporaries; and perhaps we may, without vanity, affirm, that the naval genius of Britain has ſhone ſuperior to them all. From us, therefore, a record of theſe tranſactions may, with the greateſt propriety, be expected.

It is not the intention of the compilers to form a hiſtory, but to preſent a ſelection of authentic voyages; not to obtrude their own tales and relations on the reader, but to preſent them with the narratives of the voyagers themſelves; or of thoſe who, from certain circumſtances, may be preſumed to have been beſt acquainted with the tranſactions.

It is obvious, therefore, their attention will be applied to two circumſtances; to make choice of the beſt editions of thoſe who have written on the ſubject, and to ſelect ſuch parts only as are either inſtructive or entertaining. Towards accompliſhing the firſt point, the advice of perſons, whoſe ſuperior knowledge in thoſe affairs beſt enables them to judge, has been taken; to ſecure the latter, the greateſt circumſpection has been uſed; and in the philoſophical and nautical parts, every precaution has been taken to guard againſt error. The tranſlations from foreign authors have been attentively compared with thoſe which have already appeared.

The maps and charts are engraved from the beſt editions extant.—Here it may be proper to obſerve, that as this compilation is equally deſigned for

for the uſe of the mariner and the gentleman, the moſt ſcrupulous attention will be paid to rectify or explain the miſtakes of any former navigators, or the editions of their works; and that every thing will be retained that can afford information to the profeſſional man, without rendering it tedious to thoſe who read for amuſement.

Having thus taken the neceſſary precautions to ſecure to this compilation every degree of correctneſs, it remains only to ſpeak of the ornamental part: this will conſiſt of plates of natural hiſtory, portraits of the navigators, &c. or views of places, which will be engraved by the beſt artiſts; and ſuch only as are genuine will be inſerted.

The liberal ſupport this work has experienced by the ſubſcription of many of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in theſe kingdoms, has exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations. The proprietors can only aſſure the public, that this will be an additional motive to uſe every exertion to render the work worthy of the patronage with which it has been honoured.

BOOK

BOOK I.

PORTUGUESE VOYAGES

IN THE

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction. Account of Prince Henry, Infante of Portugal: Diſcoveries firſt promoted by him. Account of the Portugueſe Authors. Cape Non paſſed. Cape Bodajor diſcovered. Voyage of Juan Gonzalez Zarco and Triſtan Vaz Texiera. Diſcovery and Settlement of Porto Santo.

THE inhabitants of Europe had been acquainted with the property of the magnet, long before they began to make uſe of it in the proſecution of thoſe voyages, which have juſtly excited the admiration of mankind. Superſtition and bloodſhed, foreign wars and domeſtic commotions, engroſſed their whole attention; ſo that trade was but little attended to by the European ſtates until the daring geniuſes of Gama, Columbus, and others, awakened to action a ſpirit of adventure and diſcovery.

The Arabians, mean time, who had been equally buried in the depths of ſuperſtition, forſook their ſupineneſs, and began to improve the advantages which conqueſt had put into their hands: they turned their thoughts toward the ſciences, and encouraged the art of navigation, in which many circumſtances concur to ſhew they had made great progreſs. The paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope had not hitherto been made uſe of; at leaſt, for the purpoſes of commerce. In poſſeſſion of Egypt, they had it in their power to ſecure to themſelves the trade of India on the ſouth ſide of the iſthmus, and Alexandria became the great emporium for that commerce. On the Mediterranean ſide, the trade was open from Alexandria to all the European powers; but the feudal ſyſtem had ſpread itſelf over the weſtern world. The people, the nobles, and even the monarch, lived in a kind of ſavage ſtate; learning was engroſſed by the clergy, and trade was neglected; the firſt dawning of the ſciences appeared in Italy; Venice

Venice and Genoa, two republics of little conſequence, became reſpectable by their attention to trade and commerce; and by availing themſelves of the ſupineneſs of their neighbours, had, in a manner, engroſſed the whole Indian trade on the Mediterranean.

The profits which aroſe by this commerce were the great motives of action to enterpriſes by ſea. Another paſſage to India naturally occurred to the people of Europe, as ſoon as they began to turn their attention to theſe affairs; and the Portugueſe had the diſtinguiſhed honour of leading the way to theſe great undertakings, which have ſince added ſuch a degree of celebrity to the navigators of Europe.

Circumſtances peculiarly favourable concurred to beſtow this honour upon them. They had the good fortune not only to drive the Moors out of their territories, but were enabled to attack them on their own ground. In an expedition againſt the city of Ceuta, Henry duke of Viſeü, and grand maſter of the order of Chriſt, a younger ſon of king John, ſurnamed the Avenger, and of Philippa of Lancaſter, ſiſter of Henry IV. king of England, having attended his father thither, gained ſome intelligence from the Moors of countries hitherto unknown, not only to the Portugueſe, but alſo to the other nations of Europe.

He brought back with him ſo ardent a zeal for the diſcovery of new countries, that he employed more than forty years in theſe enterpriſes. His inclination led him to cultivate geography, and the other branches of the mathematics, more particularly applicable to his purſuits. To this knowledge he gained all the information he could poſſibly procure. Being a prince of the blood, and grand maſter of the order of Chriſt, he conceived himſelf equally obliged, as ſuch, to ſubmit to the rules of his order; and, as a prince, to endeavour to extend the dominions of his anceſtors.

Animated by theſe noble motives, he made choice of this motto, *Talent de bien faire*, which we have ſince ſeen ſo often engraved in all the countries diſcovered under his auſpices. Perhaps he choſe this motto in a foreign language, to declare his eſteem for a nation, whoſe ſovereign he regarded as the ſupport of his houſe; or, he found in it, an idea more perfectly conſonant to his meaning. In truth, he conceived, that a prince was obliged more than any other to ſupport a ſuperiority of rank by a pre-eminence of merit: to the Chriſtian and heroic virtues he joined all the ſtudy and application which could enrich a mind already ſtored with that part of learning which the ſciences and *belles lettres* afford; a ſtudy very rare in thoſe days.

The better to ſucceed in his deſign, he removed from the tumult of the court, and went to reſide in Algarves, near Sagres, at one of his houſes a little diſtance from Cape St. Vincent. There, in an agreeable ſolitude, ſweetened by the ſociety of learned men, and the amuſement of his books, he became ſtrengthened in the opinion he had imbibed from the Moors, and confirmed therein by the ſtudy of geography, that ſome advantageous diſcoveries might be made by ſailing along the coaſt of Africa. We are however told, by Orderic Rinaldi, that he was the more excited to theſe enterpriſes by ſome Frenchmen of Britany, who had been driven far to the weſtward, and had there diſcovered new lands. Theſe people arriving at Liſbon, informed him of theſe adventures and diſcoveries*.

Prince Henry wiſhed to take the whole expence of theſe expeditions on himſelf, and that the merit of his labour ſhould remain with the order of Chriſt, of which he was

* *Lafitau Hiſtoire des Conquêtes des Portuguais.*

commander,



Silva Pinæ. *Wooding Sculp.*

Engraved from an Authenticated copy from the Royal Printing house at Lisbon.

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commander, and over whoſe treaſures he had the controul; and likewiſe, becauſe he was ambitious to attain the title of firſt conqueror and diſcoverer of the idolatrous nations; an enterpriſe which no prince before his time had attempted.

OF the early voyages of the Portugueſe, few are publiſhed ſeparate, but are to be found in the following hiſtorians: Caſtagneda, De Barros, and his continuator De Couto, Oſorio, Maffei, Faria, and others.

Francis Lopez de Caſtagneda firſt began to write in Portugueſe "The Hiſtory of "the Diſcovery and Conqueſt of the Eaſt-Indies," which he publiſhed in eight books, and carried down to the end of the government of Nugno d'Acugna. It was printed at Coimbra in 1552. The merit of this author is not great. He is too diffuſed and very minute; yet, as he had himſelf been in the Eaſt Indies, in the train of his father, who held a conſiderable office in the law there, he ſpeaks as a man well informed of the facts he relates.

John de Barros was a man of quality, but ſtill more eſtimable by his taſte for the *belles lettres*; he wrote almoſt at the ſame time as Caſtagneda, "The Hiſtory of the "Indies," in his native language, with ſo much ſucceſs, that he has acquired the name of "The Titus Livius of Portugal." He publiſhed three decades in his life time, which appeared ſucceſſively in 1552, 1553, and 1563. This work has greatly raiſed the reputation of its author, who has the character of being very elegant, very exact in the relacion of facts, and well informed reſpecting the geographical deſcriptions he gives of the countries he ſpeaks of. Barros was three years governor of St. George de la Mina, on the coaſt of Africa, and afterwards treaſurer general of the chamber of the Indies; whence he drew the memoirs from which he wrote his Aſia by order of the king of Portugal. The fourth decade is a poſthumous work, which was finiſhed by Donna Louiſa Soaraz, widow of Jerome de Barros, the author's eldeſt ſon, and publiſhed by J. B. Lavanha, hiſtoriographer to Philip III. king of Spain, by order of that prince.

Diogo de Couto continued the hiſtory of De Barros, and begun with the fourth decade. De Couto had made conſiderable progreſs in the *belles lettres* and philoſophy. He went to India, where he ſerved eight years, and then returned to Europe. He went to India a ſecond time and ſettled at Goa, where he was keeper of the archives, and gained the beſt information for his hiſtory; he undertook the continuation, by the order, and under the auſpices of Philip II. His fourth, fifth, ſixth, and ſeventh decades were printed at Liſbon, in 1602, 1612, 1614, and 1616. He had continued it to the twelfth; ſome of the latter are ſtill in manuſcript, in the libraries of the curious; five books of the twelfth were printed at Rouen, by the care of Don Emanuel de Villa Real, *chargé des affaires* of Portugal at the court of France. This author is exact and particular, and his work does honour to himſelf and his country.

Oſorio, biſhop of Sylva, in Algarves, wrote a chronicle of king Emanuel in Latin; in which language he is not inferior to any.

Maffei, ſo eſteemed alſo for the elegance of his Latin, went into Portugal for the purpoſe of compoſing his hiſtory of the Indies, which he carried down to the death of king John III. divided into ſixteen books. It may be conjectured, that the place he wrote in may have given him a little of that ſubjection which is ſo contrary to the liberty of an hiſtorian, and to the truth of hiſtory: he is however faithful. Father

Anthony has tranſlated Maffei into Portugueſe. Emanuel de Faria ſays of him, that he is much below his original, and that the Italian tranſlation is ſuperior to his.

Emanuel de Faria y Souſa, knight of the order of Chriſt, has celebrated the praiſes of his nation, which he has followed in the four quarters of the world. The firſt volume of his Portugueſe Aſia, is only an abridgment of De Barros; the ſecond is an abridgment of De Couto; and the third contains the hiſtory of what paſſed in India to 1640, the year of the revolution.

From theſe authors we have drawn our materials, obſerving the following rule:—Each voyage will be firſt related from De Barros, except where a particular relation can be obtained; after which the other authors will be carefully compared with him; every new circumſtance worthy of notice will be inſerted, and every variation carefully marked*.

Prince Henry, poſſeſſed of the above information, which was confirmed to him by many, began, in the year 1415, to put into execution the plan he had ſo much at heart, ſending every year two or three ſhips, to diſcover the coaſt beyond Cape Nam or Non, twelve leagues beyond Cape Guillo, the boundary of the land then diſcovered, as laid down by the Spaniſh navigators. As the prince was a Catholic of a pure and religious life, there were perſons who imagined that this enterpriſe was revealed to him from above. For being at the villa he was erecting in the kingdom of Algarves, which he named Terçanabal, now called Villa de Infante, one morning, on riſing from his bed, he gave orders for fitting out two veſſels, (which were the firſt on theſe diſcoveries) with ſuch extreme haſte, as if in the preceding night he had been exhorted to put his deſign into execution by ſome oracle. But theſe ſhips, as well as others, ſailed to the coaſt, and returned without further diſcovery than Cape Bajador, ſixty leagues beyond Cape Nam, and there they all ſtopped, none daring to double the ſame. For this Cape run out to the weſtward near forty leagues, and formed the coaſt they had paſſed, into a great bay: to paſs it would have obliged them to run many leagues to the weſtward, and out of their knowledge. A circumſtance ſo new intimidated them from proceeding, and they gave it the before-mentioned name, which means projection. They alſo obſerved, that from the extremity of the Cape, ſhoals run out for near ſix leagues, and that the ſea thereon ſeemed to break and foam, as if agitated from the bottom. This terrified them ſo much, that they did not dare to approach it; nor did they conceive there was a poſſibility of paſſing it, which they might have done, by ſtanding out to ſea beyond theſe ſix leagues, having in their former navigations been ſo long accuſtomed to keep cloſe to the land, which ſerved them as a guide inſtead of compaſs. They alſo had imbibed a notion, that the ſeas beyond were full of ſhoals, and not navigable, which was the reaſon why the Europeans had never penetrated into thoſe ſeas. Some naturaliſts endeavoured to aſſign for reaſons why the ſeas, in hot countries, were ſhallower than in cold; that the ſun exhaled all the freſh waters and dried up the rivers; and that the ſalt waters in theſe climates were ſupplied by the overflowings from the colder†; from whence it was natural to ſuppoſe theſe ſeas very dangerous to navigation. The captains, who had been ſent on

* The Aſia of De Barros, although ſo much celebrated, have not yet been tranſlated into Engliſh, except a part of the firſt decade, which is only to be found in the libraries of the curious.

† This paſſage will give us an idea of the ſtate of philoſophy in theſe times.

theſe

BRITISH
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A CHART of the Western Coast of AFRICA

from the Straits of Gibraltar to eleven Degrees of North Latitude; including the Canary & Cape Verd Islands. Drawn from the French Chart of the Western Ocean Corrected from Danville's Atlas

W E S T E R N

O C E A N

C A N A R Y I S L A N D S

C A P E V E R D I S L A N D S

S A H A R A O R

S A H A G A N D I N G O

The First Meridian

Tropic of Cancer

Long.d from Ferro

Remarks.
R. Bay
C. Cape
G. Gulf
P. Port
P.t Point
A Stroke under the Name of a place denotes the Latitude observed by Astronomers & two Strokes both the Latitude & Longitude & Pricked lines shew the Observations to have been made by Skilful Mariners.

Cadiz
Straits of Gibraltar
Marmora
Salle
I. Fedale
C. Cantin
Asamor
Saffi
I. Mogodar
C. Trefana
C. de Geer
Santa Cruz
Messa
Tejita
Aguilon
Rocca
Graciosa
Lancerotta
Lobos
Forteventura
C. Nom
R. Dara
Bambuhir
R. Albeach
Ofin
Arca
R. Beha
C. Bojador
Hilil Arabs
Bay of Roaches
Angra dos Canallos
Rio del Oro
Herons I.
Angra Road
Trade for Gold Dust
C. de los Barbas
C. Carvoeiro
I. Lobos
C Blanco
Saline
I. & F.t of Arguin
P. de Escate
C. Dorado
R. Sant Antonio or Sant Juan
Pt. S.t Ann
Seven Mountains
C. des Arenas
Port Penia or Portendic
Little Palmito
C. Terem
Granar
Senaga R.
G. Palmito
P.t of Barbary
I. & F.t S.t Louis
Byhurt
Little Paps
C. Almadilla
C. Verd
Rufisque
The Jalofs
Joala
Palmerin
R. Bruscarne
C. S.t Mary
R. S.t James
Gambia R
R. S.t Ann
R. Kasamanza
R. Cacheo or S.t Domingo
C. Roxo
Cacheo
I. Bissaux
I. Balam
I. Bravas
I. Fuego
I. Mayo
I. Buenavista
I. Sant Jago
Rib eyra Grande
Sant Antonio
San Nicolas
I. de Sal
S.t Lucar
S.t Vincent
I. Madeira
Puerto Santo
Desart I.s
Funchale
Stemgroond Shoal
I. Palma
Tenerif
Gomera
Ferro
I. Canaria
Laguna
Palmas
The Pike
S.ta Cruz

theſe expeditions, knowing how agreeable it was to the Infante to perform any acts againſt the Moors, on their return, kept cloſe to the coaſt of Barbary, as far as the Streight's mouth, landed near the towns, doing all the miſchief they could, plundering and carrying off the natives, with whom they returned in triumph.

But theſe ſmall victories did not ſatisfy his great ſpirit; he was intent on nobler actions, although at times prevented by the interference of the affairs of the kingdom, and by his military expeditions to the coaſt of Africa. However, two gentlemen of his houſhold, who had been on ſome of theſe expeditions with him, begged he would permit them to embark in ſome ſhips that ſhould be fitted out for theſe diſcoveries. He, acquainted with their merit, ordered a veſſel, called a barcha in thoſe days, to be fitted for that purpoſe, and gave them inſtructions A. D. 1418. to paſs the tremendous Cape Bojador, and to make what diſcoveries they could; for he was convinced, from what had been laid down in Ptolomy's tables, and the information he had received from the Moors, that there would be found a continuation of land till they came directly under the line; notwithſtanding he knew nothing concerning the navigation of the coaſt.

Before they reached the coaſt of Africa, they experienced a moſt dreadful ſtorm, and their veſſel being very ſmall, was terribly toſſed by the ſea, and driven, at the mercy of the waves, far into the ocean. This intimidated the ſeamen exceedingly; they had never been accuſtomed to ſail out of ſight of land, and they now gave themſelves up for loſt, ignorant where they had been driven. The ſtorm being abated, they knew not which way to ſteer; nor had they any hopes of obeying the orders they had received from the infante. However, their good fortune brought them to the diſcovery of an iſland, now called Porto Santo; which name they gave it, as being the haven that ſaved them from deſtruction. They conſidered this iſland, as pointed out to them by the hand of Providence; that it would be of great uſe to Portugal, from its ſituation, not being inhabited by ſuch terrible ſavages as the iſlands of the Canaries, of which they had obtained ſome knowledge With this good news they returned, which gave infinite ſatisfaction to the infante, who now began to think that heaven countenanced and protected his labours.

It alſo afforded him great pleaſure that theſe two gentlemen, John Gonzalez Zarco and Triſtram Vaz, gave ſo favourable an account of the ſituation, air, and coolneſs of the iſland, that they wiſhed to return and ſettle in it; and that from their obſervations on the ſoil, they had not the leaſt doubt but it would produce plentiful crops of every uſeful ſeed.

Not only theſe two gentlemen, and thoſe who accompanied them in their late voyage, but many others, knowing how agreeable it would be to the infante, made this offer: among the reſt, Bartholomew Pereſtello, a nobleman of don John's houſhold. The infante don Henry, ſeeing ſuch a diſpoſition for enterpriſe among his people, returned thanks to the Almighty for having pointed him out as the inſtrument for the firſt diſcoveries that were made from this kingdom, and a means for opening many more. He ordered immediately three veſſels to be fitted out, giving the command of one to Bartholomew Pereſtello, and the others to John Gonzalez and Triſtram Vaz, (the two firſt diſcoverers) and provided them with all ſorts of ſeeds, plants, and other things for the ſettlement of the iſland. It happened that on board Pereſtello's ſhip, a female rabbit kindled at ſea, which gave the whole expedition much ſatisfaction; they looked upon it as a favourable omen that they had began to increaſe

their ſtock on the voyage, and that their further increaſe on the new-intended ſettlement would be abundant: they certainly were not deceived; but in the end it gave them much uneaſineſs; for having ſet the rabbit and her young ones at liberty, they ſoon became ſo numerous as to devour every thing the new ſettlers had taken the pains to ſow; and for the ſpace of two years that they remained there, they became a great plague to them. This, and alſo the mode of life they had got into, ſo diſheartened them, that Bartholomew Pereſtello returned to Portugal.

CHAPTER II.

Introduction. Story of Macham, from Alcaforado. Diſcovery of Madeira. Second Voyage of Gonzalez Zarco. Account of the Diſcovery of Madeira, from De Barros.

THE account of the diſcovery of the iſland of Madeira, which is the ſubject of this chapter, has been mentioned by ſeveral authors; by De Barros, Dr. Manuel Clemente, Galvam in his diſcoveries, and Manuel de Faria y Souſa; but Alcaforado, who was eſquire to prince Henry, the great promoter of theſe diſcoveries, wrote a complete relation of it, which was preſented to that prince. It was firſt publiſhed in Portugueſe, and afterwards being tranſlated into French, appeared at Paris in 1671, from which the following particulars are taken. The ſtory of Macham, which mentions a prior diſcovery, is alſo extracted from thence. The tranſlator acknowledges that he has altered the ſtyle, which was very poetical, and ſtruck out ſeveral uſeleſs, as well as tedious compariſons, digreſſions, etymologies, and reflections; but declares he has ſtrictly preſerved the truth and ſubſtance of the hiſtory, ſo as not to vary or omit the ſmalleſt circumſtance that is material.

It is remarkable that no mention is made of Macham in the Engliſh hiſtorians; Hackluit was beholden to Galvam for the imperfect account he gives of it. And it is proper to obſerve here, that ſome objection lies againſt this hiſtory, on account of the following circumſtance: We are told that preſently after Macham's death, his companions ſailed over to Morocco, and that Morales was in priſon when they arrived. Suppoſing then that Macham's diſcovery happened in the year 1344, as Galvam relates, Morales muſt have been ſeventy-ſix years a priſoner when redeemed in 1420; or if, as Alcaforado ſays, it was in the reign of Edward III. as that prince died in 1373, his impriſonment muſt have been at leaſt forty-two years; which is not only highly improbable, but contrary to the ſenſe of the hiſtorian, who ſuppoſes but a ſhort time to have elapſed between both events.

This circumſtance certainly ſhews, either that the tract is not genuine, or that ſome error has crept into the text. How far this objection may be admitted, without prejudice to the whole, muſt be left to the judgment of the reader. The hiſtory of the diſcovery of Madeira differs in ſome reſpects from De Barros, but in none that are irreconcileable. With reſpect to the author, as he aſſiſted at the diſcovery of the iſland, it may be preſumed no one was better able to give an account of it. We ſhall firſt give his recital, and then that of De Barros.

In

In ſupport of the authenticity of the hiſtory of Macham, it is but juſtice to obſerve, that the book of Alcaforado was compoſed for prince Henry, who, jealous of the honour of the firſt diſcovery, would not have been willingly deprived of it, had he not been aſſured the ſtory was founded in fact: the tradition alſo is generally received and believed in the iſland of Madeira. With theſe circumſtances in its favour, as the compiler of Aſtley's voyages and the abbé Prevoſt have admitted it in their collection, we do not think ourſelves authorized to omit it; eſpecially as the extract is ſhort, the ſtory intereſting, and as it cannot fail to be acceptable to an Engliſhman to read the particulars of an event which has rendered the name of one of his countrymen ſo celebrated in foreign parts.

Extracts *from* Alcaforado.

In the reign of Edward III. of England, one Robert Macham, falling in love with a beautiful young lady, of a noble family, and making his addreſſes to her, ſoon won her affections. Her parents not brooking the thoughts of an inferior alliance, procured a warrant from the king, and kept Robert in cuſtody until they had married the lady to a certain nobleman, who, as ſoon as the ceremony was over, took the bride with him to his ſeat at Briſtol.

Thus all being (as they thought) ſecured, Macham eaſily obtained a diſcharge from his confinement; but ſtung with a high ſenſe of the injury, and at the ſame time ſpurred on by love, he engaged ſome of his friends to aſſiſt him, and carried them down after the new-married couple. One of them he got introduced into the family, in the capacity of a groom, and by his means acquainted the lady with his deſign, and the meaſures he propoſed to take; to all which ſhe yielded a ready compliance.

When all things were prepared, ſhe rode out on the day appointed, under pretence of airing, attended only by her groom, who brought her to the ſea ſide, where ſhe was handed into a boat, and carried on board a veſſel that lay ready for the purpoſe.

As ſoon as Macham had got his treaſure on board, he, with his aſſociates, immediately ſet ſail, to get out of reach of purſuit, intending for France; but being ignorant of the ſea, and the wind blowing hard, they miſſed their port, and the next morning found themſelves in the middle of the ocean.

In this miſerable condition, they were toſſed about, at the mercy of the waves, without a pilot, for thirteen days; at the end of which they chanced, at break of day, to deſcry ſomething very near them that looked like land; which, as the ſun roſe, they could diſtinctly diſcern to be ſuch, being covered with trees.

They were not leſs ſurpriſed with ſeveral unknown kinds of birds that came off land, and perched on the maſts and rigging, without the leaſt ſigns of fear.

As ſoon as they could get the boat out, ſome of them went to ſearch the coaſt; who, returning with a good report of the place, though uninhabited, it was not long before our adventurer, attended by his beſt friends, carried his miſtreſs aſhore, leaving the reſt to take care of the ſhip. The country, upon their landing, appeared agreeably diverſified with hills and vallies; the firſt thickly ſhaded with a variety of unknown trees, and the latter enriched with cooling rivulets of freſh water. Several wild beaſts came about them without offering them any violence. Thus encouraged, they marched further into the land, and preſently came to an opening, encircled with a border of laurels, and watered by a ſmall rivulet, which, in a bed of very fine ſand, ran through it from the mountains. Here alſo, upon an eminence, they found a moſt

beautiful

beautiful tree, whoſe ſhade inviting them, they concluded to take up their abode under it, for a while at leaſt; and accordingly, with boughs, built themſelves huts. In this place they paſſed their time very agreeably, making farther diſcoveries of the country, and admiring its productions. But their happineſs was of ſhort duration; for three days after, it blew a ſtorm at north-eaſt, which driving the ſhip from her anchor, threw her upon the coaſt of Morocco, where, ſuffering ſhipwreck, all the company were taken as ſlaves by the Moors, and ſent to priſon.

Next morning thoſe on land miſſing the ſhip, concluded ſhe had foundered. This new calamity drove them all to deſpair, and ſo much affected the lady that ſhe did not long ſurvive it: the ill ſucceſs of their firſt ſetting out had ſunk her ſpirits, and ſhe continually fed her grief by ſad preſages of the enterpriſe ending in ſome tragical cataſtrophe; but the ſhock of this laſt diſaſter ſtruck her dumb, and ſhe expired three days after.

This loſs was too great for her lover to ſurvive; he died within five days, notwithſtanding all his companions could do to comfort him; begging them at his death to place his body in the ſame grave with her's, at the foot of an altar which they had erected under the beautiful lofty tree above mentioned. They afterwards ſet a large wooden croſs upon it; and near that an inſcription, drawn up by Robert himſelf, which contained a ſuccinct account of this whole adventure; and concluded with a prayer to the Chriſtians, if any ſhould come there to ſettle, to build a church in that place to Jeſus the Saviour.

Thus deprived of their leader, the reſt immediately prepared to depart; and fitting out the boat, ſet ſail, intending for England; but happening to take the ſame route their companions had been forced upon, unfortunately arrived on the ſame coaſt, and accordingly met with their fate, being carried to the ſame priſon*.

The jails of Morocco then, like thoſe of Algiers at preſent, were full of Chriſtian ſlaves of all nations; and among the reſt was one John de Morales, a Spaniard, of Seville. This man, being an expert ſailor, and one who had been a pilot for many years, took great delight in hearing the adventures of our Engliſh captives, from whom he learned the ſituation and landmarks of the new-diſcovered country.

[*Here follows an account of prince Henry's expedition, ſimilar to what we have already given.*]

Juan Gonzalez Zarco, a gentleman of prince Henry's houſhold, was the chief perſon employed by him in theſe undertakings. This Gonzalez was the firſt perſon whom king John made a knight on the firſt attack of Ceuta. He ſerved the king, as well as the infante, in all their enterpriſes againſt Africa; and, it is ſaid, was the firſt who introduced the uſe of artillery on board of ſhips. In 1418 he diſ-

* Hackluit's account, taken from Galvam, differs from the above. He ſays, in the year 1344, and reign of Peter IV. of Arragon, the chronicles of that age write, that about this time the iſland of Madeira, ſtanding in 32 degrees, was diſcovered by an Engliſhman, named Macham; who, ſailing out of England into Spain, with a woman he had ſtolen, was driven by a tempeſt upon this iſland, and caſt anchor in that haven or bay, which (from him) is called Machio. The lady being ſea ſick, he went on ſhore with ſome of the company, and the ſhip ſailed away. The lady died of grief: Macham, who had a tender affection for her, built a chapel or hermitage to bury her in, calling it by the name of Jeſus; and cauſed her name to be written or engraven on the ſtone of her tomb, and the occaſion of their arrival there. He afterwards formed a canoe out of a tree, and, with the people he had, put to ſea in it, and arrived on the coaſt of Africa without ſail or oar. The Moors, who ſaw it, taking it for a marvellous thing, preſented him to the king of their country for a miracle, who ſent him to the king of Caſtile. In 1395, Henry II. king of Caſtile, ſent out people to diſcover it.

covered

covered Porto Santo by accident, being thrown there by a ſtorm in a voyage for the diſcovery of Cape Bojador; and in the year 1420, in the ſervice of king John, he paſſed the Streights, in order to go upon the coaſt of Africa.

Don Sanchio, youngeſt ſon of Ferdinand king of Arragon, and grand maſter of the order of Calatrava, dying in the year 1416, left, by his will, a large ſum of money for redeeming the Chriſtian ſlaves of Caſtile at Morocco; for which purpoſe a cartel ſhip was ſent from Spain; and, with a great number of theſe redeemed captives, among whom was one John de Morales; was in her way home from Africa to Tariffa, juſt as John Gonzalez croſſed the Streights with his fleet laſt mentioned.

The two crowns having a little miſunderſtanding, though not in open war together, Gonzalez makes prize of the cartel; but, upon ſight of the cargo, conſidering their miſery, and his maſter's clemency, ſet them all at liberty, except de Morales, whom he found an expert and able pilot, and therefore judged he would be an acceptable preſent to prince Henry, on account of the diſcoveries he was then concerting. De Morales being made acquainted with the cauſe of his detention, offered himſelf freely to ſerve the infante; and declared, he did not doubt anſwering that prince's expectations. He then told Gonzalez of the new iſland that had been ſo lately diſcovered by the Engliſh, confirming it with the ſtory of our two lovers.

Upon this news, Gonzalez immediately tacked about for the port of Terça Nabal, to bring this rich prize to prince Henry, who was no ſooner acquainted with the circumſtance, than he determined to ſend Gonzalez with John de Morales, immediately to Liſbon, to communicate this affair to his father, and propoſe the farther diſcovery of the iſland in queſtion.

The project at firſt met with oppoſition at court, from ſome enemies, whom the prince had there; but having notice thereof from Gonzalez, he repaired thither himſelf. At his appearance, all difficulties immediately vaniſhed, and the expedition was entered upon the beginning of June that year. For this purpoſe, a ſhip well manned and provided, was fitted out, attended by a ſloop that went with oars, after the faſhion of thoſe times. The chief command of this little fleet was given to Gonzalez, who carried along with him captain John Laurence, Francis de Carvalail, Ruy Paes, Alvarez Alfonſo, and Franciſo Alcaforado, the author of this relation.

Gonzalez, in his way, touched at Porto Santo, where there went a current report among the Portugueſe, (left there by him two years before) that to the north-eaſt* of the iſland, a thick impenetrable darkneſs conſtantly hung upon the ſea, and extended itſelf upward to the heavens; that it never diminiſhed, and that a ſtrange noiſe, (proceeding from ſome natural cauſe) was ſometimes heard at Porto Santo; and becauſe, at that time, they durſt not ſail far from land, for want of the aſtrolabe, and other inſtruments invented ſince, it was judged impoſſible, without a miracle, to return from thence after having loſt ſight of it. In conſequence of this ignorance in navigation, it was called by ſome an abyſs, or bottomleſs gulph, and by others the mouth of hell, from the opinion of certain ſimple timorous divines; and the hiſtorians, who pretended to be more learned, abſolutely pronounced it to be the iſland of Cipango, kept by Providence under this myſterious veil, whither they believed the Spaniſh and Portugueſe biſhops, and other Chriſtians had retired from the ſlavery and oppreſſion of the Moors and Saracens; that it was a great crime to dive into this ſecret, ſince it had not yet

* It ſhould be to the ſouth-weſt, Madeira lying that way in reſpect to Porto Santo.

pleaſed

pleaſed God to reveal it by the ſigns which ought to precede the diſcovery, and are mentioned by the ancient prophets who ſpeak of this wonder.

Gonzalez, however, had a ſhort and proſperous voyage to Porto Santo, from whence he, as well as the iſlanders, obſerved this dreadful cloud; which, however, John de Morales at firſt ſight judged to be a ſure ſign of the land they were in ſearch of. Notwithſtanding this, upon a full conſultation, it was agreed they ſhould ſtay here till the change of the moon, to ſee what effect that would have upon the cloud; when perceiving no alteration any way, the general panic ſeized the adventurers alſo, and the whole deſign had dropt here, had not the pilot de Morales, ſtood firm to his opinion; inſiſting, that according to the information he had from the Engliſh, and the courſe they held, the hidden land could not be far off. He ſupported what he ſaid, by obſerving to Gonzalez, that the ground there being continually ſhaded from the ſun by lofty thick trees, there exhaled from it a great moiſture, which riſing in vapours, ſpread itſelf through the ſky. From whence proceeded that dark cloud they ſaw, and were ſo much afraid of.

After much conteſt, at laſt theſe reaſons ſwaying with the captain, who had more reſolution then the reſt, he put to ſea one morning, without communicating his deſign to any body but John de Morales. That he might have day light to make a full diſcovery, he crouded all his ſail, and turned the ſhip's head directly facing the dark cloud. The boldneſs of Gonzalez ſerved only to increaſe the fear of the reſt; for the more they advanced, the more high and thick the gloom appeared; inſomuch, that at laſt it grew very horrible to behold. At noon, they heard the roaring of the ſea, which filled the whole horizon. This new-imagined danger made them all cry out, entreating the captain inſtantly to change his courſe, and ſave their lives. He made them a ſpeech compoſed of ſolid arguments, which removed their fears, and reconciled them to his meaſures. The weather being calm, and the current very rapid, Gonzalez cauſed his ſhip to be towed by two ſhallops along the cloud. The noiſe of the ſea ſerved them for a guide, which they approached or retired from, according as it was more or leſs loud.

By degrees the cloud appeared leſs, and became not ſo thick on the eaſt ſide, but the waves ſtill roared frightfully; when at length they perceived, through the gloom, ſomething ſtill blacker; though being at a great diſtance they could not ſee it diſtinctly. However, ſome affirmed, they ſaw giants of a prodigious ſize, which afterwards they found to be the rocks wherewith the ſhores were covered. The ſea already appeared more clear, and the waves abated, a ſure ſign of their being near land; which ſoon after, to their great joy, they plainly diſcerned, when they leaſt expected it. The firſt thing that appeared, was a little point, to which Gonzalez gave the name of St. Laurence's Point. Doubling this, they found to the ſouthward, riſing land, which the cloud then vaniſhing, left open to view a great way up the mountains.

Here Ruy Paes was ſent with De Morales in the ſloop, to reconnoitre the coaſt, and they preſently came to a bay, which anſwering the deſcription given by the Engliſh, they landed, and there found the tombs, and all the other marks above-mentioned. Returning to Gonzalez with this news, he immediately took poſſeſſion of the place, in the names of king John, and the infante don Henry, knight and grand maſter of the order of Chriſt; and raiſed an altar near that of the Engliſh lovers. This happened on St. Elizabeth's day.

The

The next thing that occurred, was to look into the country for ſome inhabitants or cattle; but they found nothing but birds of various kinds, ſo gentle, that they ſuffered themſelves to be taken by the hand without any trouble. Upon this, it was agreed to coaſt it a little in the ſloop: Accordingly, doubling a point to the weſtward, they found a place where four fine rivers ran into the ſea; of which water Gonzalez filled ſome bottles to carry to prince Henry.

Proceeding farther on the coaſt, they came to a valley, divided by a river; and after that to another covered with trees, ſome of them fallen; of which the captain making a croſs, ſet it up there, and called the place Santa Cruz. Not far from this, they croſſed a ſlip of land, projecting out into the ſea farther than the reſt; where, meeting with a prodigious number of Jays, they named it Punta dos Gralhos, a name which it keeps to this day.

This, with another point about two leagues diſtant, formed a gulph, which was bordered with a grove of beautiful cedars. Near this lay another vale, from whence iſſued a water like milk, which entering the ſea, formed a great baſon. The beauty of it invited Gonzalez to ſend Gonzalez Ayrez on ſhore with ſoldiers, to penetrate farther into the country; who quickly returned with the news, that they had ſeen the ſea quite round the land; conſequently they were upon an iſland, and no part of the continent of Africa, as ſome till then had imagined.

The captain now began to look out for a more inland part to fix his reſidence in, and came to a large tract of land, not ſo woody as the reſt, but covered with fennel, (in Portugueſe *funcho*) from whence the town which he afterwards built there, took the name of Funchal, which is the metropolis as to temporal affairs, and heretofore of all the eaſt* in ſpirituals.

Here three fine rivers that iſſued out of the valley, uniting juſt at their entrance into the ſea, formed two ſmall iſlands, which making, as it were, a natural mote, Gonzalez moored his veſſel under their lee, laying in wood and water. From hence he continued his route, till he arrived at the ſame point he had ſeen from the ſouthward, where he erected a croſs. Beyond this point he found a ſhore, which, from its extent, and the ſmoothneſs of the ſea that waſhes it, he called Playa Formoſa, or, the Beautiful Shore.

Not far from thence they were ſtopped by a very rapid but clear ſtream, which two of them attempting to ſwim over, were carried away by the current, and would have periſhed, but for the timely aſſiſtance of their companions. This accident gave name to the river, then called Dos Soccorridos, or, of the Helped.

Keeping on their courſe, they came to a high rocky point, which being cut off from the main land by a ſmall gut, formed a kind of haven; where landing, they diſcovered the traces of ſome animals. This ſight raiſed their curioſity the more, as they had hitherto found none of any kind; but they were ſoon undeceived, upon ſeeing a great number of ſea wolves leap into the water. They came out of a cave that was hollowed by the tide in the foot of a mountain, and ſeemed to be a rendezvous for theſe creatures, from which den (in Portugueſe, *camera dos lobos*) Gonzalez obtained his additional name.

* Theſe words, "Heretofore of all the Eaſt," muſt have been added by the keeper of the manuſcript, or the tranſlator; for the author, if one of the diſcoverers, could not ſpeak of a circumſtance which did not happen till eighty years after. Funchal not having been made a biſhop ſee, till towards the ſixteenth century, or the year 1500: And it was not till many years after, that the archbiſhop of the Indies reſided there, to which it has been ſaid to have been once the metropolis of all the eaſt in ſpirituals, has reference.

The cloud began here to hang thick and close down to the surface of the sea; the rocks appeared higher than elsewhere, and the noise of the waves dashing against them was more violent; the captain therefore concluded to go no farther; but returning to his ship, he stowed her with the water, wood, birds, and plants of the island, in order to present to Don Henry; and setting sail for Portugal, arrived at Lisbon, in the end of August, 1740, without losing a man in the voyage. A day of audience was appointed for him to make a report of his voyage, and in the conclusion, the king gave the island the name of Madeira, from the great quantity of various kinds of excellent wood found upon it; the thick trunks of which Gonzalez then presented to his majesty and the infante, together with the other products above-mentioned.

Not long after, an order was made out, appointing Gonzalez in the spring following, to return to Madeira, in quality of captain of the island.

A second voyage to this island was made in May 1421, when, taking his wife Constantia Rodriguez de Sa (some say, de Almayda) Juan Gonzalez, his eldest son and heir, and his two daughters, Helena and Beatrix, he arrived in a few days at Madeira, where, coming to an anchor in the road, till then called the *English port*, he, in honour of Robert Macham, the first discoverer, named it *Puerto de Machino*, which afterwards took that of *Machico*, and retains it at this day. Here, going on shore he made use of the beautiful tree, under which stood the afore-mentioned altar and tomb, to build a church in pursuance of Macham's request; which he accordingly dedicated to Jesus the Saviour, and laid the bones of our two unfortunate lovers in the choir.

The account from de Barros, decade I. book I. chap. III. is as follows:

Juan Gonzalez and Tristan Vaz, being designed for better fortune and greater prosperity, would neither return nor remain in the island of Porto Santo; for as soon as Perestello had left them, they determined to go and discover whether an obscure appearance, which they now perceived, and was occasioned by the island now called Madeira, was land, and on which they had deliberated many days. This appearance sometimes they thought was a cloud, and at other times land; for, observing the spot attentively, it never was clear as other parts were; therefore, having constructed two boats, with the timber of the island they were then upon, and the sea being favourable for the attempt, they proceeded towards the supposed cloud, and finding it an island, called it Madeira, on account of the great quantity and thickness of the woods with which it was covered—a name now celebrated and well known in all Europe, and in many parts of Africa and Asia, for its productions; so noble, fertile, and well inhabited, that except England, it may be called the prince of all islands in the western ocean, if not in Europe. What fame hath reported of these captains, and of their landing, is, that Gonzalez, with his boat, came to a place now called Camera dos Lobos, or the Chamber of Wolves, near Funchal, where he landed, and Tristan Vaz landed at a point, to which he gave the name of Tristan; and from these landings, the territories adjoining were afterwards given them by the infante, as captainships. The heirs of Juan Gonzalez have a very particular manuscript account of this discovery, in which he assumes all the honour to himself, asserting, that Tristan Vaz was not so old, nor of so high quality as himself, and only connected with him from friendship and company; that they both came in one boat belonging to the said Gonzalez, and landed at the place now

now called the point of Triſtan, and there Gonzalez left him, directing him to endeavour to penetrate into the interior parts, whilſt he went in the boat round the iſland to ſeek another port; and having left Triſtan, he came to the part now called Funchal, which, from the ſituation and diſpoſition of the land, by outward appearance, he was well pleaſed with. Returning to the place where he had left Triſtan, he preſented him with all that territory, which was afterwards erected into a captainſhip; and this he did in the name of the infante, having ſuch powers granted him in the commiſſion he bore. Gomezaanes de Zurara, chronologiſt of Portugal, from whom de Barros took the proceedings in the diſcovery of Guinea, ſays, that both theſe gentlemen diſcovered the iſland; but always calls Triſtan Vaz, *Triſtan* only, as the leſs conſequential perſon.

On Gonzalez landing, the ground was ſo covered with thick woods, that he diſcerned only a large cave, or vaulted chamber, under a projection of high land hanging over the ſea, the bottom of which was much trodden or beaten by the ſea wolves, who came there to recreate themſelves, and to which he gave the name of Camera dos Lobos, and himſelf took this appellation, which remained to his poſterity, all of whom bare the arms given to Gonzalez, viz. On a green eſcutcheon, a tower, argent, charged with a croſs, or, two ſea wolves proper, as ſupporters.

The infante, after theſe captains returned with the news of their diſcovery, by the conſent of the king, his father, divided the iſland into two captainſhips. To Gonzalez he gave that part called Funchal, where the town of that name is built, with all its diſtricts; of which, at preſent, his heirs are captains, by hereditary right, under this deed. To Triſtan Vaz he gave the other ſettlement of Machico, whoſe ſucceſſors poſſeſſed it till the year 1540, when the direct line of inheritance failed, and king John III. then beſtowed it on Antonio da Silveira de Menezes, ſon to Nuno Martins da Silveira, as a reward for the ſervices he did in India, in the diſtrict of Diu, where he ſerved as captain when it was beſieged by Solyman Baſſa. Beſides the merit theſe captains obtained in this diſcovery, and the gift of the captainſhips, they had other perſonal honours conferred on them for their behaviour in the expeditions abroad, and principally in the diſtricts of Ceuta and of Tangier, where both behaved with great gallantry; and the infante created them knights, that no diſtinction of merit might be ſhewn, notwithſtanding Gonzalez had nobility in his blood, which in ſome ſhape ſhewed itſelf in the diviſion of the iſland, having had a larger portion given him, and ever after poſſeſſed a ſuperiority over the captains of Machico. But in regard to the trouble they took in ſettling their diſtricts, they both are deſerving of infinite praiſe. They began in the year 1420, and Gonzalez, willing to clear the ground which is now called Funchal, from the wood and trees which covered it, in order to ſow ſome ſeeds, &c. he ſet fire* to the underwood, which unfortunately burnt ſo furiouſly, and communicated itſelf in ſuch a manner, that it continued burning for ſeven years. This deſtruction of wood, though it might have been advantageous for the firſt ſettlers, by giving them ground to cultivate, is now ſeverely felt; for there was more wood ſuppoſed to have been then conſumed than would have been uſed to this time.

The infante was much grieved at this accident; he foreſaw there would be a great want of that commodity, and gave orders that every one ſhould plant wood; for in the making of ſugars they conſume ſo much, that it would in time bring the iſland to imminent diſtreſs.

* The truth of this account is doubted by ſome authors.

The firſt church which the infante ordered to be founded, was N. S. do Calhào; and after the iſland began to increaſe in population, another was built called N. S. da Aſſumpca, which is now a cathedral, an archbiſhoprick, and the primacy of India. Afterwards, at the town of Sintra, on the 26th of September, 1433, king Duarte, brother to the infante, endowed him with it for his life; and the year following, at the ſame place, on the 26th of October, gave all the ſpiritual benefit of it to the order of Chriſt; which donations were confirmed by king Alfonſo, his nephew, in the year 1439.

From the knowledge we have of this iſland now, we need not enter on the fertility of it; and ſhall only take notice, its produce was ſo abundant, that the fifth of its ſugars, which were paid annually to the order of Chriſt, was more than 60,000 arrobas*; and this was produced from a ſpace of about three leagues ſquare.

The iſland of Porto Santo the infante gave to Pereſtello to ſettle, which was very troubleſome to him on account of the quantity of rabbits, which the inhabitants could not rid; and there is now ſuch abundance on a ſmall iſland near it, that there has been 2000 killed at a time. There was alſo another reaſon why this iſland was not ſo well inhabited as Madeira, a want of water for their plantations; ſo that Pereſtello was not ſo fortunate as the other captains, though at the time the infante beſtowed it on him, he thought it the beſt.

* An arobe is thirty-two pounds.

CHAPTER III.

Prince Henry obtains a Bull from the Pope. Murmurs againſt the Infante's Plans. Gillianes doubles Cape Bojador. The next Year Gillianes and Baldaya ſail ninety Miles beyond, and the Year following forty Miles further. Gonzalez and Nuno Triſtan's Voyage to Porto de Cavallos. Triſtan diſcovers Cape Blanco.

PRINCE HENRY having ſucceeded thus far in his views, applied about this time to pope Martin V. who then filled the papal throne, to inform him of his ſucceſs, and to obtain ſome favours from him, on account of the great advantages which would reſult from theſe diſcoveries, for the good of religion, and to the honour of the holy ſee. He appointed Lopez d'Azevedo, a knight of the order of Chriſt, and afterwards commander of the ſame order, to make this application; who repreſented to his holineſs "the infinite obligations the church was under to the infante, his maſter: he ſet forth the zeal of that prince, who for ſeveral years had been at vaſt expence to diſcover immenſe countries, whoſe inhabitants had, for many ages, been the ſport of ignorance and error; that the principal motive which he propoſed in theſe labours was the glory of God, the ſpreading of the faith, and the increaſe of the good ſhepherd's fold; and that the Portugueſe nation had devoted to that end their property, and even their lives. His holineſs was requeſted to acknowledge and to animate their zeal for the extenſion of the faith, by conferring on the crown of Portugal all the lands the ſubjects thereof

A. D. 1420 and 1431.

ſhould

ſhould diſcover along the coaſt of Africa, to the Indies incluſively; ſince the unbelieving nations ought to be regarded as unjuſt poſſeſſors, of whom, nevertheleſs, they only ſought the ſalvation; that he would at the ſame time prohibit any Chriſtian prince, under pain of the moſt grievous eccleſiaſtical cenſures, to oppoſe the Portugueſe, or to moleſt them, in any reſpect, or to pretend to eſtabliſh themſelves in any country which they had diſcovered. Laſtly, as their enterpriſes tended to the ſalvation of ſouls, that his holineſs would open the treaſures of the church, and beſtow his favours upon thoſe, who, truſting their lives to an uncertain element, expoſed themſelves to a thouſand kinds of death, and the danger of periſhing far from their native country, their families, and all the aſſiſtance, both ſpiritual and temporal, that they could receive at home."

The pope and ſacred college were charmed with this account, and conceived great hopes for religion. His holineſs, with the advice of the cardinals, expedited a bull, according to the form and in the tenor the infante deſired; freely granting to the crown of Portugal, the ſovereign dominion of all the lands which ſhould be diſcovered to the Indies, incluſively; threatening with his cenſures, all thoſe who ſhould moleſt them in their conqueſts; ratifying all that king Edward had done in favour of the infante, and the order of Chriſt; adding beſides, many pecial previleges, promiſes, and indulgencies, to the navigators; and to the churches the infante had founded in the newly-diſcovered iſland. With this the envoy returned well ſatisfied; and theſe privileges were afterwards confirmed and augmented by the ſovereign pontiffs, Eugenius IV. Nicholas V. Sixtus VI.

This is the account given of this famous bull; but there ſeems to be ſome error in the date: Purchas places it in 1441, although pope Martin died in 1431. The compiler of Aſtley's voyages, and from him the Abbè Prevoſt place it about A. D. 1432. De Barros, and Lafitau, erroneouſly fix it after the expedition of Gonzalez and Vaz, which happened in 1440. On the whole, de Barros and the others following him, ſeem to have confounded the bull of pope Martin, granting the conqueſts, and iſlands diſcovered to the crown of Portugal, with the ratification of it, and of the grants of the kings of Portugal to the infante, and of the order of Chriſt, by a future pope.

With the countenance of the pontiff, and the diſcovery of thoſe two iſlands, the infante began to be elated, and entered with greater ſpirit into his main deſign, which was to explore the African coaſt; but met with oppoſition at home. He had purſued it twelve years, contrary to the opinion of many, without the adventurers finding any fruits from their labour, but on the contrary, much danger ſeemed to attend thoſe undertakings.

And ſo great a doubt was entertained of obtaining a paſſage round Cape Bojador, by many who had imbibed this prejudice from their parents, that it was with difficulty the infante could find perſons to ſerve him, although the diſcovery of Madeira had given ſome encouragement to the ſeamen. It was ſaid, that ſince ſo many navigators had continued to pronounce the paſſage of the Cape impracticable, and had declared the ſea beyond it was not navigable, that the project ſhould be given up. It was aſſerted, that the country the infante was in ſearch of, was entirely barren; perſons alſo of a higher rank, exclaimed much againſt theſe attempts; the undertakings, it was ſaid, were raſh; the lives and fortunes of many valuable ſubjects were expoſed; the loſs was certain and manifeſt, the advantage precarious and improbable; that preceding princes had been intent on great enterpriſes, but they had contented themſelves with their

their own dominions, and had not ſought diſcoveries, from whence they could neither reap honour or profit. Even if land ſhould be diſcovered, it could only be an habitation for wild beaſts. All the ancient geographers had agreed that thoſe parts were uninhabitable, and ſo immediately under the influence of the ſun, that no European could remain there, without having his complexion changed to the colour of the negro. That there remained uncultivated lands enough at home, in which the people might be employed, inſtead of ſending them to people uninhabited countries. That former kings induced foreigners to ſettle in their dominions, inſtead of permitting their ſubjects to paſs the ſea, and ſettle in wilderneſſes.

Theſe, and many other reaſons, were urged againſt the prince's plan of diſcoveries. However, the reſolution of one man overcame all difficulties. The
A. D. 1433. infante this year, armed a veſſel which he put under the command of Gillianes, one of his ſervants, a native of Lagos; he had the preceding year, been captain of a veſſel deſtined for the ſame purpoſe; but the wind having been unfavourable, he had put in at the Canaries, from whence he carried off ſome of the natives, whom he had ſeized in ſome excurſions on the iſlands. The infante had manifeſted great diſpleaſure at his conduct, which wrought ſo much on our adventurer, that he determined to periſh, rather than return again with an unſatisfactory account. Fortune ſeconded his reſolution; he paſſed this celebrated cape, to which he gave the name of Bojador, and which is ſuppoſed to be the ſame as the Ganarian promontory, mentioned by Ptolemy. The paſſage of this cape, from the ſilly prejudices which then prevailed, was extolled even beyond the labours of Hercules. From this ſucceſs, which turned ſo much to the glory of the prince's penetration and firmneſs, it may be eaſily conceived how much Gillianes was careſſed by prince Henry on his return to Portugal. He received him with great diſtinction, and beſtowed his favours on all thoſe who had participated with him in the enterpriſe. The infante was much pleaſed with the ſpecimens of the earth and plants which Gillianes brought him; which convinced him of the apparent fruitfulneſs of the ſoil; and happy in the information, that although the country did not appear to be inhabited, the climate was temperate and delightful. The plants he contemplated as productions of the promiſed land, and was often loſt in thankfulneſs to Providence, at the ſame time imploring a complete ſucceſs, as the means of propagating the Chriſtian faith. Prince Henry was not ſingular in his triumph, king Duarte, his brother, who was no ſtranger to the murmurs that had been raiſed, took part in his joy, and was much pleaſed with the profits his ſubjects were likely to receive from the diſcovery. As a convincing proof of his ſatisfaction, he made a grant of the whole ſpiritual juriſdiction of Madeira, Porto Santo, and Deſerta, to the knights of the order of Chriſt, of which prince Henry was the grand-maſter, requeſting from the pope his ratification, and granting to the ſaid infante full juriſdiction both criminal and civil.

The year following, in conſequence of the information which the
A. D. 1434. infante had received from Gillianes, of the fertility of that region, and that the navigation was not ſo dangerous as had been aſſerted, he ordered a veſſel, called a barinel, to be fitted out, the largeſt veſſel that had been hitherto ſent into thoſe ſeas; as it was now certain, that the ſhallowneſs of the water ſo much talked of, was imaginary. He intruſted his cup-bearer, Alonzo Gonzalez Baldaya*, with the command of her, and Gillianes, in his bark, went in com-

* Called ſo in Faria.

pany.

pany. Having favourable weather, they ſailed ninety miles beyond the cape, and landing, they perceived the tracks of men and camels who had paſſed there in caravans. They ſurveyed the country and its ſituation, and immediately returned, either for want of proviſions, or by expreſs order, giving to the place the appellation of Angra de Ruyvos, or, the Bay of Roaches, on account of the quantity of thoſe fiſh which they had caught there.

The infante ſent them the enſuing year, with orders to advance until they could find ſome inhabited country, and ſent an interpreter with them. The general panic having now been allayed by the two former A. D. 1435. ſucceſsful attempts, they went, in a ſhort time, forty miles further than the laſt year; and where the land appeared even and open, they landed two horſes, which the infante had put on board; on theſe Alphonſo Gonzalez mounted two youths, whom he would not permit to carry armour, that they might not be inclined to come to action; they only carried lance and ſword, and had orders not to employ themſelves in any thing, but to view the country, and that without ſeparating from each other, or diſmounting; and if they ſhould ſee any perſons whom they could make priſoners of, without danger, they ſhould do it. They were both lads between fifteen and ſixteen years of age, and by their conduct in this affair, ſhewed what they would afterwards become; for they ſet off to execute the commiſſion Gonzalez intruſted them with, with as much ſpirit, as if they were going to ſome well known and ſafe country. They were not long before they had occaſion to give a proof of their courage; for having wandered a good part of the day, they met with nineteen men, each with a dart in his hand; and becauſe they fell in with them unexpectedly, without being able to retreat unſeen, and return to their veſſel with the intelligence, although they were forbid to come to action, yet they ſaw they ſhould incur a greater wound to their honour by flight, than if in diſobedience to their captain, they attacked them. They immediately aſſailed them, thinking to wound ſome of them with their lances; but the Moors took better care of themſelves, for as ſoon as they ſaw them, ſurpriſed at the novelty, they took ſhelter in a cave.

The two youths, when they ſaw they could not diſlodge the Moors, and one of them being wounded in the foot with a dart, they left them, and proceeded in ſearch of their ſhips, which they had ſtrayed too far from, and did not reach until the next morning. They were received on board with great joy; for the enterpriſe was dangerous, and their conduct entitled them to the honour they obtained. If we conſider their age, the ſituation of the country, the accounts which had been given by former navigators, and the dread with which it had ſtruck every perſon, we ſhall find that it was really a noble action; and we muſt admire their courage in aſſailing nineteen men, of a figure and aſpect ſo uncouth, that it required ſome degree of courage even to behold them. The names of theſe two youths were, Hector Homen and Diogo Lopez D'Almaida, both gentlemen, and cavalliers, educated in that ſchool of nobility and virtue, the houſhold of the excellent prince the infante don Henry. Gonzalez being informed of the place the Moors had retreated into, diſpatched ſome of his cavalliers in queſt of them. But all the fruits of this expedition were the remains of what the Moors, in their panic, had left behind them, which were brought off, more as marks of victory than for their value. They gave to this place the name of Angra dos Cavallos, or, the Bay of Horſes. Sailing from this place, they proceeded forty miles further, and run up a river; at the entrance of which, on an iſland, formed in the middle, they ſaw ſuch a multitude of ſea wolves ſleeping, that they reckoned

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five thouſand; they killed many of them, and carried away their ſkins, which, being a novelty, were much valued.

Gonzalez was little ſatisfied with this adventure, as he was not enabled to carry the infante any of the Moors: with a deſire to find ſome, he proceeded further to the point now called Pedra de Galé. At this place they found a fiſhing net, the thread of which appeared to be made of a ſtuff growing under the bark of trees, like that of the palm tree. This was a proof the land was inhabited; but although he cruized up and down the coaſt, they ſaw no people, nor did it afford any thing worth carrying to the infante; on which account, and his proviſions being nearly conſumed, he returned.

From this period nothing remarkable happened, with reſpect to diſcoveries, for ſome time; the death of king Duarte, who left a ſucceſſor only ſix years of age, cauſed great diſcord in the ſtate, reſpecting the regency. But don Henry
A. D. 1440. diſpatched two caravels, which contrary winds and other accidents compelled to return, without having performed any action worthy of notice.
A. D. 1441. The following year, the troubles of the kingdom having ſubſided, and the infante being at liberty to purſue his inclination, armed a ſmall veſſel, of which Antonio Gonzalez, a young man, went captain; who, if he could not procure any account of the country, was to load his veſſel with the ſkins of ſea wolves, at the place where Alphonſo Gonzalez had killed ſome. But Antonio Gonzalez, who was more anxious to gain honour than to procure ſkins of wolves and oil, having, beſides, in a ſhort time, killed ſufficient of them to return well loaded, called Alphonſo Gotterez, an officer of the infante's chamber, who was alſo ſecretary of the ſhip, and likewiſe the reſt of the ſhip's company, in all twenty-one perſons, and made a ſpeech to them. "Friends and brethren," ſays he, "we have performed "a part of the ſervice on which we have been ſent, that is, the loading of the ſhip; and "how much reward ſhall thoſe ſervants be worthy of, who ſhall obſerve the com-"mands of thoſe who employ them? but how much more praiſe ſhall we deſerve, if "we perform what the infante has not directed us, that is, if we can carry home ſome "inhabitants of the country? Becauſe his intention in this diſcovery is not ſo much "the trade we might carry on with theſe countries, as to enquire after nations who are "at a diſtance from the church, and to bring them to baptiſm, and afterwards to have "ſuch intercourſe and commerce with them, as may be for the honour and intereſt of "the kingdom. And ſince you are all convinced of this, I truſt that you will aſſiſt in "endeavouring to carry home ſome of the people: and as Alphonſo Gonzalez has "ſeen ſigns of population on the ſhore of this river, we muſt neceſſarily find alſo ſome "people. I think, therefore, that ſome ten perſons ſhould be landed, who are the moſt "enterpriſing; and I hope, with your help, we ſhall depart this country with more "honour than any of our predeceſſors."

Alphonſo Gotterez, and all the ſhip's company, applauded Gonzalez's reſolution; but they did not approve that their captain ſhould be one of the number, but that he ſhould remain on board.

After diſputing a long time, they gave way to Gonzalez's reaſoning, and he and nine more landed that night; and when about ten miles or more diſtant from the ſhip, they ſaw a naked man paſſing, with two darts in his hand, chaſing a camel. Immediately as he heard the noiſe our people made, and ſaw them running towards him, he was ſo ſtruck with fear that he remained immoveable; and before he could recover,

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was ſeized by Gotterrez, who being a young man, and very ſwift, had out-ſtripped the reſt. Having made this prize, which gave them great joy, they began to walk back towards the ſhip, as there were none of them who underſtood him, ſo as to gain information of the land, and enable them to go farther; and having travelled ſome time purſuing the footſteps of ſeveral perſons, they came in ſight of them, being in number about forty, of which company our priſoner had been one; they took in their ſight a woman alſo, one of their number. As ſoon as they perceived our people, they left the track, and retired to a hill, from whence they contemplated the novelty: the majority of the Portugueſe were for attacking them in this poſt; but Antonio Gonzalez, though a young man, and deſirous of acquiring honour, was yet checked by prudence: he obſerved that as the ſun was ſetting, and their diſtance from the veſſel very conſiderable, as their ſtrength was exhauſted, and they had ſtill a fatiguing way to go, it was not proper to aſſail them. That the taking of the woman, who, in all probability, belonged to them, was ſufficient for the honour of the day; and his advice was, to return to the ſhip. That he would be firſt to draw his ſword againſt them, ſhould they offer violence; but that an unneceſſary effuſion of blood would be wantonneſs, and abſolutely contrary to their inſtructions. During this delay, the Moors, who, however barbarous they might be by nature, were rendered prudent by the danger they were in, although they ſtood motionleſs, deliberated whether they ſhould attack the Portugueſe or not. The moſt timorous among them retired behind the hill. Gonzalez would not purſue them, fully convinced that he ſhould give more pleaſure to the infante by theſe two priſoners, than by a greater number purchaſed at the expence of the life of any one of the company. They returned to their ſhip, and were preparing to depart the next day, when they were met by another Portugueſe veſſel, under the command of Nuno Triſtan, a gentleman of prince Henry's houſhold, and whom he had brought up near his perſon, from his tendereſt years. The infante, who was well acquainted with his boldneſs and reſolution, directed him to paſs the Punto de Galé, and to do his endeavour to bring ſome perſons of the country back with him.

Triſtan, when he was appriſed of the recent adventure of Gonzalez, readily offered to accompany him that night in queſt of the Moors. Gonzalez was pleaſed with the propoſal, and they departed about nightfal. Diogo de Vigliadores, afterwards caſtellan of Villa Franca, joined the company, as did alſo Gonzalez de Sintra, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee ſignalize himſelf in theſe expeditions. Fortune was propitious to them; they met a number of Moors together, uncertain whether they were the ſame company or another. When our people approached them, they loudly exclaimed (in the uſual warlike cries), "Portugal! Portugal! St. Jago! St. Jago!" When theſe exclamations reached the ears of the Moors, they were ſtupified, and taken as if they had been aſleep; and the night was ſo dark, that they did not ſee our people, till they ſeized upon them as priſoners. Some of the Moors, although ſtruck with fear, were rouſed by the wounds they received, and made a defence; wood, ſtones, their nails, teeth, and every inſtrument, were now made uſe of. The night was ſo dark, as to confound the naked with the armed; and, although the battle was not very bloody, yet the gloomineſs increaſed the danger; and had it not been for our people diſtinguiſhing each other by their language, the riſk would have been great. The whole loſs fell on the Moors; three of them were ſlain upon the ſpot, and ten made priſoners. One of the dead was ſlain by Nuno Triſtan, with imminent danger to his own perſon.

They came to wreſtling; the deceaſed was a man of great ſtrength, and had the advantage by being naked, and Nuno would have been conquered in ſpite of his vigour, if it had not been for his arms. Having obtained this victory, they returned to their veſſels after day-break. Before they went on board, they requeſted Gonzalez to give a name to the place, in commemoration of a day in which he conducted himſelf with ſo much valour, and alſo that he ſhould be made a knight. Gonzalez ſhewed ſome repugnance to the latter diſtinction, but was obliged to yield to their importunity, and accordingly was created a cavalier by Nuno Triſtan; the place was unanimouſly called Porto de Cavalieri, a name it retains to the preſent day.

The captains having come on board their reſpective ſhips, found, among the captives, one of a peculiar tribe of the ſavages, who underſtood the language of a Moor that Nuno Triſtan had on board. From their converſation and inquiries, the captains thought it adviſeable to let the Mooriſh woman go on ſhore with the interpreter, to effect ſome intercourſe with the inhabitants, and ſee if they would come and ranſom ſome of the captives they had on board, which turned out accordingly; for two days after their being ſent on ſhore, there came to the port, about one hundred and fifty men, with camels and horſes, who uſed a ſtratagem, ſending three or four men firſt, which they thought would draw our people on ſhore, and the reſt they concealed in ambuſh; but finding our men not ſo ready to leave their boats, concluded their ſcheme was diſcovered, and came forward, bringing the Mooriſh linguiſt bound, who adviſed the captains by no means to come on ſhore, and leave their boats, for that theſe people were very much exaſperated. They ſoon convinced them of this, by throwing ſtones at the boats. Theſe captains, in compliance with the inſtructions they had received from the infante, did them no injury, but returned to their ſhips, and conſulted what was beſt to be done. It was determined that Antonio Gonzalez ſhould return to Portugal with the captives that came to his ſhare; and Nuno Triſtan, as he had orders from the infante to proceed farther, careened his veſſel, and proceeded till he came to a cape, which, from its appearance, he named Cape Blanco, or White Cape; there he found fiſhing nets, and traces of people; but though he often made incurſions on ſhore, never could meet with any. Finding the currents here to take a different direction, he was fearful of paſſing the cape, which might take him much time, and exhauſt all his proviſion, which now began to run ſhort; and without doing any thing farther, he alſo returned to Portugal, where he found Antonio Gonzalez ſafe arrived; and that the infante, for this, as well as other ſervices, had beſtowed on him the Alcaidariate of Thomar, and a commandary, and appointed him a private ſecretary.

The prince being informed by Antonio Gonzalez, that the principal
A. D. 1442. Moor which he had taken was ready to pay a ranſom for himſelf, if they would carry him to the place from whence they took him, and would give ſix or ſeven Guinea ſlaves for his liberty; and that alſo among the reſt of the captives, there were two young men, ſons of perſons of conſequence in their country, who would likewiſe give the ſame ranſom, immediately ordered a veſſel to be got ready, thinking, if he could not get ſo many ſlaves for theſe three Moors, that an increaſed number of ſouls might be converted to the faith; and as they were a people from a country, of the heat of which ſo many fabulous ſtories had been related, he ſhould gain by this means ſome true information reſpecting it. Whilſt this veſſel for Antonio Gonzalez was fitting out, there was a gentleman in the houſe of the infante, whoſe name

name was Balthazar, belonging to the emperor, Frederick III. who had been ſent by him to the infante to ſerve at Ceuta, where, by his merit, he obtained the honour of knighthood. Being a perſon of a curious diſpoſition, and deſirous of ſeeing new countries, [every perſon going on theſe expeditions were looked upon as men of valour] he begged of the infante to give him leave to go with Antonio Gonzalez, as he likewiſe wiſhed to ſee a ſtorm at ſea; for the navigators had aſſerted that the ſtorms in theſe ſeas were very different from thoſe experienced in the European ſeas, which Balthazar very ſoon had trial of; for on this voyage there came on one ſo tremendous, that none of them thought of ſurviving it, and were obliged to return back to Portugal to repair the damage they had ſuſtained.

Balthazar continued with Antonio Gonzalez; and on their arrival at the place where the ranſom for the Moors was to be tranſacted, according to the orders of the infante, he ſent on ſhore the Moor who had planned the buſineſs; and as he had been uſed very well, and had given aſſurances of his complying with his engagements, they did not doubt but that he would be punctual to them. However, finding himſelf at liberty, he ſoon forgot every part of them; only, it is ſuppoſed, he gave notice to the inhabitants of the arrival of the veſſel, and that there were on board the two young men before mentioned, which might be ranſomed; for at the end of eight days, there came above an hundred perſons for that purpoſe. For their exchange, they gave ten negroes of different countries, and a good quantity of gold duſt; and this being the firſt inſtance of that commodity being ſo obtained, the place acquired the name of Rio d'Ouro, or the River of Gold, although only an inlet of ſalt water, which runs not further than about ſix leagues into the country: they likewiſe received for this ranſom a buckler of undreſſed buck ſkin, and a great number of oſtrich eggs, which, on Gonzalez's return to the kingdom, were preſented to the infante; and the eggs were ſo freſh and fine, that he looked upon them as the greateſt rarity. From theſe freſh informations received from Antonio Gonzalez, of what he had learned from the ſavages, and principally from the quantity of gold obtained, and the proſpect of farther diſcoveries, the infante ſent immediately Nuno Triſtan, whom, as we have be-

A. D. 1443. fore mentioned, had ſailed as far as Cape Blanco. In this voyage, he proceeded farther, and came to an iſland, which was by the inhabitants called Adeger, and is one of thoſe now called Arguim. Being in ſight of the ſame, and likewiſe of the continent, he obſerved about twenty-five almadias, or ſmall boats, in each of which were three or four naked men who ſat aſtride, ſo that they uſed their legs inſtead of oars, which was a wonderful ſight to the Portugueſe, and at firſt they took them to be ſea birds; but as ſoon as they diſcovered what they were, ſeven of their men jumped into their boat, which they had out, and took fourteen of them, which loaded the boat; the reſt, though they eſcaped at ſea, were taken on the iſland; for after the boat had brought thoſe they had on board, they ſent for the others; by which means the iſland was ſtripped of its inhabitants. They then went over to another iſland in the neighbourhood, which they named Garças, on account of the number of geeſe and other birds of the ſame ſpecies they found, which reſorted there on account of their neſting; and as they had never been diſturbed by mankind, were ſo tame, as to ſuffer themſelves to be taken by the hand, and in ſuch abundance, as to be a great refreſhment to the ſhip's company during the time Nuno Triſtan remained there. He made ſeveral incurſions into the country, but could make no more prizes

than thoſe he had already, becauſe the country had been much alarmed. He returned to Portugal.

CHAPTER IV.

Prince Henry makes a Purchaſe of the Canary Iſlands: Sends a Fleet and Army thither. A Company formed at Lagos. Lancerota's Voyages. Gonzalez de Sintra's Voyage and Death. Antonio Gonzalez and Denis Fernandez's Voyages. Antonio Gonzalez's ſecond Voyage.

A. D. 1444. PRINCE Henry having made a purchaſe of the Canary iſlands, ſent this year a fleet and army thither.

We have reaſon to believe that the ancients had ſome knowledge of the Madeira, Canary, and Cape de Verde iſlands; but their accounts are indiſtinct and confuſed: ſome of them ſeem to anſwer the deſcription of the Fortunate Iſlands in Plutarch's Life of Sertorius; who, when he was at the mouth of the river Bætis, in Spain, met with ſome ſeamen newly arrived from the iſlands of the Atlantic, which are divided from each other by a narrow channel, and are diſtant from the coaſt of Africa 10,000 furlongs. Theſe are called the Fortunate Iſlands, where the rain ſeldom falls, and then in moderate ſhowers; but for the moſt part they have gentle breezes, bringing along with them ſoft dews, which render the ſoil ſo fruitful, that it produces, of its own accord, plants and fruits ſufficient to feed and delight the inhabitants who may here enjoy all things without trouble or labour.

Theſe are by many thought to be the Canary iſlands. Whether this account is true or not, is uncertain; but if true, they undoubtedly remained unknown to the moderns until near the time of the diſcoveries we are now treating of. We ſhall not here enter into a particular detail of their diſcovery and conqueſt, as that will come with more propriety in the next book, but only give a ſlight account of them prior to the ſale made of them to Prince Henry.

The Normans are ſaid to have invaded them as early as the year 846; and Labat aſſerts, that theſe people traded as far as Sierra Leona in 1364; if ſo, they penetrated ealier and further to the ſouthward than the Portugueſe; however, they certainly firſt diſcovered them, a ſhip of that nation being, between the years 1326 and 1344, driven upon them by a ſtorm.

Lewis de la Cerda, count de Clermont, a prince of the blood of Spain and of France, nephew of John de la Cerda, who was called the Diſinherited, but who named himſelf the Fortunate Prince, appears to have had a deſire of eſtabliſhing himſelf there. To effect this, he addreſſed himſelf to the king of Arragon, and afterwards to pope Clement VI. who crowned him king of the Canaries, and gave him the dominion of thoſe iſlands, on condition that he went thither to conquer them, and cauſed the Chriſtian faith to be preached. This prince preferring ſomething more ſolid, went to ſeek an employ in France, where he ſerved in a war againſt the Engliſh. The kings of France and Spain acquieſced in this donation of the pope, as is proved, by their letters patent, recorded by Raynaldi; they both of them complained, however, that it had been made without their privity*.

* Laſitau.

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The firſt that eſtabliſhed himſelf in this iſland was John de Betancour, a French gentleman. Robin de Braquermorte, one who had followed Henry III. of Caſtile, and had rendered him great ſervice againſt Peter the Cruel, obtained from that prince a grant to his relation, the above John de Betancour, of the iſlands of the Canaries, with the title of king. Betancour mortgaged his eſtate to his couſin, and conquered three of the iſlands, Lancerota, Fuertaventura, and Ferro; but ſuſtained ſo great a loſs and expence therein, that he was obliged to return to Europe for further ſupply, leaving Maſſiot de Betancour, his nephew, to maintain his conqueſts. The latter having quarrelled with the biſhop, or vicar-general, whom John had carried with him; hurt likewiſe by the long ſtay his uncle made in France, where he was detained firſt by his infirmities, and afterwards by the king of France, who had need of his ſervices; and having likewiſe, with the aſſiſtance of ſome Caſtilians, conquered the iſland of Gomera, he entered into a treaty with the infante don Henry, to whom he ſurrendered all his rights, and received of him, in exchange, ſome lands in the iſlands of Madeira, where his family eſtabliſhed themſelves, and entered into an alliance with that of Gonzalez Zarco, who poſſeſſed the principal captainry of that iſland.

The infante having become maſter of theſe iſlands by this agreement, and as there ſtill remained the iſlands of Canaria, Palma, Gratioſa, Inferno, Alegrazze, Santa Chiara, Rocca, and Lobos, to conquer, he this year fitted out a powerful naval armament, and tranſported thither 2500 infantry, and 120 cavalry, under the command of Fernand de Caſtro, grand maſter of his houſhold. Theſe iſlands not having ſufficient cultivation for the ſupport of ſo many people, the infante loſt more than he gained; he had however the ſatisfaction to ſee a great number of the Pagans converted and receive baptiſm; and this was the only fruit he gathered from this expedition; for the kings of Caſtile claimed theſe iſlands, as an appendage to their crown, Betancour having conquered them, by the aſſiſtance of the ſubjects of Caſtile, and held the iſlands of them in homage. They were therefore ceded to the Catholic king by a treaty between Caſtile and Portugal*.

A. D. 1444. Nuno Triſtan being returned from his laſt voyage with ſo valuable a prize, without having ſtaid ſo long as the other ſhips had been uſed to do, and having paſſed twenty leagues and more beyond what any other ſhips had done, diſcovered ſome iſlands, where they found every thing different from the opinion people had formed, when the infante began theſe diſcoveries, conſequently the murmurs and reflections on this buſineſs ceaſed. It was no longer ſaid that he was in ſearch of inhoſpitable places and deſerts, to the injury and deſtruction of the kingdom, but they extolled the infante's firmneſs, ſaying, he was the firſt who had opened to the Portugueſe new ways to gain honour and treaſure, which never had been diſcovered ſince the creation of the world: that he was more entitled to the love of the people, than any other prince; becauſe, without oppreſſing them, he had found a new way of enriching them, by the ſlaves and captures they made.

This laſt ſucceſs was now the topic of the whole nation, and every individual ſeemed deſirous to enjoy a part of this mine of wealth. The infante was now at his village of Tercanabal, which he had built in Algarves, where he had been ever ſince his return from Tangier; and for which reaſon, all the veſſels which arrived from Africa, unloaded at Lagos. It was the people of that town who were the firſt that propoſed to the infante to make voyages on their own account, paying in the tribute ſettled by gift from the king. The principal perſon among theſe, was

* Lafitau and De Barros.

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one Lancerota, who belonged to the prince's houſhold; the others were Gillianes, who doubled Cape Bajador; Eſtevam Alfonſo, who died at the conqueſt of the Canaries; Rodriga Alvarez, and Juan Dias, all men of note, who fitted out ſix caravellas, or veſſels, of which Lancerota was, by the infante's appointment, made captain-general. This ſquadron ſailed from Lagos, and arrived at the iſland of Garças, on the eve of Corpus-Chriſti day, where they made a great ſlaughter among the birds. They there deliberated how to proceed to the iſland of Nar, being informed by the Moors, whom Triſtan had carried to the infante, that it was in the neighbourhood, and had near two hundred inhabitants on it. Lancerota was of opinion, that if they went in ſuch large bodies in ſight of the iſland, they would have been obſerved by the Moors; and that Martin Vicenté, and Gil Vazquez, who had been near it, ſhould go in their boats, only with men enough to row them, to reconnoitre, and that one of them ſhould return to make a report, the other taking his ſtation between the iſland and the continent, to prevent the inhabitants eſcaping; that afterwards he (Lancerota) would come up with the whole force to aſſail them. This advice being approved of, they accordingly ſet out, but the buſineſs ſucceeded differently from what was imagined. They did not reach the iſland until break of day, fearing they ſhould be ſeen by the inhabitants of a village near the coaſt, and thinking they had an opportunity to perform a great action, which opportunity they might loſe by ſending back a meſſage to the ſhips, they aſſailed the ſaid village, where they took one hundred and fifty perſons; ſome others periſhed in making a defence; and as they were only thirty men, moſt of them obliged to row, and the captives ſo numerous they could not put them on board the boats, they left ſome behind with a guard, and carried the others on board, where they were received with great joy, notwithſtanding the great regret which many felt in not having had a part in the action. Captain Lancerota, deſirous of employing himſelf in ſuch enterpriſes, ordered, with all expedition, the boats to be repaired, becauſe, from the captives, he was informed of another iſland very near, which they called Tider, affording an opportunity for an enterpriſe of the ſame kind; but this iſland was, on going to it, found to be deſerted. It was thought that one of the Moors had given him a wrong information deſignedly, therefore he put him to the torture, until he promiſed to carry them to another iſland, where he would amend his error.

Before they reached this iſland, there aroſe ſo many doubts reſpecting the Moor's information, and they loſt ſo much time, that the inhabitants had moſt of them gained the continent; however, they took ſome of them, and the two days they were employed in going from iſland to iſland, and to the continent, they took about forty-five, with whom they returned to the ſhips, which were about five leagues diſtant. It ſeems that the fortune of Lancerota, and the other adventurers with him, was this voyage made on the iſlands; for from the ſeveral deſcents they afterwards made on the continent, the Moors were ſo much on their guard, that they took only a young woman who was left aſleep in a village; and on their return off Cape Blanco, they took fifteen fiſhermen. Their proviſions beginning to grow ſhort, from the number of captives on board, they returned to Portugal, where Lancerota was received with great honour by the infante, who made him a knight, and promoted him to the rank of nobility: he gratified alſo the others who accompanied him.

A. D. 1445. This year the infante armed a veſſel, the command of which he gave to Gonzalez de Sintra, a gentleman of his houſhold: he was promoted to this rank on account of his qualifications and good conduct

conduct in former affairs. He left Portugal with a determination to eclipse all his predeceſſors, and by the advice of an Azenegue Moor, whom he took with him as an interpreter, he proceeded to the iſland of Arguim, forty miles beyond Cape Blanco, where the Moor aſſured him of making great plunder. But the event was very different from his expectation, for before he arrived at Cape Blanco, in a bay, to which (as we ſhall afterwards ſee) they gave a new name, the Moor ran away, together with another old Moor, who had voluntarily embarked with him, ſaying, they were going from the ſhip to ſee ſome of their relations, and that for the affection he bore them, he would rather die in ſlavery with them, than enjoy liberty in his native country; but his real intention was only to find out the buſineſs for which the ſhip was come upon the coaſt. This flattery wrought ſo much on Gonzalez de Sintra, that he permitted him to go on ſhore; but when Gonzalez ſaw that he was the dupe of his own credulity, and was cenſured by his people, he determined to retrieve his error by ſome momentous ſervice, therefore went, the ſame night, with twelve of his people in a boat, to take revenge on a village; unfortunately the tide being out, the boat run on a bank, and he could not diſengage himſelf. In this ſituation he was ſeen the next morning by the Moors, who, to the amount of two hundred, attacked and ſlew him and ſeven of his companions; the other five ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. As there remained no perſon in the veſſel capable to take the command of her, the reſt being common ſeamen, they returned home with two Moors they had taken on the coaſt, where ſo many men loſt their lives, and were the firſt who in this country died in war. They gave a name to the place from this accident, calling it Angra de Gonzalez de Sintra, lying fourteen leagues beyond the Rio d'Ouro.

Although this loſs greatly affected the infante, yet the following year A. D. 1446. he armed three veſſels, the command of which he gave to Antonio Gonzalez, whom we have before ſpoken of, Diogo Alfonſo and Gomez Perez, the king's pilot, who was ſent by the infante don Pedro, the regent. They all had inſtructions to enter the Rio d'Ouro, and to endeavour to convert theſe barbarous nations to the faith of Chriſt; and if they would not receive baptiſm, at leaſt to cultivate friendſhip and peace with them; but they proved equally averſe to either. The captains perceiving that all their endeavours in this buſineſs were fruitleſs, either from an opinion they had imbibed, or for other cauſes, they returned, carrying with them a ſingle negro, whom they had received in ranſom, and an old Moor that voluntarily came to ſee the infante, who afterwards ſent him back to his country. As this Moor had a deſire to ſee Portugal, a Portugueſe gentleman, named Juan Fernandez had the like deſire to ſee the continent of Africa, where the Azenegue inhabited, whoſe language he underſtood, in order to render a ſatisfactory account to prince Henry, and was therefore left behind.

About the ſame time Nuno Triſtan made another voyage, and took twenty priſoners in a village lying beyond Rio d'Ouro, on which he returned home.

In the ſame year Denis Fernandez, a gentleman of king John's houſhold, and an inhabitant of Liſbon, allured by the favours and diſtinctions which don Henry had beſtowed on him for his ability to a like enterpriſe, armed a veſſel, intending, if poſſible, to paſs beyond any former navigators, as he actually did; for after having paſſed the river Senegal, which divides the country of the Azenague from the firſt kingdom of Guinea, whoſe inhabitants are called Jalofs, he came up with ſome almadias, in which were ſome negroes fiſhing. He only captured one boat with four

four of them, who were the firſt from that country ever ſeen in Portugal, although he had ſtrong proofs of the lands being peopled. As it was more his deſign to diſcover new countries than to make ſlaves for his own uſe, he continued his voyage, and would not make any incurſions on that coaſt, but ſailed to an extraordinary cape, which projected into the ſea to the weſtward, and to which, from the green aſpect it preſented, he gave the appellation of Cape Verde. This cape is now one of the moſt celebrated in the weſtern ocean. As the paſſage to that cape could not, with any appearance of ſafety, be attempted in that ſeaſon, on account of the ſtorms which began then to rage, his proceeding further was hindered, and he contented himſelf with landing at a petty iſland near it, where the crew found a great refreſhment in the goats with which it was ſtocked. From hence he returned home, and was received with great diſtinctions by the infante don Henry. The novelty of the land he diſcovered, and the peculiar circumſtance of having taken his captives on their native ſoil, rather than to have them purchaſed of Moors, as had heretofore been practiſed, greatly enhanced his ſervice, and the infante was not wanting to recompence thoſe individuals who had beſt attained his views, and ſtrengthened his hopes.

Seven months having elapſed ſince Antonio Gonzalez returned from the Rio d'Ouro, where he left Juan Fernandez, to procure information reſpecting the country of the Moors, the infante thinking, from his inquiſitive diſpoſition, that he would, by this time, have gained conſiderable knowledge on theſe matters, and always attentive to his great object, ſent Antonio Gonzalez to ſeek after him, with whom went Garcia Mendez and Diogo Alfonſo, each in his caravella. They were overtaken by a ſtorm. The firſt that arrived at Cape Blanco was Diogo Alfonſo, who, as a ſignal to his companions, erected a large croſs, made of wood, which remained there for a conſiderable time, and proceeded to the iſlands of Arguim, where all thoſe that meant to reap benefit from their voyage always touched, as that coaſt, and the iſlands oppoſite, had the moſt inhabitants of all the parts yet diſcovered, by reaſon of the fiſheries, which thoſe miſerable people, the Azenegue Moors, maintained themſelves by; and on that coaſt alſo there was more ſhelter from the ſea, which broke much on all the coaſts, and cauſed a greater abundance of fiſh to come there. Theſe iſlands were not on the whole bad, though much viſited by the winds, and their ſhores beaten by the waves. They had each their name, being ſix or ſeven in number, but the Portugueſe call them all the iſlands of Arguim, on account of a fortification which king Alfonſo ordered to be built on that called Arguim. Diogo Alfonſo, before his companions joined him, made ſeveral deſcents on the continents, as ſoon as he had doubled Cape Blanco, but took nothing, except at the iſland of Arguim; for the Moors had intelligence of theſe ſhips. An old man and a boy having been left in one of their villages, Alfonſo ſuſpected it was done on purpoſe, as the man adviſed them to go to another village, on *terra firma:* they debated long whether they ſhould go or not, fearing ſome ambuſcade had been laid for them, but they at laſt determined, and it was broad day before they reached the village: they found it deſerted, nevertheleſs they took about five-and-twenty by hard running, who had concealed themſelves in the vicinity. The Moors took this method of running away, rather than oppoſe us, as they had been ſo beaten by our arms. By theſe victories, the Portugueſe were in general much fatigued; Laurenço Dias, an inhabitant of Setubal, ſignalized himſelf moſt in this way; for he alone took ſeven of theſe Moors. When they returned, they found Juan Fernandez, whom they were ſeeking, and had been for ſeveral days on the coaſt to ſearch for ſome veſſel, that would

would take him from this voluntary baniſhment. His conduct during his ſtay among thoſe barbarians had gained him their eſteem, and they were grieved for his departure; ſome of them came along with him to protect him from the fiſhermen; and alſo to agree for a ranſom with our people. Antonio Gonzalez got nine blacks, and a ſmall quantity of gold duſt. On account of theſe tranſactions the place was called Cabo do Reſgate, or Cape Ranſom. The chief motive being accompliſhed, which was the finding of Juan Fernandez; and what further has been related, they, to celebrate this exploit the more, cauſed one Fernam Tavares, an aged nobleman, to be knighted; who, though he had gained great honours before, would in no place accept this honour but on this new-diſcovered ground.

Antonio Gonzalez returning to Portugal, paſſed Cape Blanco, where, on a deſcent he made at a village, he took fifty-five perſons: ſome loſt their lives in defending themſelves. With theſe prizes they immediately ſailed and arrived ſafe. The infante, notwithſtanding ninety ſlaves and ſome gold duſt were brought home from this expedition, of no inconſiderable conſequence to him, yet it gave him little pleaſure in compariſon to what he received from ſeeing Juan Fernandez ſafe; full of novelty, and recounting the wonderful things of the country he had been in; ſome particulars of which we ſhall relate. He ſaid, that the Moors with whom he was left, were ſhepherds; and related to the Moor that was brought to Portugal by Antonio Gonzalez. As ſoon as they conveyed him to the interior parts of the kingdom, the firſt thing they did was, to take from him all his cloaths, ſome biſcuit, wheat, and other things that were left of his proviſions; and in return, gave him an alquice, or ſort of blanket, to cover himſelf with, almoſt in rags. This was a very different treatment to what their relation experienced from the infante, when he arrived in Portugal; inſomuch that he would not return with Antonio Gonzalez, when he ſailed to ſeek for Juan Fernandez, being then in the infante's houſe, at liberty and at his eaſe, but in his own country ſubject to the miſeries we ſhall now relate. But as Juan Fernandez had reconciled himſelf to ſuffer every thing, ſo they did not touch his life, he peaceably gave up all he had; nor was he much affected at their taking every thing from him. He led a moſt miſerable life with theſe people, for they themſelves fared wretchedly; their food was little elſe than a ſmall kind of ſeed which their country produced, ſome roots, and ſome ſprouts from herbs, and theſe not in abundance; even lizards and graſshoppers are eaten, roaſted and dried by the heat of the ſun, which always exiſts under the tropic of Cancer; but many months their certain food (as they cannot depend on the foregoing from the violent ſtorms they are ſubject to) is the milk of their cattle, which ſerves them often as drink, their country being ſo barren and dry, that they have water only from a few wells that are very brackiſh; and from theſe very ſparingly. As to meat, if they eat any, it is from what they can catch in hunting, or birds they kill; but on feſtivals only they touch any of their cattle, and thoſe of the male kind, preſerving always the female for the uſe of the milk. Such is the life of thoſe who inhabit the interior parts: upon the ſea coaſt they live upon fiſh dried without ſalt, and freſh fiſh, which makes them leſs thirſty. But ſince the Portugueſe have built their fort at Arguim, they are become more dainty, theſe furniſhing them with wheat and other things; and whatever comes to their hands they devour immediately. One part of the ſoil is ſandy, and the greater part is like the worſt of our heaths; a few palm trees, and what we call devil's figs, or prickly pears; and theſe are ſo thinly

ſpread about the country; that, conſidering the large territories they have, it appears as if they had planted them for ſhade, which they afford ſcantily from the few leaves they ſpread, the barrenneſs of the ſoil affording them no nouriſhment. This country is all a flat; and as there are no mountains, woods, &c. it is very difficult to travel to any diſtance in it, as you can make no land-marks, and are only guided by the winds, ſtars, and the flight of birds, particularly crows and hawks, who generally keep near inhabited ſpots, for the filth that is ſcattered about the ſuburbs of the towns and villages, if ſuch they can be called. But the people are generally removing from one place to another, on account of the paſture neceſſary for their cattle; and if any ſpot ſupplies them for eight days, it is reckoned a wonderful thing. Their habitations are ſmall huts, and their cloathing the ſkins of their flocks. The better ſort have fine cloth, and their horſes have the ſame diſtinction in their accoutrements. Their general employ is to feed their cattle, which is all the wealth they poſſeſs, as well as their chief ſupport. Their language is not the ſame as the Barbary ſavages; yet, like the Portugueſe and the Spaniards, they eaſily underſtand each other. Among them they have no king or prince, but keep in tribes, who are related to each other, and the ſtrongeſt or moſt powerful are the rulers. Theſe parties often quarrel, and make war with each other; and theſe quarrels generally ariſe about the paſturage of their cattle, or the uſe of the water of their wells. But mankind ever finds one thing or other to quarrel with their neighbours about.

This kind of life and policy Juan Fernandez obſerved whilſt he was among theſe ſhepherds; but getting afterwards into a kind of habitation belonging to a principal Azeneguean Moor, called Huade Meimon, who lived well, treated Juan Fernandez with ſuch confidence, that he gave him leave to go and look for our ſhips, and ſent ſome men with him, as we mentioned; and though he came dreſſed like a Moor, yet the food he had been uſed to, with the milk he had drank, agreed ſo well with him, that he was healthy and fat.

CHAPTER V.

Voyage of Denizeanes de Gram and others. Second Voyage of Lancerota. Second Voyage and Death of Nuno Triſtan. A Portugueſe Ship diſcovers the Iſland of the Seven Cities. Voyage of Gomez Perez. Grant from King Alfonſo to Prince Henry. The Azores ſettled.

AT the time theſe things were going on proſperouſly, a gentleman of a very worthy character at Liſbon, who had belonged to prince Henry's houſhold, but was in office as treaſurer of the houſe of Ceuta, whoſe name was Gonzalez Pachecos, who being very rich, had ſent out ſhips to different places, got leave from the infante to fit out a ſhip on theſe diſcoveries, the command of which he gave to Denizeanes de Gram, one of the infante don Pedro's eſquires. With him went Alvaro Gill, one of the aſſayers of the mint; and Malfaldo, an inhabitant of Setubal, each in his caravella, or veſſel; and as it was then cuſtomary for them all to touch at Cape Blanco, on their arrival there, they found a writing of Antonio Gonzalez placed in a conſpicuous place, informing thoſe that

that ſhould happen to read it, that it was needleſs for them to land in ſearch of the village that was there, for that he had deſtroyed it, in the manner already related. In conſequence of this information, by the advice of a Galician pilot, they ſteered to the iſland of Arguim, where they took ſeven perſons; and by the information of one of the captives, and following his advice, Malfaldo made a deſcent on a village on the continent, and captured forty-ſeven more. Afterwards, though they often made deſcents, they could take nothing, except an old Moor, which, for the ſake of his receiving immediate baptiſm, they brought away with them, and alſo for the intelligence he might give them; and as the Moors now began to be very watchful, they proceeded about eighty leagues on the coaſt, and in their going and returning, and ſtopping to refreſh themſelves at the iſland of Garças, by their deſcents, they captured fifty perſons, with a loſs, however, of one of their boats with ſeven men, which unfortunately got aground, and they were all killed by the Moors. On their arrival at the iſland of Garças, they found a veſſel commanded by one Laurenço Dias.

The infante, who tranſacted all his maritime buſineſs at Lagos, had now granted to its inhabitants, in conſideration of their good offices, permiſſion to fit out a certain number of veſſels for Africa, whereupon they armed fourteen caravellas to act in conjunction. The command of this fleet was given by the infante to the above-mentioned Lancerota, whoſe abilities were thought equal to this undertaking: with him ſeveral noblemen joined, who commanded under him, and who were all men of reputed valour; theſe were Soeiro da Coſta, brother-in-law to the ſame Lancerota, who had been in his earlier years a ſervant of the chamber of king Edward, and had ſignalized himſelf at many places, particularly at the battle of Agincourt, between the kings of France and England. Alvaro di Freitas, commander of Algiazur, a man of an illuſtrious family, who had done prodigies of valour in the war againſt the Moors of Granada, and Bellamarina was captain of another caravella. The others were Rodrigueanes Travaſoi, a ſervant of the infante don Pedro; Palazzano, who had ſpent the greater part of his life in the war againſt the Moors, and Gomez Perez, once the king's governor; with other gentlemen of note at Lagos. To theſe fourteen veſſels were added two of the iſland of Madeira, under Triſtan Vaz, commander of Machico, and Alvaro Dornelas, who offered to join them; but they were forced back by contrary winds before they arrived at Cape Blanco. However, Alvaro Fernando, with John Gonzalez, his uncle, and commander of Funchal, in the ſame iſland of Madeira, made good his paſſage. The other captains were Denis Fernandez, the firſt who ever paſſed the land of the negroes, in one of don Alvaro di Caſtro's caravellas; and John of Caſtile, in a caravella belonging to Alvaro Gonzalez of Taide, the king's governor, afterwards count of Tognia, with ſome other caravellas, making up the number of ſix-and-twenty, excluſive of the ten gallies of Palazzano.

Every veſſel departed from the port where it had been fitted out.
A. D. 1445. The fourteen caravellas that lay in Lagos hoiſted ſails together the tenth of Auguſt; but they were no ſooner out of ſight of the coaſt of Algarves, than they were overtaken by a ſtorm, which ſeparated them. The commandant-general, Lancerota, had given orders before they ſailed, that in caſe of any ſuch accident, they ſhould ſteer to the iſland of Garça, where the general rendezvous was to be; and it is upon this occaſion, and by theſe orders, that the above-mentioned Laurenço Dias came there; he was taking in water, when he was joined by Denizeanes de Gram, with three caravellas. Denizeanes having now been appriſed by Laurenço Dias of the grand fleet ex-

pected that way, he remained behind, in order to take revenge by the deſtruction of thoſe who had killed his ſeven men. After two days, they ſaw Lancerota arrive, and with him Soeiro da Coſta, Alvaro di Freitas, Rodrigueanes, Gomez Perez, il Picanzo, and others, commanding nine caravellas. It was thought neceſſary, after the report of Denizeanes, to come immediately to action, before the number of veſſels had given the alarm to the barbarians; but they were ſoon ſeen by them, and they had all on the continent taken to their heels. When they arrived at the Arguim iſlands, they put eight men to the ſword for their obſtinate reſiſtance, and reduced four to ſlavery, which were the only ones who had not deſerted the iſlands. In the ſcuffle, one of our mariners received a wound, of which he died a few days after. Soeira da Coſta here received the honour of knighthood, which he had merited in many actions in Chriſtian armies, but thought it worth accepting only on this expedition. Accordingly Alvaro di Freitas, commander of Algiezur, conferred it on him. Denizeanes was promoted to the ſame title, which ſerved in ſome manner to ſooth his bitter regret for the loſs he had ſuſtained. The other caravellas arrived now in ſucceſſion; and Denizeanes, after having laid in ſome proviſion, ſteered back to Portugal with his three caravellas. Lancerota reſolved, with the other captains, to paſs the iſland of Tider, where they would ſtation three caravellas in a place of the ſtreight, where the inhabitants uſed to paſs from the iſland to the continent. The Moors, informed of this deſign, paſſed in the greateſt ſecurity to the continent, during the night, unperceived by the Portugueſe. The next morning, when they could ſee them, they were retreating, and railed at the Portugueſe with loud taunts.

A ſervant of the infante's chamber, named Diogo, who was ſtung by the raillery and contempt caſt by theſe barbarians upon his countrymen, reſolutely aſked Pedro Alemano, a native of Lagos, whether he felt the courage to follow him, to take vengeance for theſe provoking injuries. Alemano having offered to ſecond him, without communicating his deſign to any body elſe, they took the neceſſary arms and ſwam to the ſhore. The Moors, upon ſeeing their danger, took flight, and howled ſo amazingly, that the reſt of the crew were roufed to attention, and ſuch as could ſwim immediately followed their tracts. Theſe were Gill, a gentleman of the infante, and Lionello Gill, the ſon of the ſtandard-bearer of the cruſade. Theſe two, united with the former, attacked the Moors, who ſtood now upon the defenſive, to protect their women and children. An affray enſued, which coſt the Moors ten dead near the ſhore, and as many at ſome diſtance from it, together with fifty-ſeven priſoners. In ſpite of this fatigue, when they were joined by a few others who had remained ſpectators to the firſt ſcene, they the ſame night aſſailed a village twenty miles from the ſea, in hopes of taking ſuch as had eſcaped at the firſt engagement, which ſome of the priſoners affirmed would be found there. But the inhabitants had previouſly removed, upon the warning of thoſe who had eſcaped, and abandoned the ſhore, ſo that this ſcheme was wholly defeated: they only found upon their return five Moors, who had concealed themſelves behind ſome buſhes, on their flight the preceding day. As they had now accompliſhed the intention of this voyage by this conſiderable conqueſt, the following day Lancerota aſſembled the chiefs and captains in the fleet, to whom he addreſſed the following ſpeech: " No one of you, gentlemen and friends, is ignorant that the " principal intention with which we have been ſent hither from the infante, and in " which I had the honour to preſide, is fulfilled, by the reduction of a people which " had hitherto proved obnoxious to our ſhipping. Your general valour and conduct

" has

" has been ſo conſpicuous, that I think it unneceſſary to put you in mind of the grati-
" fication your exploits will afford to the infante, and of the extent to which I am
" confident he will reward them. All thoſe who deſerve well of their ſuperiors, are
" entitled to diſtinction, which never fails flowing from the hands of liberal and at-
" tentive princes; like that we have the honour to ſerve, although our undertaking
" has been rather the conſequence of a former bounty, than the effect of any other
" expected future recompence, but that of an increaſe of his eſteem for us. What
" remains now to be done, is to comply with the other part of his commiſſion; we
" muſt now ſeparate, and every one courageouſly follow his own deſtiny, in queſt
" of ſome neceſſary private acquiſitions. I therefore lay before you, and renounce
" this day, that power of ſuperiority which the infante has graciouſly veſted in my
" perſon, for the execution of the accompliſhed commiſſion. As for my other inten-
" tions, I muſt acquaint you, that if I am not willing as yet to return home, it is not
" ſo much for a motive of glory, in climates which have happily eſtabliſhed my
" memory, as the ſmallneſs of the prize, which muſt be too inconſiderable, if a parti-
" tion among ſo many veſſels be attended to. It is my earneſt wiſh, therefore, to
" join the firſt man who ſhould move for a farther progreſs on the coaſt, in ſearch of
" ſome other acquiſitions. Here Soeiro da Coſta, and with him Vicenzo Diaz, Rodrigueanes, Martin Vicenzo, and Il Picanzo adverted, that their caravella being the ſmalleſt in the fleet, and the winter ſeaſon ſo much advanced, as willing as they were to ſupport his wiſhes, yet the neceſſity was great on the other hand to haſten their return. But Gomez Perez, captain of the king's caravella, Alvaro di Freitas, Rodrigueanes Travazos, and Laurenço Dias, a merchant, ſtepped over to the captain's ſide, expreſſing their deſire to ſee the kingdom of the negroes, which had been deſcribed to them in ſo oppoſite and advantageous colours from that which they had before them. Upon this determination the two diviſions went each its own way; the one returned headed by Soeiro da Coſta, and the other to Portugal preſſed forward under the conduct of Lancerota.

Soeira da Coſta was obeyed throughout his fleet, on account of his dignity of Caſtellan of Lagos, of which place the greateſt part of the crew were natives, and which they reſpected with an equal ſubmiſſion at ſea. He obliged them to paſs Cape Blanco. There they entered a harbour with their ſloops, in which they advanced for about twelve miles, when they came to a village, where they took nine Moors, the others eſcaping by a timely alarm. The prize which he had made being little calculated to ſatiate his deſire, he, notwithſtanding the diſſuaſion of the other captains, wanted to turn to Tider, as there were among the ſlaves a female Moor, and a youth, the ſon of a leading man, who flattered him with large ranſoms. Soeiro da Coſta having brought the other captains into his views, tacked about for that iſland, where, as ſoon as they arrived, a treaty was opened on both ſides. For the greater ſecurity of both parties, the Moors put into Da Coſta's hands one of their principal men as a hoſtage, and he, in return, ſent them the maſter of the veſſel he was in, and along with him a Jew, who had joined company upon that voyage. As ſoon as the young man had been delivered to his parents, the female ſlave, who truſted far more to her ſkill in ſwimming, than to the poſſibility of her releaſe by an exorbitant ranſom, threw herſelf into the water, and made off. When the Moors had now in their power at once the woman and the young man, they refuſed reſtoring the two hoſtages committed to them upon any condition but their giving up three other priſoners.

Soeiro

Soeiro da Coſta, though this was a heavy loſs to him, gave way to it, to ſave the maſter of his ſhip; and to loſe ſight of this diſagreeable ſituation, he returned to Portugal; but in his way back, he intended to make a deſcent on the Canary iſlands, where he met Alvaro Gonzalez de Taide with his caravella, whoſe captain was Juan de Caſtilla; and when they informed him what rout they intended to purſue, he told them that he believed it would be in vain, for that the buſineſs of Arguim was at an end, and the winter began to ſet in in thoſe parts, which might endanger the loſs of his veſſel: that they intended ſteering to the Canary iſlands, and to make a deſcent on the iſland of Palma, where they expected to make ſome profitable prize, and that he had better go along with him, as he had come too late to go to Africa. Juan de Caſtilla followed this advice; and the firſt port they arrived at was in the iſland Gomera, where they were received by two captains, who were their governors, offering every thing in their power that they ſtood in need of, and acknowledging themſelves much indebted to the infante don Henry; for though they had been at the palace of the king of Spain, and that of the king of Portugal, yet they had not received ſuch favours from either as from him. The captains of the caravellas finding they might have ſome help from theſe gentlemen, knowing that they were great enemies to the inhabitants of the iſland of Palma, to which place they intended to go, acquainted them with their deſign, and propoſed their going with them, and carrying ſome of their men to attack their enemies, whom the infante was much offended at for being a bad and rebellious people. The two Canarian captains, whoſe names were Piſte and Brucho, to ſhew how much they wiſhed to ſerve the infante, without further delay embarked on board theſe caravellas, with a conſiderable number of men, and ſetting ſail, at break of day, arrived at the port of Palma, and landed without being perceived. The firſt people they met were a few ſhepherds, who were tending ſome large flocks of ſheep. The moment they got ſight of the Portugueſe, they gave a particular cry or call to their ſheep, which they had uſed them to; on this they all fled to a valley, which was ſituated between two high rocky mountains, as if they had been told the enemy was upon them. The Portugueſe obſerving the Canarian captains and their men climbing the rocks after the ſhepherds, who were flying before them, began to follow; but as they were not uſed to this ſort of attack, many of them had dangerous falls, and among the reſt, a young man fell from a precipice and was daſhed to pieces. Nay, ſome of theſe very Canarians which were in purſuit, truſting too much to their agility, ſhared the ſame fate. The Canarians, as ſoon as they perceived their enemies, gathered together in great abundance; but ſeeing the Portugueſe armed, they did not dare come near them, but kept among the rocks, doing them all the miſchief they could; but they were ſo expert in avoiding what the latter could do to them, that they received little harm. However, with chaſing them in this manner, when the aſſailants rallied again, they found they had taken about ſeventeen perſons; among them was a woman of an extraordinary ſize, which they ſaid was the queen of a part of the iſland.

On our return to the iſland Gomera, we left the two Canarian captains in the place we had come from; and the one called Piſte died afterwards in Portugal, being employed on ſome affairs of his iſland, and was always noticed by the infante.

Juan de Caſtilla being diſſatisfied with the ſmall portion that came to his ſhare on this expedition, and to make himſelf ſome recompence for the loſs he had ſuſtained, by not being at the buſineſs of Arguim, perſuaded them to make ſlaves of the natives

natives of the iſland they were at; and though all looked upon it as a bad action to make captives of thoſe from whom they had received ſo much friendſhip, yet the deſire of gain got the better of their feelings; and to incur leſs blame, they went to another port, and took twenty perſons, and then returned to Portugal. This deceitful action coming to the ears of the infante, he was much enraged at the captains, and ordered all theſe men to be cloathed at his expence, and ſent back from whence they were taken; for the infante had been a friend to the Canarians, as will hereafter be ſhewn, and was very much hurt at any offence being given them.

Captain Lancerota, after Soeira da Coſta left him, coaſted about till he got beyond that part which the Moors call Cahara, and we corruptly call Zara, which is a part of the deſerts of Lybia, and reach as far as the two palm-trees, of which Juan Fernandez, when he was there, took notice, and where the inhabitants ſay that the Azenegue Moors are ſeparated from the black idolaters. Purſuing his voyage about twenty leagues further, they found a remarkable river, now called Canaga, from a principal perſon of that country, who tranſacted many ranſoms in that place, whoſe name was Canaga; but the real name of the river at the entrance is Ovedech, (according to the language of the blacks who inhabit the ſame); but the further you penetrate this river, the inhabitants that drink its water give it different names, which hereafter will be ſeen. They not only got this intelligence then, but by the information which the Azenegue Moors had given the infante, it came from the eaſt, running through large kingdoms and provinces; and that they had heard it was a branch of the Nile*. On captain Lancerota entering this river, over the bar, he hoiſted out his boat, and one Eſtevam Alfonſo went in her to go on ſhore, and diſcover what he could. On his firſt landing, he perceived a hut on a ſandy plain, which he ſuppoſed to belong to ſome fiſhermen; in which were taken a boy and girl, brother and ſiſter; more, ſays De Barros, with an intent of ſaving their ſouls, than from the deſire of making captives of them; for when they were brought to Portugal, the infante ordered the boy to be inſtructed, ſo that he might receive prieſt's orders, and return to preach baptiſm and the faith of Chriſt; but before he came to a proper age he died: his ſiſter was properly taken care of, on account of the merits of her brother, and lived more like a free perſon than a ſlave. On the ſpot where they were taken, though they could not underſtand a word theſe children ſpoke, yet, by ſome means, they underſtood that they ſaid their father and mother were nigh at hand; and ſearching round the hut, at a little diſtance, among ſome thick bruſh, they heard a noiſe, as if ſomebody was hewing wood; and fearing, if they went together, they ſhould give too much alarm, Eſtevam Alfonſo propoſed to go by himſelf, and get as near as he could, to liſten and obſerve what was the cauſe of the noiſe. Having approached by the ſound, he perceived a black cutting a piece of wood; and ſo intent was he, that he never heard or ſaw Alfonſo till he ſeized him, which had like to have coſt the former his life; for the black being a ſtrong large man, and naked, and he being cloathed, and a little man, at firſt the ſurpriſe ſo overcame the black, that Alfonſo got him down under him; but though his defence was with his fiſts and teeth, he would have ſoon got the better, had not his companions come to his aſſiſtance; on the ſight of which, the negro eſcaped, and ran into a wood. Alfonſo, when he found himſelf releaſed by their ap-

* This notion prevailed a long time.

pearance;

pearance, and ſeeing them follow the negro, tried likewiſe to keep pace with them, and adviſed them to ſurround the wood till they could get ſome of their dogs from the ſhips to drive him out; but the negro having his thoughts on his children, no ſooner had got into the wood one way, but he was out of it another; and not finding them in his hut, followed the footſteps of the Portugueſe, who had carried them to the ſea ſhore, where Vicente Dias, the merchant and owner of the ſhip, was taking a walk cooly, in ſafety, as he thought, having only a boat-hook in his hand, which he uſed as a walking ſtick. The negro, as ſoon as he ſaw him, enraged at the loſs of his children, fell upon him, and broke one of his jaws with a ſtake, and received himſelf a wound from the boat-hook on his head, before they graſped each other. Vicente Dias, nevertheleſs, had got him under, when another negro, his ſon, aſſiſted his father: they both beat him terribly, and he would have been killed, had not Eſtevam Alfonſo, and his companions, came running to his aſſiſtance, which, as ſoon as the negroes perceived, being active and light, got out of their reach in ſafety. They all went on board ſoon after they came up to Vicente Dias, he being the ſecond that had been wounded by this black; and getting his wounds dreſſed, he was viſited, as well as Eſtevam Alfonſo, by the people of the other caravellas, who joked them upon the negro's being the beſt wreſtler of all that were in the boat.

This day being paſſed, captain Lancerota having agreed with the other captains to proceed up the river to make diſcoveries, there came on ſuch bad weather as to force them to leave the place they were at, and Rodrigueanes Travaços, and Denis Dias loſt company of Lancerota, and returned ſafe to Portugal. Lancerota, with five caravellas, running towards Cape Verde, came to a peninſula joined to the main land, where they found abundance of goats, which were a great refreſhment to his people. They alſo found the ſkins of ſome that had been lately killed, which made them conclude that ſome of his countrymen had been lately there; and he was confirmed in the idea, by finding written on the bark of ſome large trees, the infante's device or motto, "*Talent de bien faire*," which was left by Alvaro Fernandez, nephew to Juan Gonzalez; which captain had been attacked by ſix almadias, or boats of the blacks, in this place, and could only capture one, with two negroes on board, the reſt having ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. On this voyage, nevertheleſs, he proceeded as far as Cabo dos Maſtos, or Cape Maſts, a name he then gave it from ſome dry palm trees, which had the appearance of rigged maſts; and from thence he returned to Portugal. Captain Lancerota, in two days that he was at this iſland, with his five caravellas, watered, and furniſhed himſelf with plenty of goats fleſh. He paſſed towards *terra firma*, where many blacks came towards the ſhore. Gomes Perez being ſent in a boat to approach them, and to ſhew them ſigns of peace, which was always recommended by the infante in all his orders, threw them a cake, a looking-glaſs, and a ſheet of paper, with a croſs drawn on it; but they were ſo little deſirous of having thoſe things, and ſo much hurt at what Alvaro Fernandez did to them, that they not only refuſed them, but broke them to pieces, and began to let fly their arrows at the boat. Gomes Perez ſeeing there was no likelihood of a good underſtanding between them, returned them the compliment by way of taking leave. Theſe captains ſeeing the diſpoſition of theſe blacks, determined on the next day to fall upon them in the ſame way they uſed to do with the Moors; but ſuddenly there came on a terrible ſtorm, which made every one attend cloſely to the management of the veſſels; and Laurenço Dias, one of the infante's eſquires, got ſafe to the place where Vicente Dias had

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the ſtruggle with the black; and finding himſelf ſhort of proviſions, arms, and other things, which were neceſſary for the diſcovery of that river, he did not dare undertake it, but returned. Gomes Perez, the pilot of another of Lancerota's veſſels, came to the Rio d'Ouro, or Gold River; and there he agreed with the Moors for a ſlave, who told him, if he would return the next year, they would be provided with gold and ſlaves ſufficient to load his ſhip, for they began to like the commodities that we brought them in exchange for their's; and as long as Gomes Perez remained there, they came to the veſſel without fear, more out of friendſhip than to exchange things, and they gave him a large quantity of the ſkins of ſea wolves, with which he returned to Portugal.

Lancerota, Alvara de Freitas, and Vicente Dias, kept together, as they had done during the ſtorm they had experienced at Cape Verde; and they agreed, that in their way they would fall on the iſland of Tider, where they took fifty-nine perſons, and returned with much more property than the others. Denis Fernandez, captain of the caravella of D'Alvaro de Caſtro, and Palançano, captain of the galley, which kept company with the fourteen veſſels that went from the kingdom this year. When they arrived at Arguim, and heard news of the ſucceſs of the other caravellas that went to the iſland of Tider, and that theſe iſlands were depopulated, they determined to go forward as far as the river Canaga, and get into the river with the galley. As Denis Fernandez was acquainted with the coaſt, having been there before, and having paſſed the point called Santa Anna, which is within fifty leagues of it, and being calm weather, they were deſirous of ſending a man out to diſcover whether there were any habitations near the ſhore; but the ſwell being ſo great, none of the ſailors would venture to leap into the ſea: but Palançano began to expoſtulate with a dozen young fellows that knew how to ſwim, and who were only to carry offenſive weapons. This had the deſired effect, and they took the water. Going along the ſhore, they came up with a dozen of Moors, ſeized nine of them, and brought them to the ſhip. They were no ſooner on board, but it changed to a ſtorm, ſo that the galley or veſſel of Palançano was loſt; and by good luck, all the people were ſaved, and got on board Denis Fernandez's veſſel. The ſtorm drove them to Cape Verde, where they only got ſight of ſome negroes, who defended their ſhore with their bows and arrows; and the weather changing, they returned to the place where they loſt the galley: they ſtill ſaw her hull, which the Moors would not deſtroy, becauſe they kept it as a kind of triumph, to vex our people, whenever they ſhould come that way. However, they felt ſeverely for the loſs of the galley; for behind ſome hillocks were diſcovered about ſeventy Moors, who kept a bad look out, and they received ſo much damage from the Portugueſe, that moſt of them certainly periſhed; even thoſe that eſcaped muſt have received wounds. This feat, in ſome degree, made up for the loſs of the galley, and recovered the honour of Denis Fernandez and Palançano; and having done ſo little on that coaſt, they ſet ſail, and paſſing by the Ponta de Lyra, they only took two Moors by out-running them; for they had now adopted that method, as they dreaded encountering with the Portugueſe, feeling the dreadful effects of their ſwords. From hence they made the beſt of their way to Portugal, where they arrived ſafe; all the other caravellas which had gone that year upon theſe expeditions were ſafe alſo, except captain Palançano's galley.

Nuno Triſtan returning, by the order of Prince Henry, in a caravella, to Cape de Maſtelli, which had been the extremity of the navigation of Alvaro Fernandez, a

former navigator. The ardour with which he undertook this commiſſion, ſoon carried him one hundred and eighty miles beyond Cape Verde, and he was not long before he arrived at the river called Rio Grande. Having caſt anchor at the mouth of this river, he entered a boat with two-and-twenty men, in order to diſcover ſome population. The river was very large near the mouth. He took advantage of the flood, which run ſtrong, and he was ſoon carried to a great diſtance from the ſea, and fell in unexpectedly with thirteen almadias, in which there were eighty reſolute negroes, who had been choſen for the purpoſe of repelling thoſe ſtrangers whom they had ſeen arrive in the caravella, and afterwards go up the river in the boat.

Nuno Triſtan, perceiving that the negroes ſeemed to give way, by ſeparating at his approach, imagined they were alarmed at the ſight of the Europeans, never before ſeen by them, and rowed towards the land, whither they feigned to take refuge. But as ſoon as they ſaw themſelves in a capacity of intercepting his boat, by the ſtations which they had taken both above and below, on the river, they ſuddenly ruſhed upon him with frightful clamours, and diſcharged a ſhower of arrows. An eſcape was now impracticable, conſidering the poſition of the enemy. Whenever thoſe in the ſloop attempted to ſeek revenge on one ſide, they were attacked in the flank from the other, and we were compleatly defeated, on account of the poiſon in which the negroes had dipt their arrows, which, joined to the heat maintained in the combat, precipitated our deſtruction. Nuno Triſtan thought it ſafe to retreat by means of the ebb-tide; which, however, proved of little advantage to him, as almoſt all his men died before he rejoined the veſſel, and himſelf fell a victim to the poiſon and diſappointment. Among the dead were John Correa, Duarte Dolanda, Stefano Dalmeida, Maicado, all of good families, and brought up from their earlier years at the court of the infante, with many other mariners, amounting in all to nineteen. Of the ſeven that had eſcaped, two were killed by a hurt received from an anchor, at the moment they were getting on board the caravella. It is reported by ſome, that this cataſtrophe happened in the river Nuno, lying ſixty miles beyond Rio Grande; from which, and the death of Nuno, it has derived its name. What affords matter of ſurpriſe is, how, on account of the want of hands, that four young men, with a ſervant of the infante's chamber, named Arias Tinous, a native of Olivenza, who had been taken as the ſhip's clerk, arrived, as they did, in ſafety, at Lagos, there being not one among them who underſtood the conducting of a veſſel.

The report of this loſs lay the heavier on the infante, as he had a ſtrong ſenſe of the ability of the ſufferers, and the ſervices which they had rendered him. He exerted towards their remains, a beneficence which he had ardently wiſhed to confer on their perſons.

The voyage which Alvaro Fernandez, the nephew of John Gonzalez, one of the governors of Madeira, made the ſame year, ſeemed to make good, in ſome meaſure, by its ſucceſs, the former diſaſter, for he returned to Africa, and paſſed three hundred miles beyond Cape Verde. His firſt exploit was the aſſault of a village, the chief of which he ſlew with his own hand, having obſerved him foremoſt in the attack. They betook themſelves to flight as ſoon as their chief diſappeared. It was not poſſible for the Portugueſe to prevent their eſcape, as their nakedneſs made them exceeding ſwift. It was not thought proper to attack them in the ſituation in which they had taken refuge; but upon return to the veſſel, two negro women were met with, who were

carried

carried off. Alvaro Fernandez being deſirous to make ſome farther attempts along the coaſt than had heretofore been done, ſailed forward, until he arrived at the mouth of a river, which is now called Tabite, lying one hundred miles beyond Rio di Nuno, where he was received by five almadias. Nuno Triſtan's accident made him circumſpect upon entering the river, and he carefully avoided putting himſelf in narrow places, when he could prevent it. One of the almadias, the lighteſt of the number, attacked the boat, and diſcharged its arrows againſt Alvaro Fernandez. He would have loſt his life, had it not been for theriaca and other antidotes againſt the poiſonous vegetable, made uſe of by the negroes. In contempt of his wounds, and ſenſible only of the impreſſion of his courage, he ſet out for farther diſcoveries, till he arrived at a ſandy point, where he had an inclination to land, as from its openneſs there was no inference of any concealed danger. But before he quitted the caravella, one hundred and twenty negroes came forward to diſpute his landing, ſhould he attempt it, and ſaluted him with a diſcharge of venomous arrows. As it had been expreſsly recommended by the infante, to all the captains employed in diſcoveries, not to recur to the ſword, as long as there ſhould exiſt any glimmer of hope to bring thoſe people to converſion, by good treatment and accommodation. Alvaro Fernandez ſaw how uſeleſs every conciliatory and friendly ſtep might prove, from the diſpoſition which they witneſſed, he would willingly have taken ſtronger meaſures, had he not, from experience, learned to know the danger there was in attacking thoſe barbarians. Contented, therefore, with the addition he had made to the preceding diſcoveries, he returned home. Don Henry, and the infante don Pedro, then regent, equally beſtowed much honour and diſtinction upon him: and they each made him a gift of an hundred gold ducats.

Theſe well-timed favours were calculated to keep up a ſpirit of diſcovery among the people who had ſuffered a great check by the late accident to Nuno Triſtan. They were ſo effectual, that twelve caravellas were fitted out the ſame year, to which were appointed captains, Gillianes, a knight and inhabitant of Lagos; Ferrante Valarino, an expert man in arms, and known for his atchievements before Ceuta; Refano Alfonſo, Lorenzo Diaz, and John Bernardo, all men of reputed abilities, and ſervants about the infante's perſon: to thoſe caravellas were joined one belonging to the biſhop of Algarves, and three others belonging to the community of Lagos. They ſet off in conjunction for Madeira. We here they were to take in ſome proviſions, and to join two more caravellas, the one belonging to Triſtan Vaz, governor of Macheco, and the other the property of Garcia, the ſon-in-law to John Gonzalez, governor of Funchal. From this iſland they went to Gomera, to conduct the above-mentioned Canarians, which John of Caſtile, with other captains, had made priſoners, and who had made this expedition by order of the infante, with great alacrity, as he had beſtowed great favours on them. With the aſſiſtance of thoſe priſoners, the Portugueſe wanted to make an incurſion upon the iſland of Palma, but they were fruſtrated in the event by the attention which the inhabitants paid to their motions. Upon this, the caravella of Madeira ſailed to Portugal, having come only with a deſign upon Palma, and the remaining made their way to Cape Verde. Whenever they happened to engage with the negroes, it was generally to diſadvantage, on account of the inconvenience of the toil, and of the trees. They loſt in one encounter five men, who fell by the poiſoned arrows of the enemy; they alſo loſt upon a ſand bank, the caravella of the biſhop of Algarves. As they had found by experience to ſucceed better with the Moors

than with theſe ſavages. They returned to Arguim, and took from a village near Cape Riſcate, forty-ſix people. On their return home, Steffano Afonſo took the courſe to Palma, where they made prize of two women, which had like to have coſt the lives of all the people on the expedition, had it not been for the valour of Diego Gonzalez, who, upon ſeeing a man with a croſs bow which he had, wrenched it from his hand, and uſed it with ſuch a dexterity, as to kill ſeven Canarians; among which was the king himſelf, who wore, as a badge of his ſovereignty, a palm twig in one hand, inſtead of a ſcepter. To this incident may be attributed the whole ſucceſs of our adventurers, as the enemy took to their heels as ſoon as they had ſeen their king fall. The ſhips arrived ſafe at Portugal.

A. D. 1447. This year it happened that there came a Portugueſe ſhip through the Streights of Gibraltar; and being taken by a great tempeſt, was forced to run weſtward, more than willingly the men would; and at laſt they fell upon an iſland that had ſeven cities, and the people ſpake the Portugueſe; they demanded, if the Moors did not trouble Spain, whence they fled for the loſs which they had received by the death of the king of Spain, don Roderigo. The boatſwain of the ſhip brought home a little ſand and ſold to the goldſmiths of Liſbon, out of which they had a good quantity of gold. Don Pedro underſtanding this, being the governor of the realm, cauſed all the things thus brought home and made known, to be recorded in the houſe of Spain. There are many who think that the iſlands whereunto the Portugueſe went, were the Antilles, or New Spain.——This extract is taken from Galvam's diſcoveries, and reſts ſolely on his credit, as it is not to be found in any other of the Portugueſe authors we have conſulted. It may here be proper to obſerve, that the reaſon why we have not mentioned Galvam among the authors from which we draw our information is, that almoſt the whole of his book is compoſed of extracts from other writers, and thoſe very ſhort and unſatisfactory.

A. D. 1448. It has been before obſerved, that the Moors on the Rio d'Ouro had given ſea wolves ſkins to Gomez Perez, promiſing to exchange with him in gold and ſlaves if he ſhould return. As the time fixed for the accompliſhment of this negociation was now arriving, the infante ordered two caravellas to be equipped, which, when they arrived at the river, found that the engagements of thoſe barbarians were kept with little faith; for inſtead of offering peace and the agreed exchange, they prepared only ſnares and treaſons. When Gomez Perez perceived theſe treacherous deſigns, he reſented it highly, and in revenge, made eighty of them priſoners, with which he returned to Portugal the ſame year in which he had left it.

The next year the infante ſent Diego Gil, a man of great knowledge, to treat with the Moors of Mezza, lying thirty-ſix miles beyond Cape Gue, and eighteen leagues on this ſide Cape Non, which not long ago had been the terror of the moſt experienced navigators. This expedition was reſolved upon, on account of the warlike character of the Moors of Rio d'Ouro, and the indubitable information they got of the inclination the Moors of Mezza had for pacification and commerce with the Europeans. In order the better to facilitate this deſirable intercourſe, ſome Moors of Mezza was on board, who promiſed large ranſoms of negroes for their perſons. With this captain, went Juan Fernandez, the ſame who had remained aſhore among the Moors of Arguim, on a former voyage. Diego afterwards having by his means exchanged fifty negroes for eighteen Moors, was driven by a ſtorm from the coaſt, and conſtrained

ſtrained to go away, leaving Juan Fernandez aſhore. He brought back with him a lion, which the infante gave as a preſent to an Engliſhman, who was one of his ſervants, and his boſom friend, then living in Galvue. The fame of theſe expeditions and diſcoveries having ſpread itſelf all over Europe, a gentleman, named Ballarte, then at the court of the king of Denmark, grew deſirous likewiſe to ſee new regions, and for this purpoſe went with his king's permiſſion, to make an offer of his ſervices to the infante, don Henry, who ſeconded his wiſhes in arming a veſſel; to him was aſſociated Ferante d'Afonſo, a knight of the order of Chriſt, a ſtep which was continued to reflect honour upon them. The infante veſted him with the dignity of ambaſſador to the king of Cape Verde, and ſent two negroes with him, who were to ſerve as interpreters, and as a medium to convert thoſe infidels to the true faith. Ballarte having been anxious to ſee the coaſt already diſcovered, and inhabited by Moors and negroes, aſked Ferante d'Afonſo, to make their voyage along the ſhore; for this reaſon, and alſo in part for the contrary winds which they had to combat from the day of their ſailing, ſix months were ſpent before they arrived only at Cape Verde. The negroes, who had now grown ſomewhat familiar with the ſight of our veſſels, aſſiduouſly watched them; and as ſoon as they had a ſight of this caravella, they embarked in their almadias with intent to deſtroy it. But when they underſtood of the interpreters the real cauſe for the expedition, and that they conveyed an ambaſſador with preſents to their king, they ſtood quiet for a certain time in compliance with the propoſal, from thence they went to make report to the governor, as the king was then taken up with an inland war, about eight days journey from the ſhore. Upon this notice, the governor, who was named Farrin, went without delay in perſon to the ſea, accompanied with a conſiderable retinue. Ferante d'Afonſo, and Ballarte, gave and received hoſtages till ſuch time as the king might be informed of the arrival of the caravella. The governor put into our hands a nobleman of the firſt rank in the country, and our chiefs gave them one of the interpreters, and they immediately began to barter. Among the articles which the Portugueſe received, were elephants teeth, which ſo much ſurpriſed Ballarte, that he was inflamed with the deſire of having an elephant alive; or at leaſt, if that was impoſſible, to bring him the ſkin or bones of one, and he was ready to give any price for it. Upon this, the negroes pledged themſelves to let him have ſight of one in a convenient place. Three days paſſed, when they returned to Ballarte with the notice, that they could now gratify his curioſity. Ballarte entruſted himſelf in the boat with ſome mariners, and was going to put foot aſhore, when a negro, in ſending a flagon of palm wine to one of our ſailors, bent his foot with ſuch preſſure upon the ſide of the boat, that the ſailor was overſet in the water. He ſunk, and could not be found, being concealed under the mud; and in the effort which every one made to ſave him, the conduct of the boat was fatally neglected. Here the negroes perceiving that no aſſiſtance could be expected from the caravella, ruſhed upon them with their arms; and if we except a ſingle one who was indebted for his eſcape to his ſkill in ſwimming, it was the reporter of the event; the others were all killed. He related, that having looked back in ſwimming, he could ſee Ballarte fighting in the prow with the intrepidity of a warrior, who too early loſt a life which might have been diſtinguiſhed with glorious actions, upon a remote coaſt, whither a ſtrong hope of exploits had allured him from almoſt an oppoſite extremity of the globe. His loſs, and that of his companions, made a deep impreſſion upon the remaining crew, by whom he was held in general eſteem; and Ferante d'Afonſo made his way again to Portugal, leaving the

the negroes upon the ſame footing as they ſtood before, that is, without having cloſed any bond of amity or intercourſe with them; for the loſs of the boat rendered any deſcent impoſſible, and this perfidious action did not permit the barbarians to approach any more with their almadias—they therefore returned.

This year king Afonſo came to his majority, being ſixteen years old; he ſent out ſhips for diſcoveries, and the infante alſo continued to fit out veſſels. Afonſo, on the ſecond of September, paſſed a grant to don Henry, that no other perſon ſhould make diſcoveries beyond Cape Bojador; and that he ſhould receive a fifth of the benefits ariſing therefrom, which ſhould continue to him during life.

A. D. 1449. The next year he granted liberty to the infante to ſettle the iſlands of the Azores, which had been diſcovered, and to which he had before ſent ſome cattle.

CHAPTER VI.

Firſt Voyage of Alviſe da Cada Moſto. Introductory Diſcourſe of Ramuſio. Cada Moſto's Preface. Sails to Madeira and to the Canaries; thence to Cape Blanco, to Senegal, and to Cape Verde. Theſe Countries deſcribed.

THERE are two voyages of Cada Moſto, both to be found in the collections of Ramuſio and Grynœus: one to the river Senega, or Sanaga-Gambia and Rio Grande; the other to the coaſt of Africa and the Cape de Verde iſlands. They were written originally in Italian, from which the following tranſlation is taken. They are preceded by a diſcourſe, written by Ramuſio; from which, as it contains much information, we ſhall give extracts.

The voyages of Cada Moſto are remarkable for being the oldeſt extant (except Alcaforado's) relating to the voyages of the Portugueſe. The accounts we have of the prior voyages being only extracts from hiſtorians, and not written by the navigators themſelves. Theſe voyages are penned with ſpirit; the author was a judicious perſon, and, excepting ſome few particulars, in which he was impoſed on by the merchants of Africa, they are as entertaining and curious as moſt that have been written ſince. With reſpect to the kingdom of Tombuto, and its branches, his account is far ſuperior to any late voyages.

DISCOURSE *on the Book of* ALVISE *or* LEWIS DA CADA MOSTO, *a Venetian Gentleman.*

A. D. 1455. Theſe are the navigations of the noble Alviſe Da Cada Moſto, by order of don Juan, king of Portugal, made in 1455 along the coaſts of Lower Ethiopia, on the Atlantic ocean. He was the firſt man who diſcovered the iſlands of Cape Verde*, and penetrated as far as Rio Grande, eleven degrees and half on this ſide the equinoctial line, and afterwards wrote a ſummary account of the navigation of captain Peter di Sintra, a Portugueſe, who went as far as

* The Portugueſe hiſtorians aſcribe this honour to Denis Fernandez, a countryman of their own, twelve years before. See page 21.

the

the ſixth degree north of the line, where there is the wood of Santa Maria, which deſervedly claims the attention of the learned, as they may be convinced from it, that in oppoſition to the conjectures of the ancients, who imagined that theſe countries were ſcorched by the ſun and inhoſpitable; they are, on the contrary, moſt verdant, delightful, and inhabited by innumerable people.

By the reading of theſe navigations, we may be ſenſible of the facility with which a new way might be opened to the ſaid kingdoms of the negroes by ſea, at once ſhorter, more expeditious, eaſy, convenient, and ſafe; and as at preſent all European nations are allowed to ſail with their veſſels to the iſland of St. Thomas, to take cargoes of ſugar, provided they pay the eſtabliſhed duties to the king of Portugal; and which voyage they perform along the ſaid coaſt, as far as the line, under which the iſland of St. Thomas lies, ſo it ſhould be permitted to every one to navigate to theſe negro kingdoms, equally paying the cuſtoms of their merchandizes; obſerving, that when they arrive at the half way, namely, at the iſland of St. Jago, which lies fifteen degrees this ſide the line, they ſhould ſtop ſhort, and direct their new courſe towards the coaſt of Ethiopia to the river Senegal, or Rio Grande, both which are arms of the Niger, falling into the ſea, and ſhould ſend to contract with the kings of Tombut or Melli, for permiſſion to come with their ſhips and merchandizes in the ſaid kingdoms; and there is no doubt but they would receive a moſt favourable and flattering reception, and that all their wiſhes would be complied with, it being undeniable that theſe people are extremely civil, and ambitious of European commodities, as appears by the book of Giovannis Leoni. Nor would even the merchants, attempting ſuch a voyage, run the danger of falling into the hands of the pirates, nor ſo many hazard, in their approach to the tropic of Cancer, as others incur in the Mediterranean. Not to mention the facility and conveniency of tranſporting all kinds of merchandiſes up the ſaid river Niger, which is as vaſt as the Nile, and can be navigated 500 miles and upwards, to its ſource, and which is bordered with towns and kingdoms: nor to reflect on the immenſe profit that might accrue to them from the traffic of ſalt, which is ſo ſcarce, and ſo valued among them. It would be eaſy to load veſſels in one of the iſlands of Cape Verde, called Iſle of Sal, or Salt Iſland, from its being ſo extremely productive of this commodity. We may infer from thence, the great number of merchants that would come together, attracted by the emoluments of this trade, which cannot be compared, either in time, expences, or riſk, to that of the Eaſt Indies. Beſides the maſs of gold, what a number of negroes might they not draw in exchange for their merchandiſes, which they might carry to the iſland of St. Jago at Cape Verde, and immediately bring them to market there, to be ſold for the Weſt Indies? After all, we ſhould be tempted to believe, that the kings of Portugal, too well acquainted with the poſſibility of thoſe plans, have oppoſed them from motives of intereſt, which, as it would not become us to inveſtigate, ſo it might alſo be deemed ill adviſed to enlarge on the many other advantages and commodities which we might draw from that part of Ethiopia, which is ſituated between the tropic of Cancer, and the equinoctial line, running in the ſame parallels of latitude with the Eaſt Indies.

INTRODUCTION *of the noble* MESSIRE ALVISE DE CADA MOSTO.

I Alviſe da Cada Moſto, having been the firſt of the illuſtrious city of Venice, that attempted to navigate the ocean, without the Streight of Gibraltar, towards the ſouthern

ſouthern parts of Negroland, of Lower Ethiopia: and as I have ſeen, in this voyage, many novelties and intereſting things, I thought them worthy the trouble of recording; and I am going to relate them, that poſterity may ſee the motives by which I have been actuated in the ſearch of new regions, which might truly be called another world, if compared with ours: and if I ſhould fail relating them in the requiſite ſtyle, at leaſt, I ſhall make it my buſineſs to preſent them in their true light, and to relate them ſimply, rather than hyperbolically to ſwell the narrative. I muſt then notice, that the man who has firſt explored the ſouthern ocean, to Lower Ethiopia, was the infante don Henry of Portugal, ſon of don John, the firſt of this name, king of Portugal and Algarves, who, although he obtained the higheſt applauſe for his proficiency in aſtronomy and aſtrology, I ſhall paſs over this in ſilence. I muſt only mention, that being of an elevated and noble mind, and endowed with a vaſt ingenuity, he addicted himſelf to the military profeſſion, under Chriſt's ſtandard, in the war with the barbarians, and to fight in the defence of the faith. He would never marry, and has carefully preſerved the innocence of his youth. He greatly ſignalized himſelf in different engagements with the Moors, and atchieved actions that deſerve the higheſt commendation. When his father was near his death, which happened in 1433, he called his ſaid ſon Henry, in whoſe virtue he placed the ſtrongeſt confidence; affectionately recommended to him all the Portugueſe cavaliers, entreating and exhorting him to perſiſt in his pious and laudable reſolution, to proſecute, with all his power, the enemies of the faith of Chriſt. The infante promiſed to fulfil his deſire.

After the death of his father, he, with the approbation and aſſiſtance of his elder brother, king Duarte, effectually carried war into the kingdom of Fez, which during ſeveral years having been crowned with the happieſt ſucceſs, he continued by all imaginary means to diſtreſs the ſaid kingdom; he alſo ſent his caravellas to cruize along the coaſt of Azafi, and Meſſa, which are alſo a part of the kingdom of Fez, and which lie along the ocean without the Streights of Gibraltar. He uſed to ſend them out every year, and it proved very deſtructive to the barbarians. By this means, making them every year advance farther, he brought them as far as the promontory called the cape Non, which name it has retained to this day; and this cape was looked upon as the limits, beyond which, if any one happened to paſs, he was no more heard of. This opinion was ſo prevalent, that theſe caravellas went only to this part, without venturing to attempt paſſing it. The prince, deſirous that attempts ſhould be made, ordered the enſuing year that they ſhould purſue a farther courſe beyond the cape, under the protection, and with the aſſiſtance of God. The reputation in which the Portugueſe navigators ſtood at that time, and the abundance of every kind of proviſions he furniſhed his caravellas with, made him believe that they would find no obſtacles. Deſirous as he was to make new diſcoveries, and to find out nations that might aſſiſt him in his deſign againſt the Moors; he equipped three caravellas, and ordered them to be ſupplied with neceſſaries, and having ſtored them with ſkilful and expert men, they arrived at, and paſſed Cape Non, navigating along the coaſt by day, and landing by night. Having advanced about a hundred miles beyond Cape Non, and not meeting with any nation or inhabitants, but merely with a ſandy and unfruitful ſoil, they returned back. Henry hearing that they had not ſucceeded in their purſuits, ſent them the next year with freſh orders to paſs one hundred and fifty miles farther than they had done the preceding year, and ſtill farther if practicable; and promiſed that he would make the fortunes of them all. They ſailed, but having proved

equally

equally unfortunate in this purſuit, they returned. Henry was well acquainted with geography, and by that knowledge he was convinced, that by repeating the attempts, they muſt at laſt make diſcoveries. The attempts were repeated ſo often by his orders, that they at laſt came to ſome parts inhabited by the Arabians, who live in thoſe wilderneſſes, and in a part ſtill more interior of the continent, of a generation which is called Azanaghi, who are tawny men, of whom we ſhall ſpeak with ſome detail afterwards. In this manner were the lands of the firſt negroes diſcovered, where they from time to time obtained information of other generations, of different languages, manners, and faith, as in the progreſs of this book may be ſeen.

FIRST VOYAGE.

I Alviſe da Cada Moſto, being in our city of Venice, in the year of our Lord 1454, about twenty-two years of age, and having already navigated different parts of the Mediterranean, reſolved to return to Flanders, where I had formerly been with a view of profit; for my whole attention was taken up to acquire wealth firſt, and afterwards fame. Having then deliberated about my departure, as I have hinted, taking along with me what I could get in money, I went on board one of our gallies for Flanders, and departed on the eighth of Auguſt. We had a proſperous voyage, putting in at the uſual places, till we came to the coaſt of Spain. Having been detained by contrary winds at Cape St. Vincent, as it is called, we were accidentally informed, that at a ſmall diſtance from thence, the ſaid infante don Henry was then reſiding, which he had ſelected for his abode, as it was a retired place, and therefore well fitted for ſtudy and contemplation. Having heard of our arrival, he diſpatched a ſecretary, named Antonio Gonzalez, and along with him a patrician of Conti, who was ſaid to be a Venetian, and the conſul for Venice, in the kingdom of Portugal, as he indeed convinced us, by a letter he produced, with the ſeal of the republic on it; which patrician was alſo charged on the part of the ſaid don Henry with ſome commiſſions for us. They viſited us in our veſſels, exhibiting ſome patterns of ſugar from the iſland of Madeira; beſides dragon's blood, and other curioſities, that had been brought from theſe new-diſcovered countries, which having been laid before ſeveral perſons in my preſence, and they having inquired of the people of our galley of many things, at laſt gave us to underſtand, that the above-mentioned prince had ſent colonies to thoſe iſlands, which had never before been inhabited; as a proof of which, they ſhewed us the above-mentioned rarities, and ſeveral uſeful articles; and that this could not be compared with other greater things, prince Henry was every day bringing about. They added, he had declared to them, that a certain time ſince, he had ſent out veſſels to croſs ſeas which had never been navigated before: that new lands and generations had been diſcovered, with marvellous productions among them, and that thoſe who had ſet foot into them had amaſſed rapid gains among theſe nations, often bringing one penny to produce ſeven, or even ten. In one word, they ſo much extolled to us thoſe things, that I was quite amazed, and inſtantly inflamed with the deſire of ſeeking the like adventure; aſking, whether the above lord ſet it free to every one to make ſuch voyages. They anſwered in the affirmative, obſerving however, under one of theſe two conditions, that either the adventurer ſhould equip the caravella at his own expence, and ſtore it with merchandizes, and then he

would pay the fourth part of his acquiſition, as a cuſtom to the prince; or, that the prince ſhould equip the veſſel himſelf, and on return he would ſhare the half of the goods brought from theſe countries; and in caſe of ill ſucceſs, the whole loſs to fall on the adventurer. But that it was unexampled that a perſon had returned without profit; and that if there was any one among us, of our nation, who ſhould be diſpoſed to preſent himſelf, he would meet with a particular regard and patronage on the part of the prince; that he would be highly gratified, as he preſumed thoſe countries were fertile in ſpices, of which he knew the Venetians were the beſt judges of all nations. When I heard this, I reſolved to go with the above-mentioned gentleman, to preſent myſelf to the prince, and I was ſoon admitted to his preſence. He ſhortly confirmed all they had related, with ſtill more panegyrics on thoſe countries: he promiſed that he would not be wanting in beſtowing on me marks of diſtinction and attention to my intereſt, if I ſhould make the trial.

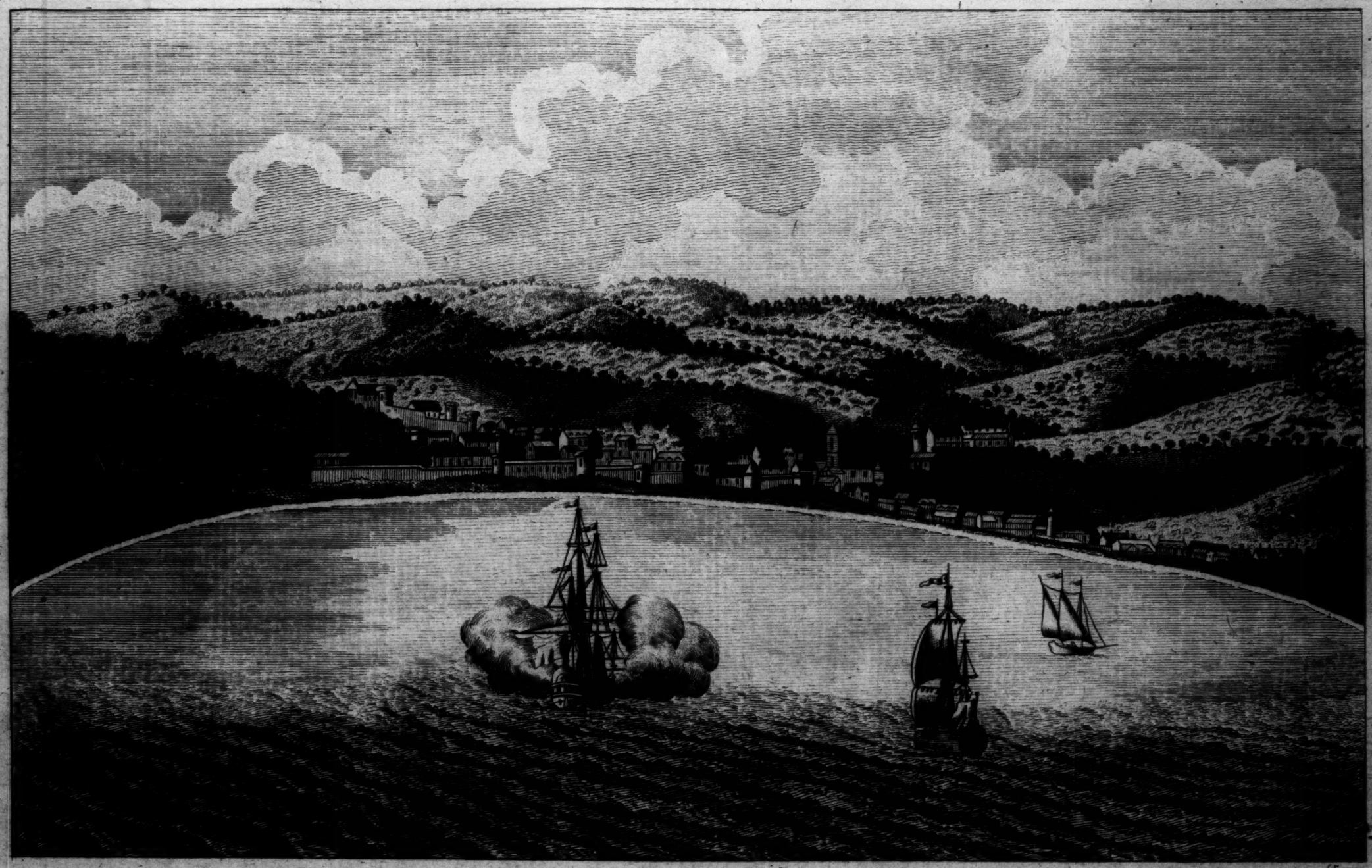
Fully encouraged by this, conſidering my age and capacity to ſupport fatigue, and ſtimulated moreover with the curioſity to ſee countries, to which no one of our nation had ever reached; and ſtill allured by the flattering promiſes of honour and advantage, I determined to haſten my departure. I took information of the different merchandizes and articles that could beſt turn to account. I returned to the galley, and having intruſted, to a relation of mine, all the things I had been commiſſioned with, I purchaſed on board the ſame gallies all I could think neceſſary for my voyage, returned aſhore, and the gallies continued their voyage to Flanders.

Having remained at Cape St. Vincent, prince Henry teſtified a peculiar ſatisfaction at my reſolution, and loaded me with unabated careſſes. After ſome time, he ordered a veſſel of about ninety tons to be equipped for me; the proprietor of which was one Vincent, a native of Lagos, about ſixteen miles diſtant from Cape St. Vincent. Having ſupplied it with all neceſſaries, we ſailed under the auſpices of the Almighty, and left the ſaid Cape St. Vincent, full of hopes, on the 22d of March, 1456, with wind N. E. and by N. directing our courſe towards Madeira; and on the fourth of March ſtood to W. S. W. The twenty-fifth of the ſame month we touched at the iſland Porto Santo, about noon, which lies at a diſtance of about one hundred and fifty miles from Cape St. Vincent.

The iſland of Porto Santo is very ſmall, about fifteen miles in circumference, and had been diſcovered about twenty-ſeven years before by the caravellas of prince Henry. As it was not inhabited before he ſent ſome of his nation thither. The governor was a Portugueſe, named Bartholomew Pereſtello, one of the prince's dependants. This iſland produces corn and barley enough for its own conſumption, and abounds in oxen, wild boars, hogs, and an infinity of rabbits. Dragon's blood is alſo one of the productions of this iſland; it flows from certain trees, and is a kind of gum, which is extracted in the following manner: They make inciſions in the tree with an axe, and at a certain ſeaſon the following year, the gum runs through theſe openings: they boil and cleanſe it, by which proceſs it is converted into blood. The ſame tree yields alſo a kind of fruit, like to our cherries, but yellow, which grows ripe in March, and is of a moſt exquiſite taſte. There are alſo, round this iſland, copious fiſheries of gurnets, and other kinds of good fiſh. There is no port in this iſland, but it has an excellent road, ſheltered from all winds, except the S. W. and S. E. with theſe the ſafety muſt be very precarious. Be it as it may, the anchorage

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View of the Town *and* Road *of* FONCHAL, *the Capital of* MADERA.

is very good. This island derives its name from its having been discovered by the Portuguese on the day of All Saints. The honey and wax of this country are the best in the world, but not in large quantities.

The same day, March 28, we left Porto Santo, and arrived at Machico, one of the ports of the island of Madeira; it lies only forty miles distance from the former, and they may be seen from each other on a clear day. The island of Madeira has been planted by the said prince; it was found totally uninhabited at its discovery. He appointed two of his cavaliers for governors; the one, Tristan Texeira, who governed that half of the island where Machico lies; the other, whose name was Juan Gonzalez Zarco, held the other half, about Funchal. The word Madeira signifies Isle of Woods, as its whole surface has been found covered with the loftiest trees. Those who first settled there were obliged to set them on fire, which communicated from one to another, and lasted for a considerable time, (as before-mentioned). It raged with such fury, that, if I should credit report, the above-mentioned Juan Gonzalez, who dwelled there, was obliged, with his whole family, to plunge into the sea, where they remained, for two days and two nights, without any sustenance, up to their necks in water. This was the only means for their safety, as they would otherwise have fallen a prey to the flames. A great part of those woods having been thereby consumed, the soil became fit for cultivation. This island is chiefly inhabited on four sides; the first is called Machico, the second Santa Cruz, the third Funchal, the fourth the Camera de Lobos. There are still some other inhabited parts in this country, but those are the principal ones, and they may contain about eight hundred men, of which one hundred are horsemen. The island is one hundred and forty miles in circumference; it boasts of no port, but its roads are safe, and the country is extremely fruitful and rich; and notwithstanding its being mountainous, like Alicia, it produces every thing, and yields annually, on an average, thirty thousand Venetian staras* of corn. The lands rendered at first sixty for one, but they have fallen to forty, or a moiety of that product, because they are now worked by day labourers. This country has plenty of water from the best springs; it is intersected with eight rivers, of various sizes, along which are dispersed a number of joiners, who are continually working on wood, and preparing tables of every description, with which they supply all Portugal and other countries. They chiefly employ two species of wood for their manufacture; the one is the cedar wood, which emits a sweet smell, is not unlike cypress, and of which they make fine large tables, chests, and other pieces of work. The other kind is called Nasso, which also looks beautiful, and is somewhat like red roses. As this country is supplied with water, the above-mentioned prince also transplanted sugar canes to the island, which have prospered; and, as I hear, they are in great hopes of increasing the quantity, as the soil is quite adapted to this produce, by its warm and temperate climate, and as it is never exposed to cold breezes, like Cyprus and Cilicia. The white sweet meats that are prepared in this country are the most delicious. Honey and wax are also found here, but in small quantities. The wine of this country, especially that which grows about the latter plantation, is excellent. This article is abundant enough to permit of exportation. Among these vines the prince also ordered some malvoisian plants, or twigs, which he had brought from Candia, to be cultivated; they prospered to perfection. The luxuriant quality of the ground also is the cause that

* A Venetian measure.

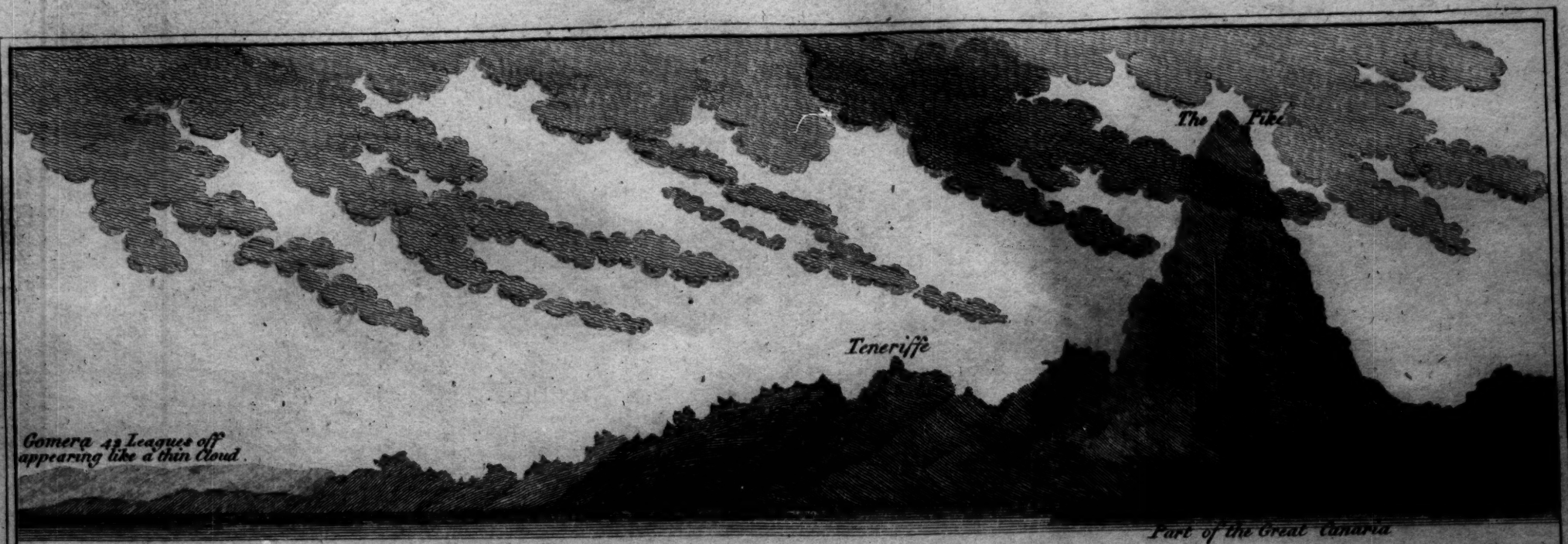
View of the Town and Road of FONCHAL, the Capital of MADEIRA.

the leaves are hardly diſcovered among the multitude of grapes; the bunches are ſtupendous, of two and three ſpans in length; nay, without exaggerating, frequently of four; an aſpect exceedingly delightful. There exiſts alſo a kind of grape, without ſtones, in full perfection, which are likewiſe very dainty. The fineſt and beſt bows of Naſſo are made in this iſland and exported, and alſo the fineſt croſs bows. Peacocks are to be found in this iſland, (among which there are ſome white ones) and partridges alſo. I do not believe there is any other ſpecies of game, except quails, and plenty of wild boars in the mountains. I have been told by creditable perſons, that in the beginning this iſland had been overſtocked with pigeons, and they have not yet totally diſappeared. When they went out to catch them, they took ſpringes with them, with which they caught the pigeon round the neck, and drew it down without the leaſt reſiſtance; undoubtedly, becauſe of their being unacquainted with man, and unuſed to the emotion of fear. This ſeems the more probable, as I have heard that the like has happened in an iſland but lately diſcovered. There is a great abundance of beaſts for food in this iſland, and the inhabitants may be called opulent, as the whole iſland is but a continuation of gardens, and the productions are the beſt of their kind. There are two convents of Minorites of Obſervantia in this iſland, which are inhabited by men of great ſanctity. Reſpectable perſons have aſſured me, that in conſequence of the extreme mildneſs of the climate, they have ſeen raiſins perfectly ripe in the Holy, or in the Eaſter week.

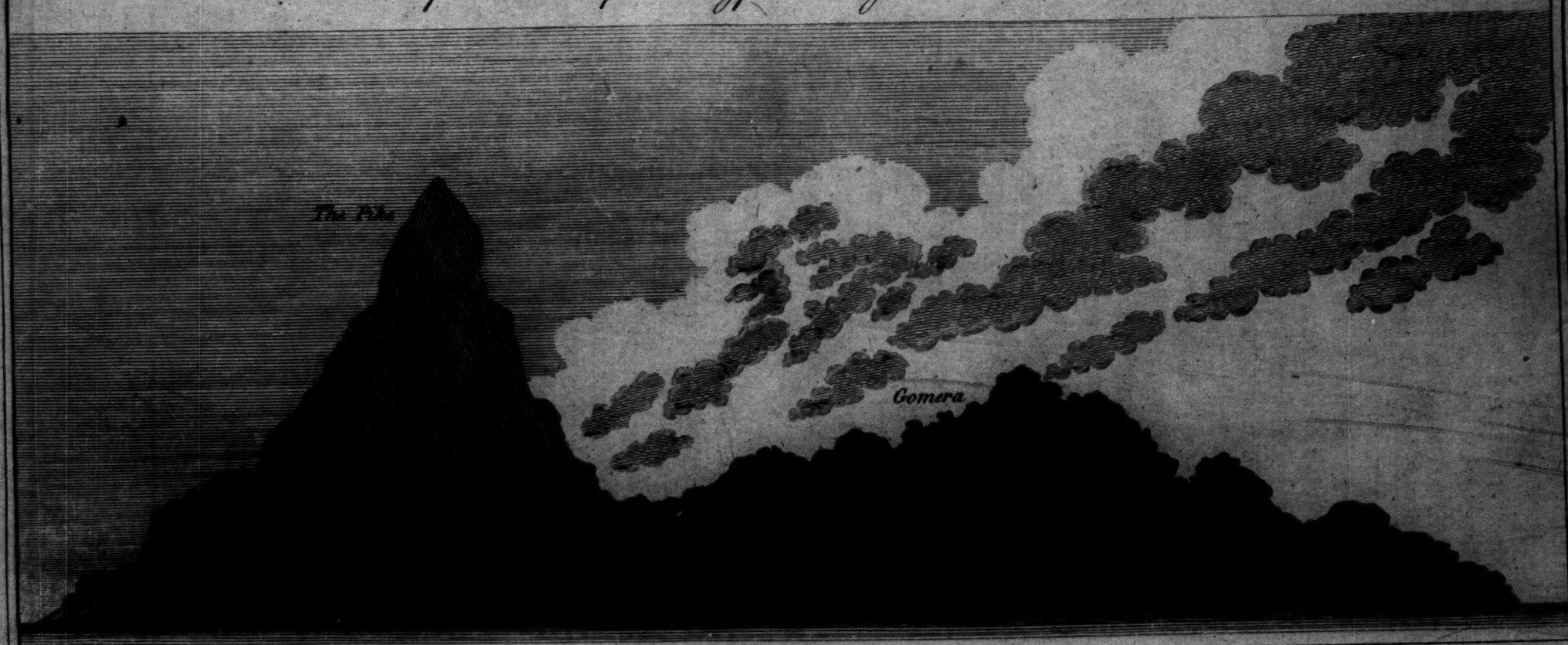
We departed from Madeira, directing our courſe towards the ſouth, and landed at the Canaries, which are about three hundred and twenty miles diſtant from Madeira. Theſe iſlands are ſeven in number; four of them are inhabited by Chriſtians, viz. Lanzarota, Fortaventura, Gomera, and Ferro; the other three, Gran Canaria, Teneriffe, and Palma, profeſs idolatry. The governor of thoſe which are inhabited by Chriſtians, is a gentleman and a knight, native of the city of Seville, named Ferrera, a ſubject of the king of Spain. The principal food of theſe Chriſtians is barley bread; they have alſo plenty of meat and milk, particularly of goats, of which they poſſeſs a great number. They have no wine or wheat of their own growth, only a ſmall portion of fruits, and but few other uſeful productions. This country is overrun with wild aſſes, but the iſland of Ferro above all others. Theſe iſlands are between forty and fifty miles diſtant from one another; they lie all in a cluſter, and the moſt diſtant of them may be ſeen at the ſame time. There is a certain herb called Orchella exported from theſe iſlands, which has the property of dying cloth, of which large quantities are ſhipped for Cadiz and the river of Seville, and from thence is exported both eaſtward and weſtward. Goat ſkins are one of the chief articles of their exportation; they are very thick, but of the beſt kind. They alſo deal in tallow, and make good cheeſe. The inhabitants of the four iſlands, ſubject to the Chriſtians, are native Canarians, and differ in language ſo much, that they can hardly underſtand one another. There are no fortified towns in theſe iſlands; ſome villages are ſurrounded with walls; but in the mountains, (the moſt elevated,) they have ſtrong redoubts and paſſes, which, except by blockades, it would be very difficult to reduce. So much for the four iſlands belonging to the Chriſtians. The other three, inhabited by idolaters, are larger and more populous, particularly Great Canaria, which includes a population of near fifteen thouſand ſouls; and Teneriffe, which is the firſt of them in point of extent, is reputed to contain from fourteen to fifteen thouſand ſouls. Palma falls infinitely ſhort of both, but has the fineſt appearance. Neither of theſe three has

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View of the Pike of Teneriffe, 34 Leagues distant to the North West.



View of the Pike over the West side of Gomera, at 15 Leagues distance.

ever been ſubdued by the Chriſtians, as the fortifications in the inacceſſible mountains, and dangerous well-intrenched poſts have always baffled their efforts. Teneriffe is the moſt populous, and one of the moſt lofty iſlands in the univerſe; it is to be ſeen at an immenſe diſtance in fine weather. Creditable mariners have aſſured me, they had ſeen it, in an open ſea, at the diſtance of between ſixty and ſeventy Spaniſh miles, or near two hundred and fifty Italian*; undoubtedly, becauſe of the height of the mountain, riſing on the middle of the iſland, reflects a light like a diamond, and whoſe top is continually involved in fire. Chriſtians who have been priſoners there aver, that this mountain is fifteen Portugueſe miles high, which is equal to ſixty Italian. There are nine lords, called dukes, in this iſland: they are not lords by natural ſucceſſion, but by the law of the ſtronger. They are frequently at variance with each other, and their wars are always bloody and barbarous. They have no arms, but ſtones, and a kind of club reſembling darts, the point of which is armed with a ſharp horn inſtead of iron. Thoſe points that are not provided with ſuch a horn are hardened by the fire, and they will do the ſame execution as iron. The people are generally uncovered, if we except a few, who put two goat ſkins about them; the one before, and the other behind their bodies. They anoint themſelves with goat's greaſe, mixed with the juice of a certain herb, which ſerves to harden their ſkin, and protect them from the cold; though little intemperature reigns in theſe parts, as they are far ſouth. They have no houſes, either of wood or ſtraw; dwell in caves in the mountains; live upon barley, and the fleſh and milk of goats, of which there is a great quantity in thoſe iſlands; gather ſome fruits, particularly figs; and as the climate is mild, bring in their harveſts as early as in March and April. They have no fixed religion; ſome of them worſhip the ſun, ſome the moon, and others proſtrate themſelves before the ſtars. Their idolatry is rather fantaſtical. Their women are not in common, but every one is allowed as many as he takes a fancy to. They think it a particular honour to preſent them for the firſt night to their lords, and they will never take them virgins, or without previous obſervance of this ceremony.—Theſe details we have from the Chriſtians of the four iſlands adjacent, who often ſend in the night time to theſe iſlands, whence they carry off all they can make themſelves maſters of, men and women, without diſtinction, whom they ſend to Spain to be ſold as ſlaves. But if, by accident, any of the invaders fall into the enemy's hands, they do not put them to death, but condemn them to the killing and ſkinning of goats, and to the preparing their fleſh, which they look upon as the vileſt hardſhip.

Another cuſtom prevails in theſe Canaries, by which, at the acceſs of a lord to his government, ſome ſubject offers to devote himſelf a ſacrifice in honour of the feaſt. They all aſſemble in a certain valley, where, after ſome ceremonies and forms, the ſpontaneous victim, after having uttered ſome words, precipitates himſelf from an eminence into the valley, where he is daſhed to pieces. By this devotement the lord becomes obligated to beſtow the greateſt honours and benefits on the relations of the victim. This horrid and unnatural cuſtom has ſince been ſeverally confirmed by the teſtimony of all the Chriſtians who have been priſoners in thoſe iſlands. Theſe Canarians are dexterous ſwift runners; and by means of the inequality of the ſoil of their iſland, and the many excavations, they become great jumpers from their earlieſt years: they leap from ſtone to ſtone like bucks, and with a ſkill and power that ſtaggers belief. They caſt a ſtone with an accuracy that never miſſes its aim, and with

* This height is greatly exaggerated.

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ſuch a vigour and ſinew as to demoliſh, in a few throws, a ſhield into a thouſand pieces. I recollect that I ſaw myſelf, in Madeira, a Canarian Chriſtian, who offered to give to three men twelve oranges each, and only to take twelve for himſelf, pledging a bet not to miſs a ſingle throw of his oranges againſt them, and that not one of his adverſaries ſhould hit him, except on his hand, in repelling, provided they would conſent to keep a diſtance of nine or ten ſteps. Neither was there found any one who would venture to put a pledge at ſtake, as they were generally convinced that his execution would ſtill be ſuperior to his engagement; ſo that I am inclined to conclude, the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands are at the ſame time the ſwifteſt and moſt dexterous race of any in the known world. Beſides the above ointment, they make uſe of the juice of certain herbs, of green, red, or yellow colours, to paint themſelves with, both men and females; and they take them to be as ornamental, as we do our cloathing. I have ſeen two of theſe Canarian iſlands, that of Gomera, and that of Ferro, in which the inhabitants are Chriſtians. We alſo anchored at Palmas, of which I ſhould have wiſhed to take a view, had not the urgent proſecution of our voyage hindered me from landing.

We departed from this iſland, ſteering always in a ſouthern direction towards Ethiopia; we arrived in a few days at Cape Blanco, diſtant about eight hundred and ſeventy miles from the iſland Canaria. It ſhould be obſerved, that in leaving thoſe iſlands to arrive at this cape, the coaſt of Africa muſt be faithfully kept to, which projects on the left into the ſea, in proportion as we advance ſouthwards to Cape Blanco; which coaſt, however, cannot be diſcovered immediately, as the Canaries lie in the open ſea, and remarkably weſtwards, and one more diſtant than the other from the continent. For this reaſon a veſſel will be neceſſitated to ſteer without any ſight of land for about two-thirds of its voyage from the iſlands to Cape Blanco, when it muſt be careful to ſteer to the left, in order to approach the coaſt, as it might otherwiſe paſs the ſaid cape without noticing it. Beyond this cape there is no land for a great way, as it is narrowly contracted, and an arm forming on one ſide a vaſt gulph, called the bay of Arguim, which name it derives from a ſmall iſland that is ſituated in the middle of the gulph, and to which this appellation has been given by the inhabitants. This gulph enters fifty miles within the continent, and contains three other iſlands beſides, which have been named by the Portugueſe. The one is Blanco, from its being covered with whitiſh ſand; and the iſland of the Garcas, by reaſon of the Portugueſe having found in them ſo many eggs of that ſpecies of birds, that they loaded two boats belonging to their caravellas with them: the third is the iſland of Cuori. They are all ſmall, ſandy, and uninhabited; that of Arguim has ſome ſprings of peculiarly ſweet water, but the others are deſtitute of this advantage.

We muſt obſerve, that from the ſtreight of Gibraltar, coaſting to the left hand the weſtern part of Barbary towards Ethiopia, we find it no farther inhabited by the people of the former of theſe countries, than to the cape of Cantin. From this ſpot, down to Cape Blanco, the whole coaſt is but a continuation of a ſandy and arid ſoil, which forms the deſert that lies weſtward to the mountains, ſeparating the eaſtern parts of Barbary, in which Tunis lies, from the coaſt. It goes among the Barbarians by the name of Sara, and borders ſouth on Ethiopia. It is an immenſe deſert, and no leſs than fifty or ſixty days journey for a man on horſe-back to croſs it; the breadth, however, is not every where the ſame. At the weſt it is waſhed by the ocean; and the whole

whole coaſt is white, arid, unfruitful, low, and an uninterrupted plain unto Cape Blanco, which itſelf has been ſo called by its diſcoverers, the Portugueſe, for the white and ſandy proſpect it affords; as no veſtige of any herb or tree could be met with there. It is a noble promontory, conſiſting of a triangle, whoſe points are each diſtant one mile from the other.

From one end of this coaſt to the other, a great variety of fiſh may be found, both as to ſize and exquiſiteneſs of taſte; moſtly of the ſame ſpecies as we ſee in Venice. The gulph of Arguim has but little draught of water, and there is a multiplicity of banks, either of ſand or ſtones. It is ſubject to tides, and may not ſafely be navigated but in day time, nor without the lead in hand, and the ſtricteſt attention to the tides. Two veſſels have already been wrecked on thoſe banks: this Cape Cantin lies N.E. of Cape Blanco.

Beyond Cape Blanco is a place called Hoden, which lies at about a ſix-day's journey on a camel, in the interior parts of the continent. This place is not walled, it is the rendezvous of the caravans, that come from Tombut, and various diſtricts of the negroes, and traffic to Barbary. The chief food of its inhabitants are dates and barley, of which they have plenty, though the growth of theſe fruits extends but to a few diſtricts. They have no wine, but drink the milk of their camels and other beaſts. They keep ſome cows and goats, but the aridity of the ſoil makes them rare, and adulterates the ſpecies. They profeſs Mahometaniſm, and bear a mortal hatred to the Chriſtians. They have no permanent place, and are continually wandering in thoſe wilderneſſes; they are very numerous. They keep up a ſtrong intercourſe both with negroes and the inhabitants of Barbary: they maintain a multitude of camels, which ſerve them to tranſport ſilver and copper from Barbary to Tombut and Negroland; and *vice verſa*, to bring gold and honey in return. The people, as to their colour, are tawny, and throw a white cloak over their bodies, with a red bandage on their heads. They ſubject their women to the ſame dreſs, who make no uſe of ſhifts, but cover their head with a handkerchief, after the Mooriſh cuſtom, and walk always barefoot. In theſe wilderneſſes are many inſects, with lions, leopards, and oſtriches. I have eaten many eggs of the latter, and have found them very palatable.

Don Henry has given an excluſive grant for ten years to a company, by which all others are forbidden to traffic with thoſe Arabians who are not included in the ſame grant, and who alone are entitled to keep their houſes and factors in this iſland, whoſe province it is to tranſact with the Arabians, that reſort to the coaſt, for ſelling and purchaſing, with whom they are to deal in woollen cloths, linen cloth, ſilver, archizeli, or frocks, and in other goods, and eſpecially in corn, as they are particularly in want of this article; for which they are to take in exchange ſlaves, (which the Arabians collect in different parts of Negroland), and gold duſt. To eſtabliſh this commerce on a firm baſis, the ſaid infante conſtructed a caſtle in the above iſland, to which the Portugueſe caravellas reſort regularly every year. The Arabians purchaſe a quantity of horſes in Barbary, which they conduct to Negroland, where they frequently exchange them with the lords, ten and fifteen heads of negroes for each horſe, according to its quality. They alſo ſupply them with Mooriſh ſilks, which are manufactured at Grenada, and at Tunis in Barbary, and with many other commodities. In return, they carry away many negroes, and what they can get in gold. Hoden is generally their market with reſpect to the ſlaves. There they ſeparate and conduct them, partly over mount Barca to Sicily, and partly by way of Tunis,

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along the coaſt of Barbary; others are brought to Arguim, where they ſell them to the privileged company, whence they are annually tranſported to Portugal, to the number of ſeven or eight hundred; whereas, before the regulation of this branch of commerce, the Portugueſe caravellas came (four or more in number) landed by night, ſurpriſed and attacked the villages of fiſhers within their reach, and penetrated ſometimes in the inland, carrying off all that fell in their way, without diſcrimination of ſex, and conducted them to Portugal for ſale; as they did alſo on the reſt of the coaſt as far as Cape Blanco on one ſide, and Senegal on the other, which is a great river, and divides a tribe called Azanaghi from the firſt empire of the negroes. Theſe Azanaghi are of a deep brown colour, and are in poſſeſſion of ſeveral places along that coaſt which lies beyond Cape Blanco. They have alſo ſome ſettlements in the more interior parts of the continent, and are bordered on that ſide by the above-mentioned Arabians of Hoden. They live likewiſe upon dates, wheat, and milk of camels; but as they have the advantage of a vicinity to the firſt empire of the negroes, they draw millet and ſome vegetables from them, ſuch as beans, which are their ſtaff of life. They are not voracious men; they eaſily ſupport hunger, and a baſon of barley-meal, made into a haſty pudding, will maintain them for the whole day in vigour. This might perhaps be aſcribed to their uſual penury, and their being trained up in want and ſcarcity. Theſe people were among the numbers of thoſe who were carried off and ſold by the Portugueſe; and they were reputed the beſt ſlaves of any other claſs of negroes: but now this violence has been put a ſtop to by order of don Henry; and it is his earneſt deſire that they ſhould be treated with becoming humanity, as he hopes mild proceedings might induce them to embrace our faith, as they were ſtill infants in Mahometaniſm, and had no eſtabliſhed miniſters of that worſhip among them. Theſe Azanaghi have the ſtrange cuſtom of wearing a handkerchief round their heads, one end of which ſerves to cover their mouths and a part of their noſe, alledging, that the mouth was a filthy part, and a channel for belching, and as ſuch, ought to be covered and kept at a diſtance, comparing it to the oppoſite part, with which it was to ſhare the ſame obſcurity. It is a fact that they never uncover it, nor do I recollect ever having obſerved the contrary, except when they were eating. They are not dependent on any lords among them, except that they pay a more diſtinguiſhed reſpect and homage to the opulent among them, than to the vulgar. They are generally very poor; liars; the greateſt thieves by profeſſion, and very treacherous. They are of the common ſize, but lean, and wear their hair curled, flowing about their ſhoulders, in the ſame manner nearly as the Germans: it is all black, and they take care to anoint it every day with fiſh greaſe, which renders them moſt offenſive to the ſmell. This, however, they repute one of their elegancies.

The Portugueſe were the firſt Chriſtians who gained a footing among this nation, and ſubdued them after ſeveral attacks, which they repeated during thirteen or fourteen years. When the negroes firſt ſaw the ſails of veſſels on the ſea, they were of opinion, that they were large birds with white wings, and had flown thither from ſome foreign country; but when their ſails were furled, from the diſtance they ſaw them at, they believed them to be fiſhes. Others ſuppoſed they were ſpectres, and expreſſed great fear of them; probably, becauſe they made their excurſions in the night time, and were ſeen from the coaſt the next day an hundred miles diſtant, ſometimes ſailing forward, at others backward, according to the orders of the commanders

manders of the caravellas, and as the wind permitted. And they ſaid among themſelves, if they were human creatures, how could they make way in one night, which we cannot in three days? As they had no notion of navigation, they unanimouſly determined to take them for ſpectres. I have been aſſured of the reality of this their panic, from Azanaghian ſlaves in Portugal, as well as from the Portugueſe themſelves, who firſt viſited theſe regions with their caravellas; hence we may conclude how they conſidered all our things, when they were ſo ſurpriſed at our bare appearance.

More inwards ſtill, ſix day's journey on the continent from the factory of Hoden, there is a place called Tegazza, which ſignifies a cheſt of gold, where a vaſt quantity of rock ſalt is got. The ſtrongeſt caravans of the Arabians and Azanaghis reſort annually thither from various parts. They firſt bring it to Tombut, thence it is tranſported to Melli, an empire of the negroes, where in leſs than eight days after its arrival, the whole is ſold at the rate of from two to three hundred mitigals the load, according to its burden [a mitigal is valued at about one ducat]; and then rich with gold, they return to their homes. This empire is ſubjected to exceſſive heat, and affords no nouriſhment for cattle; for of one hundred beaſts in a caravan, there will ſcarcely eſcape one-fourth part of them, ſo uncommon and inſupportable is the ſultrineſs of that climate. It is reported that Tombut lies at the diſtance of one hundred and forty days journey on horſeback from Tegazza; and that it requires thirty days to paſs from Tombut to Melli. I enquired of them what the merchants of Melli did with the above-mentioned quantity of ſalt; and was informed that they conſumed but a ſmall part in their country, which, as it lies under the equinoctial line, where day and night are upon a continual parity, the heat was, at certain periods, ſo intenſe, that they ran the riſk of having the blood ſtagnated, was it not for this ſalt, of which they diſſolve a ſmall portion in a doſe of water, which they muſt take the precaution to drink every day, as the only means of preſerving them from deſtruction. As for the reſt of the ſalt, which is ſo ingeniouſly cut out from the mines as to be eaſily carried in one piece during a long journey, it is at firſt brought to Melli on camels in two pieces, hanging one on each ſide of the beaſt; thoſe negroes of Melli break it in more pieces for the better conveniency of carriage. This done, every one takes a piece himſelf, and in this manner they by troops tranſport it to a conſiderable diſtance. They uſually provide themſelves with two forks each, on which, when they want repoſe, they reſt their load, fixing them into the ground. In this manner they carry it to a certain water, which they could not tell me whether it was ſweet or ſalt, whether a river or a ſea. I ſhould prefer the former opinion, as I do not believe they would ſtand in any need of that commodity, if this water ſhould prove a ſea, as ſalt muſt neceſſarily be made of it under the immediate influence of the ſun. They are obliged to perform this laborious office themſelves, as they have no camels or any other beaſts of burden to load, it being impoſſible to maintain any on theſe travels. Hence we may infer, how great the number of theſe unhappy ſufferers may be, and how great, on the other ſide, the annual demand which employs ſo many individuals. When they are arrived at the water-ſide, they make heaps, each of his own property, which he marks, and diſpoſes them in a ſucceſſive row, whereupon the whole caravan retires back for about half a day's journey. Upon that another tribe of negroes make their appearance, who are never ſeen or ſpoken to by ſtrangers; they approach in large boats, which ſeem to row from ſome iſlands, and diſembark to take a view of the ſalt, putting to each heap a certain quantity of gold, whereupon they retire, leav-

ing both the gold and the ſalt behind them. When they have diſappeared, the negroes of the ſalt return to take the conſideration, and if the quantity of the gold ſuffices them, they take it and leave the ſalt; if not, they withdraw a ſecond time, leaving the ſalt and the gold upon the ſpot: on which the others re-appear, carrying off with them ſuch ſalt as had been left without the gold, and augment their former quantity of gold, or abandon the ſalt, according to their pleaſure. In this manner they have carried on their trade for time immemorial, without ſeeing or ſpeaking to each other, in the greateſt harmony. I would not have hazarded this account, were it ſupported by leſs authority than the information of a variety of Arabian merchants, as well as of Azanaghi, and other perſons of the firſt credibility.

Filled with the deſire of having ſome farther notice of this unaccountable ſet of men, I one day told the ſaid merchants that I could not conceive how the emperor of Melli, who was ſo powerful, had not taken ſome mild or forcible meaſures to bring over ſome of thoſe men to acquaint himſelf what kind of people they were who would never let themſelves be ſeen, or ſpeak one word. They informed me, that there had been, not many years ago, an emperor, who determined by all means to have ſome one of them in his hands. Having deliberated upon this project, it was reſolved, that on the firſt retiring of the caravan, ſome perſons ſhould hide themſelves in holes they had dug for the purpoſe, and unawares ruſh upon them when they ſhould have landed for the exchange, make three or four of them captives, and bring them under ſafe guard to Melli. This ſtratagem had its effect; they took four, the others ran away; yet thinking that a ſingle one would as well anſwer the wiſh of their maſter, they diſmiſſed three of them, to diminiſh the conſternation of their fellow countrymen. His capture, however, did not prove ſatisfactory to any of the emperor's intentions. He was ſpoken to in different languages, without even uttering the leaſt ſyllable in anſwer. He abſtained from all nourishment, and died at the end of four days. This circumſtance has induced thoſe negroes to believe that this race was a mute one: others ſuggeſted, that having a human frame, they muſt be endowed with the organs of ſpeech, and that he refuſed it out of mere obſtinacy, ſeeing that he alone of the four had been the victim. His death alarmed all the negroes of Melli, as by that accident the emperor would be fruſtrated in his expectations. When they were returned, they laid the whole account of their adventure before him, and their recital afflicted him conſiderably: then aſking them about their ſtature, they related to him that they were of the deepeſt black, well framed, and above one hand's breadth higher than they themſelves were; and that they had their under lip of an enormous ſize, which hanging down toward their breaſt, was red, and ſomething like blood dropped from it; whilſt the upper lip was no more diſtinguiſhed than their own; through which they diſcovered their gums and their teeth, which they atteſted to be larger than theirs; that they had particularly two large ones in their jaws: that their eyes are large and black, their lip actually ſtained with blood, and the whole figure calculated to frighten at the firſt view. After this attack and carrying away of the negroes, no one of the ſucceſſive emperors have ever repeated a ſimilar attempt, as by the capture and death of this negro they had, during three whole years, carried their ſalt to no purpoſe, as they never found any gold in return. It is to the putrefaction of their lips, and a mortality among that race under a climate ſtill more torrid, that they were indebted for the re-eſtabliſhment of their former intercourſe: for as ſalt was the only medicament they

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knew of for their preſervation againſt the dreary effects of the inclemency of their climate, they were compelled at laſt to conquer that diſtruſt with which their ſuppoſed enemies had inſpired them. Therefore it is the common opinion, that this is the only reaſon for their great demand in ſalt, and from their own ſituation, thoſe of Melli draw their concluſion of this nation *. The preſent emperor gave himſelf little trouble to gain information of their character; gold was his only aim and deſire. This is what I can advance with ſome certainty, if ſuch a multiplicity of teſtimonies afford any, on this ſubject. By the incredible things I have been occular witneſs to in my different adventures on the globe, I am apt to believe the poſſibility of this and many others. As for the gold which is brought from that market to Melli, it paſſes again through three channels abroad. By the firſt it is tranſported, by a caravan, to a place called Cochia, whence it is carried to Cairo, and into Syria. The other two parts are conveyed by a caravan to Tombut. There one part is brought to Toct, and diſtributed to Tunis, and on the coaſt round it; and the laſt paſſes to Hoden, a place mentioned above, and thence to Oran and One; alſo places of Barbary within the ſtreight of Gibraltar, and to Fez, Morocco, Arzila, Azaffi, Mez, and other places of Barbary without that ſtreight. It is from the latter of theſe places the Italians purchaſe it, in exchange for merchandize. It ſhould be obſerved that this is the beſt, if not the only article, we draw from the country of the Azanaghi. As for that part of the gold which comes to Hoden, a quantity of it is carried to the rivers, where it falls to the ſhare of the Portugueſe, who continually reſide in the iſland of Arguim for the conducting of this traffic, which they alſo carry on by way of exchanging.

In this country of the negroes they coin no money, nor do they make any uſe of it, neither is there any ſpecie to be found in the country; but their whole trade conſiſts in exchange, and by that they maintain themſelves. I have heard, however, that there are ſome Arabians in a few places, who make uſe of white ſhells, of the ſmaller kind, which we at Venice import from the Levant, and they pay a number in proportion to the value of the goods in purchaſe. They re-vend their gold, after the cuſtom of Barbary, by the weight of the mitigal, which, as I have hinted, comes up to the value of a ducat, or thereabout. The inhabitants of this deſert have no religion, nor conſtitutional ſovereigns or lords, except thoſe whoſe wealth and attendance conciliates extraordinary reſpect, as in other places. The women of this country are of the ſame colour as the men; and the moſt part of them wear ſome cottons, which they have from the country of the negroes: others deck themſelves with the above-mentioned, by the name of alchezeli, without carrying any ſhift; and that woman among them which has the largeſt breaſts, has the glory of being conſidered the moſt handſome. For this purpoſe, each female, ambitious of this prerogative, when they attain their ſeventeenth or eighteenth year, and their breaſts begin to ſwell, ſubmit themſelves to the operation of having their breaſts tied round with ſtrings, and ſo cloſely drawn, that they almoſt ſever them from the body, and by means of daily efforts of ſtretching and dilation, give them at length ſuch an extenſion as to hang down to the naval. No greater bliſs can arrive to their ſex than ſucceſs in this attempt.

* This account, though deſerving of little credit, appears by the teſtimony of other travellers to have been believed in this country.

The inhabitants maintain ſome horſes, which they ride after the Mooriſh cuſtom. As the country is ſo hot, their number is very ſmall, and for the moſt part they live but a very ſhort time. The greateſt part of this wilderneſs is the more inſufferable, as there is a great ſcarcity of water, which is alſo the cauſe of its ſterility. Except in the months of Auguſt, September, and October, it never rains in this country. To theſe calamities we muſt add that of the flying locuſts, which ſometimes overwhelm this country by ſwarms, and are one finger in length, as I have myſelf ſeen. They are like the graſhoppers of our meadows, with this difference, that they are red and yellow, and appear in ſuch legions in the air, at certain times, as to cover the atmoſphere, and eclipſe the ſun, as far as the eye can reach: for an extent from twelve to ſixteen miles, nothing can be ſeen in both regions for theſe inſects; which it muſt be as diſagreeable to ſee crawling, as their coming is calamitous; for wherever they ſettle, their devaſtation is complete: they never diſlodge from one place until the whole face be altered, and rendered totally undiſtinguiſhable. This the inhabitants juſtly look upon as a ſcourge, and ſhould its return be annual, that country muſt have been yielded to them a long time ago. It is an alleviation that they come only every three or four years. When I paſſed along the coaſt, I ſaw them in ſo prodigious a throng and number, as cannot be conceived or ſcarcely credited.

When we had doubled Cape Blanco we ſteered to the river Senegal, which is the firſt of Negroland on that coaſt. It forms the line of ſeparation of the land of the negroes from that inhabited by the tawny Azanaghis, and of the country mentioned, from a moſt fertile part, which is the property of the negroes of the deſert. This river had been diſcovered by three caravellas of don Henry, but five years before my arrival: they went up it, and ſecured to themſelves the confidence of the negroes ſo far, that they immediately came to a treaty of commerce with them, which has continued to this day. The mouth of this river meaſures one mile in breadth, it is very deep, and is only a branch of the Senegal. The other is a little farther off, and embraces with the former an iſland. Both theſe arms are covered with ſand banks and ſhoals, reaching one mile into the ſea. They are ſubject to the tides, which fall in regularly every ſix hours, when they ebb and flow, as I have been informed by the Portugueſe, who have been with their caravellas up that river, as far as ſixty miles into the heart of the country. It is neceſſary therefore that the courſe of the tide ſhould be ſtrictly attended to, by all thoſe who intend to make their way up that river, as the ſand banks and ſhoals might otherwiſe prove fatal to their ſhips. This river lies three hundred miles off Cape Blanco; and if we except a ſpace of about twenty miles bordering on that river, which is called the coaſt of Anterota, a part of the Azanaghis territory, all the reſt of that whole coaſt preſents only an aſpect of barrenneſs, even a malediction on the ſoil. It might be matter of ſurpriſe, that the other ſide of that river ſhould be covered with trees, vegetation, and every way plentiful; that its inhabitants ſhould be deeply black, tall, corpulent, and well framed, whilſt this ſhore exhibits nothing but ſand, and inhabitants, by their leanneſs, and other corporeal defects, the very reverſe of the former. Some learned hiſtorians have preſumed this river to be only a branch of the Gihon, which takes its origin in the terreſtrian paradiſe: the ancients called it Niger: it waſhes Ethiopia in its whole length, and rolling near the ſea, loſes itſelf in many other branches beſide the Senegal. The Nile, which croſſes Egypt, and mingles with the Mediterranean, is another

ther branch of that Gihon, at leaſt in the opinion of thoſe who have made practical geography their ſtudy*.

That part of the Negroland which lies on this river, is the firſt kingdom of the negroes of Lower Ethiopia, and the nations that inhabit the ſhores thereof are called Jalofs. This coaſt, as well as that hitherto treated of, is remarkably low. The ſame muſt be ſaid of the intermediate coaſt between Senegal and Cape Verde, which, together with a tract of four hundred miles beyond it, is the moſt elevated part of the whole coaſt. If the information I have received is right, the kingdom of Senegal borders on the country of Tuchuſor on its eaſt ſide, on the kingdom of Gambra to the ſouth, and on the ocean on the weſt: on the north it is limitted by the river it receives its name from, which divides the Moors from theſe firſt negroes.

The name of the king, at the time I happened to be in thoſe parts, was Zucholin; he was a young man, of two and twenty years of age. The throne is not hereditary, but there are ſeveral lords in this country, who frequently, upon the occaſion of an election, to ſecure their eſtate, join three and four together, and create, by their intereſt, a king of their liking, provided he be of a noble extraction. This ſcepter is very precarious, as it frequently happens that the kings are dethroned, when they ſeem no longer inclined to flatter their promoters. However, they often ſtrengthen themſelves, and baffle theſe efforts by reſiſtance. The ſtate is nearly as unſettled as that of Caïro under the ſultan, whence the king ſtands in perpetual danger of being dethroned, or put to death. His ſubjects are at the ſame time extremely poor, and he ſeems to have nothing but the title of a king, if we ſhould compare him with the kings of Europe. No walled town is to be met with in this country, nor are their houſes erected upon walls. They are in want of lime and ſtones, and all their dwellings are thatched. This kingdom is not the moſt extenſive, as its bounds on the coaſt is only two hundred miles, and as many within land. The king has no fixed income ariſing from duties or taxes; but the wealthier part of his ſubjects, to ingratiate themſelves with him, annually make him preſents of horſes, which, as the number in that country is extremely ſmall, are the more valuable; accompanying them with harneſs: they alſo offer him beaſts, as cows and goats; vegetables, millet, and the like. Beſide this, he has ſome other branches of revenue, ſuch as the exactions he exerciſes on ſlaves both of his country as well as foreign, which he employs at the ſame time in the cultivation of the lands allotted to him, and ſells them to the Azanaghi, or Arabians, who reſort thither with horſes, and various other articles of commerce. Since the Chriſtians have found the way to that country, they are alſo admitted to deal with him. No reſtraints are laid neither on him, nor the lords, or any other of his ſubjects, as to the number of their wives; they take as many as they chooſe: hence the king commonly maintains thirty or upwards. They do not cohabit in any ſeraglio. The king diſtributes them in ſeveral villages or places of his domains, ſometimes eight or ten together, aſſigning them a certain number of maidens to ſerve them, and ſlaves to work the lands and poſſeſſions beſtowed on them by him, and upon which they are to ſubſiſt. He alſo allots them cows, goats, and other beaſts and commodities, to put them beyond the reach of all want or diſſatisfaction. When the king happens to viſit any of thoſe places, he never carries proviſions with him; the whole expence for him and his retinue falls entirely upon the wives he goes to viſit. Every morning at ſun riſe, during his reſidence, each of thoſe females prepares him a ſervice of three

* Later diſcoveries have ſhewn theſe notions to be erroneous.

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or four diſhes of meat, fiſh, and other dainties, after the Mooriſh faſhion and cuſtom; they ſend them by their ſlaves to be preſented at the king's refectory; ſo that in leſs than an hour's time forty or fifty different diſhes are prepared, and the whole in readineſs at the ſhorteſt notice from the king; who, after having made his choice, ſends the reſt to his attendants, but with ſuch parſimony, that they generally ſuffer in his ſervice. In this manner he travels from one place to the other, begetting an amazing poſterity, as he paſſes from one wife to another; and as ſoon as one conceives, he goes no more near her. His example is the ſtandard to all the lords of that kingdom.

The religion of theſe firſt negroes is the Mahometan; in which, however, they are not firm, like the Moors, eſpecially the lower claſs of the people, who are extremely ignorant and uninſtructed. They have ſome Azanaghis among them, to whom they are indebted for that faith, and ſome itinerant Arabians, who adminiſter inſtruction to them, pretending that it would be ignominious to call themſelves lords, whilſt, in the mean time, they did not acknowledge any law of God; by which blindneſs only the obſcureſt of the vulgar, in their nation, were characteriſed. It is not known that they have been initiated in that faith by any other than the above-mentioned two nations. Since the time of their intercourſe with Chriſtians, they have been ſenſibly weakened in their former perſuaſion.

The general cuſtom of theſe nations is to go naked; they only cover their private parts with a kind of drawers, which are made out of goat ſkins. Their lords, however, and the beſt circumſtanced among them, put a kind of cotton ſhirt about them, as theſe countries in ſome parts yield cotton, which are ſpun by their wives, and converted into cloths of about one ſpan in breadth. Not acquainted with the uſe of combs, they cannot weave them broader, but remove this defect by ſewing as many together, as the wideneſs of their work demands. Their ſhirts do not reach lower than the middle of their thighs; they are large in the arms, and cloſe about the elbow. They are uſed to another kind of drawers, made of the ſame material which they gird about their loins, and which falls down to their feet; they are ſo wide that they are ſometimes thirty or forty palms in breadth. This breadth throws them into innumerable folds, and produces, as it were, two ſacks, hanging the one before and the other behind them, with that addition to the hinder part, that it ſweeps the ground, and forms a kind of tail. As ridiculous and miſconceived as this faſhion is to every eye, they will ſtrut in it, and with a ſuperiority aſk a ſtranger, whether he had ever ſeen any dreſs coming up to this? imagining, that there cannot be any thing that could be compared with it. Their females, married or not, are all uncovered from the ſaſh upwards. About their loins they wear a kind of ſmall ſheet, with perfect careleſſneſs, which hangs down to the middle of their legs. Both ſexes go barefooted; they dreſs their hair with ſome grace and much fancy, men as well as women, although the generality have it only one palm long.

It is not uncommon to ſee men, in this country, perform effeminate functions, ſuch as ſpinning, waſhing, &c. The heat here is very intenſe, and augmenting progreſſively as we advance ſouthwards; we are more ſubject to cold in April, in Italy, than they are in January. Both ſexes are diſtinguiſhed for their cleanlineſs; they waſh themſelves four or five times a day, from head to feet, yet their repaſts are generally contaminated and loathſome, as they obſerve neither manners nor neatneſs. Their character in things they are not converſant with, is as ſimple and unſuſpecting as they are ſly in common practice. They have this peculiarity, that to the greateſt propen-

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ſity to lying and deceiving, they join a warm charity, as they never ſuffer any ſtranger to paſs by, without treating him with the greateſt hoſpitality for one day or night, without accepting the leaſt fee in return.

The negro monarchs are almoſt in a continual warfare with one another, and often engaged in quarrels with foreign powers in their vicinity. Their wars are generally on foot, as they have all a ſcarcity of horſes. Their arms are but few, nor would the heat of that climate permit them a great number; their defenſive are a large round target, they make from the leather of an animal called danta, which is almoſt impenetrable to any weapon: their offenſive are a zagaye, a kind of long dart, which they caſt with an inimitable velocity; theſe are armed at the point with an iron, which is barbed, and can never be extracted from wounds, without lacerating the fleſh: on their ſide they wear a Mooriſh ſcymetar, which is curved in form of a bow, and is made of iron, without any ſteel, which they draw from the negro kingdom of Gambra, lying to the ſouth. If they have any iron in their own country, they know nothing of it, or want induſtry to work it: their laſt weapon is a kind of ſpear, ſimilar to our javelin, beſides which they have no other arms.

Their wars border on ſavage ferocity, in proportion, it ſeems, to their being diſarmed. Their ſtrokes never fall in vain; their ſlaughter is univerſal and unſparing; they are bold and obſtinate, preferring to fall by the enemy's hand, rather than to yield one inch of ground. Death is indifferent to them, and they will handle a breathleſs companion with the ſame unconcern as when alive. Before their commerce with the Portugueſe, they had no notion of ſhips: thoſe who live along the ſhore of the rivers, and on the coaſt, keep ſome canoes, cut out of one piece, which three or four of them can carry from one place to another; in theſe they ſet out to fiſh, or to paſs from one place to another. They are the moſt expert ſwimmers in the univerſe; I ſaw ſome proofs to my no ſmall admiration.

I paſſed the river Senegal with my caravella, and navigating farther on, I arrived at the country of Budomel, diſtant from the ſaid river about eight hundred miles along the coaſt, which is an uninterrupted plain, without any mountain. This word Budomel, is at once the name both of the prince and country; as if we ſhould ſay, the land of ſuch a lord, or count. I ſtopped here with my caravella, to treat with this prince, who, according to the deſcription of ſome Portugueſe, that have dealt with him, was an affable and upright man, of the greateſt truſt, and who never failed ſtrictly to diſcharge his obligations. And as I had ſome Spaniſh horſes, which were eagerly ſought for in that country, as alſo a large proviſion of woollen cloth, Mooriſh ſilk, ware, and other merchandizes, I reſolved to anchor at a certain place on his coaſt, which formed a kind of haven. I ſent him notice, by a negro interpreter I had with me, that I was arrived, with horſes and other wares, to ſerve him, if acceptable. The prince, on hearing this, immediately ſet off, with about fifteen horſe, and fifty men on foot, towards the coaſt, ſending me word, that if I ſhould pleaſe to land, and pay him a viſit, he would do me honour: being beforehand acquainted with his reputation, I went to him, and he loaded me with careſſes. After ſome interchange of words, I gave him my horſes, and all he deſired of me. I truſted him, and he bid me follow him to his reſidence, which was only twenty-five miles inland, where he would pay me, with many obligations; begging, at the ſame time, I would wait but a few days, as he would pay, in the exchange for my goods, a certain number of ſlaves. He had ſeven horſes from me with their harneſs, which had coſt me about three hundred

hundred ducats, therefore I reſolved to follow him. Previous to his departure, he offered me a young girl, turned of thirteen years, of a beautiful black, and a fine ſhape. He ſaid to me, that he gave her to me for the ſervice of my room, which I accepted of, and ſent to my veſſel. The inherent eagerneſs of ſeeing the country and hearing of new things, no leſs than the expectation of my payment, rendered the journey in this land doubly deſirable.

Having thus ſignified my reſolution of attending him, he gave me horſes, and all I could wiſh, for the greater conveniency of my journey. When we were within four miles diſtance from his reſidence, he committed me to a nephew of his, named Biſboror, the lord of the little village we had juſt entered, who gave me ſo entertaining and diſtinguiſhed a reception, that I continued twenty-eight days at his houſe: thence I frequently went to pay my viſits to the ſovereign, always in company with the young prince. It was November when I happened to be in that country; and I have obſerved ſome characteriſtics as to the living of that nation, during my ſtay there, which I ſhall not heſitate to relate. I had the better opportunity of acquainting myſelf with this country, as I was compelled to travel back as far as the Senegal, on account of the tempeſtuous weather that aroſe on the coaſt, which hindered me from going on board, and occaſioned my journey by land to the coaſt, whence I was to ſend orders for the veſſels to proceed to the Senegal. But now the difficulty ſtarted how to tranſmit to the ſhip, inſtructions to attend me. The veſſel lay three miles off at ſea, and I aſked the negroes whether there was not ſome able ſwimmer among them who would undertake to convey a letter to the veſſel. The greater part anſwered in the affirmative. When I reflect on the impetuoſity of the wind, the height of the ſea, the banks that lay diſperſed up and down the whole way, with the current between them, ruſhing into contrary directions, which ſeemed to render an eſcape almoſt impoſſible, I am ſtill ſurpriſed at the unexampled reſolution and aſſurance with which this enterpriſe was contended for. Two were the moſt forward, and undertook the hazardous taſk for two mavulgis of tin, the value of two groſſon, or about three farthings Engliſh coin. They launched with an intrepidity calculated to baffle the combined efforts of the two fierceſt elements: they diſappeared ſometimes for a conſiderable while, and I often pronounced them drowned. At laſt, one of them, no longer able to reſiſt the unſurmountable obſtructions of the waves breaking over his head, returned. The other, inflamed with an emulation ſtill ſuperior to his perils, after ſtruggling for a full hour on a bank, paſſed it at laſt, delivered the letter at the veſſel, and returned with the anſwer. The concluſion I drew from this ſurpriſing ſcene was, that thoſe people can hardly be paralleled in ſwimming by any other in the univerſe.

I have already obſerved, that thoſe who are called lords, have no caſtles nor cities; the king himſelf has nothing but villages, with thatched houſes; and Budomel has command only over a part of this kingdom, which is not extenſive. Pre-eminence in this country does not conſiſt in treaſures, or money of any ſort, (which they deſpiſe) but in the multiplicity of ceremonies, and in the ſplendor and greatneſs of the train they are attended with. This retinue is entirely at their devotion, and the reſpect they thereby imprint on the ſubject is more profound than that which is uſually manifeſted to the ſovereigns or lords of our country by their ſubjects. The dwelling of this monarch muſt not be conceived a palace with walls, or built of ſtone; beſides, he has no permanent reſidence. The many villages allotted to him, and by him aſſigned to his wives and family, are the cauſes of his government being ambulatory and unſettled.

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The village where I reſided was one of that deſcription; it contains about forty or fifty thatched houſes, built near one another, in a circular form, the whole ſurrounded with thorn hedges, and incloſed by large trees, with only one or two openings. Each houſe had a court, encompaſſed with hedges, ſo diſpoſed, however, as to facilitate the way from court to court, and from one houſe into another. I heard that Budomel had nine wives in this place, more or leſs in the others, according to his pleaſure. Each of them is allowed five or ſix young maids for their ſervice; and the king often makes choice of them, without giving the leaſt offence to the lawful wife, it being the univerſal cuſtom. In this manner he paſſes from one place to another. Both ſexes are very luſtful; and one of the firſt things Budomel aſked of me was, with an air of eagerneſs, whether, as the Chriſtians were ſo inventive, I could not tell him ſome means to pleaſe many women, and he would reward me in the moſt liberal manner. I eaſily concluded that this vice ſtood in honour among them, and I remarked their jealouſy carried to the higheſt pitch. No man is ſuffered in the habitations of their wives, and the ſons themſelves are miſtruſted and excluded. Budomel has two hundred negroes about him, and he never iſſues forth without their attendance. One ſet leaves him, and another comes in their room; beſides, there is never any want of people repairing from the adjacent places to meet him. At the entrance of his houſe, before his apartment, there are ſeven large encloſed courts, communicating with each other in a ſucceſſive order, each provided with a ſpreading tree in its middle, for the conveniency of ſhadow for thoſe who wait upon him. His family is diſtributed in them according to their rank, the leaſt conſiderable fartheſt off, the moſt conſiderable neareſt his apartment, whither few are ſuffered to approach, except the Chriſtians and Azanaghi, who have free acceſs, and more privileges than the negroes themſelves.

Budomel affects a great pride and gravity, for he will never be ſeen, except an hour in the morning, and a ſhort time towards the evening, when he appears in the firſt court near the door of his dwelling, to which none but perſons of conſequence are admitted. The pride of theſe ſovereigns does not extend only to the lower claſſes of ſubjects; the lords alſo, though ever ſo conſiderable, or even related to them, ſubmit to the ſame cringing behaviour. They are obliged firſt to ſtrip themſelves naked, excepting the ſkins which cover the private parts; as ſoon as they enter the court, they throw themſelves on both knees, bowing with their heads down to the ground, and with both hands covering their heads with ſand, and throwing it behind their ſhoulders. They remain for a conſiderable while in this poſture, and it would be criminal to oppoſe or neglect theſe formalities; then approaching the lord upon their knees and feet, they ſtop at a diſtance of about two ſteps and relate their buſineſs, not forgetting, at the ſame time, to continue ſtrewing ſand in the aforeſaid manner, the head bent, in ſign of the deepeſt humiliation. The deſpot ſeems to take little or no notice of it, being all the while in diſcourſe with other perſons. When the ſubject has done ſpeaking, with an arrogant air he anſwers him in a few words. I have often thought that the worſhip paid to the Divinity itſelf, comes no where up to that degree of humiliation in which the people of this country fall before that man. This cringing cannot be attributed, in my opinion, to any other motive, than the natural timorouſneſs of thoſe nations, and from the apprehenſion they lie under, that on the leaſt omiſſion they ſhall be puniſhed with the loſs of their wives or children, who are reduced to ſlavery, and put to ſale. Thus a numerous retinue, the eminence of their elevation, and the unbounded reſpect offered to them, are the chief marks that diſtinguiſh ſovereignty among thoſe nations.

Notwithſtanding this, Budomel's compliance towards me was ſo extreme as to make me think it the affection of another perſon. He condeſcended even to ſhew me the moſques or houſes of prayer. Towards the evening he aſſembled all the Azanaghi or prieſts, which he maintains at his houſe, and who inſtructed him in the Mahometan religion; then entering, together with ſome chief negroes, into the court where the moſque ſtood, he performed prayers in the following manner: He firſt ſtood with his eyes lifted to heaven; then he made two ſteps, ſoftly pronouncing ſome ejaculation; then threw himſelf on the ground, and kiſſed it. The ſame was imitated by the Azanaghi and all the reſt. Then riſing, he repeated the ſame acts over again ten or twelve times, which took up about half an hour. When he had done, he aſked me my opinion of what I had ſeen; and as he was much pleaſed with hearing about our religion, he deſired me to indulge him with ſome account of it. I ſeized this opportunity of acquainting him, that his religion was falſe, and that thoſe who adminiſtered inſtruction to him, were, unqueſtionably, ignorant of the truth. I reprobated the law of Mahomet in the preſence of his Arabian doctors, and endeavoured to demonſtrate its falſity by proofs. They all took fire againſt me, but Budomel was only laughing the whole time; he ſaid, however, that though the Mahometan religion was very good, yet he thought the Chriſtian religion the better of the two; alledging, that as the Chriſtians were the richeſt, wiſeſt, and, in every reſpect the happieſt people, he thought God muſt be particularly pleaſed with their worſhip; that yet he thought the negroes more ſure of their ſalvation than the Chriſtians. He believed that God was juſt, and as ſuch, would infallibly recompence the negroes for their wants in this world; that permitting the Chriſtians to enjoy their Paradiſe in this world, he will let the negroes have their's in the next. In all his diſcourſes he ſhewed a good underſtanding, and liſtened, with much concern, to matters of the Chriſtian religion. I have no doubt but he would have been converted to our religion, if the fear of loſing his ſtate had not prevailed upon him; as well as his nephew, (with whom I lodged) who frequently told me he was a cool partiſan; and would often deſire me to relate him ſomething about it, ſaying, that it was a good thing to hear the word of God.

Budomel's table, like that of the king of Senegal, is ſupplied by his wives, each of whom ſend every day a certain number of meſſes. The ſame cuſtom predominates among thoſe of the negroes, whoſe circumſtances will admit of it, which is likewiſe at the expence of their women. They eat on the ground, without any appearance of regularity or manners; they ſuffer no other company but that of their inſtructors, the Moors; or, at moſt, two of their principal negroes. The lower people eat by ten or twelve over a meſs; a baſket of victuals being ſet between them, they put their hands in all together. They eat not much at a time, but return four or five times to it in a day.

No corn, rye, oats, or vine, grow in the kingdom of Senegal, or in any other beyond it, on account of the great heats, and the dryneſs of the ſoil, no rain falling during an interval of nine months, that is, from October to June. They have tried to grow corn which they had from the Chriſtians, but to no purpoſe, as it demands a temperate air, and frequent rains; yet the millet, of which they have a larger and a ſmaller ſort, and their beans thrive well; their kidney beans are the fineſt to be ſeen; they are as big as our long hazel nuts, and offer a beautiful ſhew, by their being ſpeckled with varigated colours, ſo artfully, as to appear painted; the bean is broad, low, and of a lively red; ſome of them are white and beautiful. They are

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ſown in July, and gathered in September. This interval, which is the time of their rains, and the conſequent ſwelling of their rivers, is alſo that of their labours. They ſow and gather in theſe months, but with ſo much indolence, that the whole year they ſuffer its effects, and are hardly ever able to bring any production to market. They go four or five together out upon a field; their tools are a kind of ſmall inſtruments like ſpades. Their tilling conſiſts in working the ground with them in ſuch a manner, that inſtead of turning the ground towards them, they project it in the oppoſite way before them. Although they do not dig deeper than two or three inches, the natural exuberance and kindneſs of that ſoil does all the reſt. Their drinks are water, milk, and palm-wine: the latter of theſe liquors is extracted from a tree not unlike our date trees, which is called mighol by the negroes. There is a great number diſperſed over the country; and they have the property of yielding almoſt the whole year their product. They tap the trunk in two or more places, and out flows a browniſh liquor, as thin as ſkimmed milk, which they receive in calabaſhes. They uſually draw it in the duſk of the evening. The quantity a tree yields at once, is not very conſiderable, but the quality is ſo much the better; it has the property of intoxicating, unleſs reduced by water. The firſt running will bear compariſon with any of the European wines in point of ſweetneſs; by little and little, that ſweetneſs vaniſhes, and is replaced by acidity. Hence it will be more flattering to the taſte the third or the fourth day, than the firſt. I have uſed it ſeveral times during my ſtay in that country, and it is but juſtice to ſay, that the flavour is, in my idea, more exquiſite than even our wines. This liquor is not ſo very common among the vulgar, as the abundance of the trees ſhould afford, though they are not deſtitute of it; but the wealthier are plentifully provided with it. Theſe trees are not the property of individuals; encompaſſed with fences like our fruit gardens and vines, they lie open, and belong to the whole community, where every one is entitled to make his proviſion. They have fruits of our growth and others which are peculiar to the climate; they are all palatable, and conſtitute a chief article of the food of the inhabitants. No care is beſtowed for bringing them to perfection; they lie wild and uncultivated, in the ſame manner as in our foreſts. It may eaſily be conceived what a flavour thoſe fruits might be carried to in a ground and temperature like this, if the leaſt art was employed in their cultivation. The whole country is variegated with rich paſtures, and lofty and beautiful trees beſpeaking the moſt liberal fertility, though I found myſelf a ſtranger to them. Several lakes occur, which are not extenſive but unmeaſurably deep, and full of ſtrange fiſhes, and certain water-ſnakes, called calcatrice. They make uſe of a certain oil in the preparation of their victuals, though I could not learn whence they drew it, which poſſeſſes a threefold property, that of ſmelling like violets, of taſting like oil of olives, and of tinging victuals like ſaffron, with a colour ſtill finer. A different kind of beans is to be met with here, which are red with a black ſpot, ſmall, but in great abundance.

There are divers kinds of animals in this country. Among the reptile ſpecies, is a troubleſome quantity of ſnakes, ſome of them poiſonous. It is untrue that they have wings or feet, as it has been given out; the moſt part are two feet in length, but ſome others are of a monſtrous ſize. It is reported that they meet ſometimes in cluſters, at places where there is the greateſt quantity of piſmires, who, by inſtinct, work deep holes into the ground, almoſt like ovens, which, when they have done, often an hundred and fifty together, they recede, and leave thoſe ſerpents in undiſputed poſſeſſion of them. The negroes of this country are profeſſed ſorcerers, making

charms

charms of every thing in nature, and in particular on thoſe ſerpents. A Genoeſe, upon whoſe teſtimony I have good reaſon to rely, informed me, that when he was in the ſame country, ſleeping one night in the houſe of Budomel's nephew, where I lodged, he was awaked towards midnight by a confuſed whiſtling round the houſe. He obſerved the ſaid Biſboror riſe, and depart on a camel with two of his ſlaves. The Genoeſe, not able to refrain, aſked him where he intended to go at ſo untimely an hour? He anſwered, to a ſervice of his, and that he would not tarry, but come back. A long while paſſed before he returned home. The Genoeſe once more aſking him about his excurſion, he demanded in anſwer, whether he had not heard a whiſtling about his houſe? Being anſwered in the affirmative, he told him, that they were ſerpents, which, if I had not bewitched by a magic uſed in this country, and by which I have repulſed them, they would have made a great havock among my animals. The Genoeſe expreſſing his ſurpriſe at ſuch a power, Biſboror told him, that there was nothing wonderful in it, that his uncle Budomel knew other charms; that whenever he wanted a certain compoſition for poiſoning his arms, making a large circle, with one call he forced all the ſerpents of the neighbourhood in it; that killing with his own hand the moſt poiſonous among them, he diſmiſſed the reſt; then taking the blood, and mixing it with the ſeed of a tree, (of which I have had a ſpecimen) he dipped his arms into it, which, wherever they ſtruck, though never ſo ſuperficially, they carried certain and almoſt inſtantaneous death. Biſboror offered to let him ſee that craft, but the Genoeſe was not willing. By theſe inſtances, I ſhould believe that the negroes are in general given to ſorcery; and I do not know whether there might not be ſome foundation in that practiſed on the ſerpents; at leaſt I have often heard of it in Italy, when ſpeaking about the exiſtence of perſons endowed with ſuch powers.

There are no other domeſtic animals in this country but oxen, cows, and goats. The ſheep, which loves a temperate air, and rather cold than heat, is not to be found there. Providence has acted admirably in this reſpect, to reconcile to our climate an animal, without which, our defence againſt cold would be inſufficient; and to withhold it from another, where its beſt part would have proved ſuperfluous, ſupplying its defect at the ſame time by a production (cotton) more congenial to its nature. The cows and the goats of this diviſion in particular, as well as of Negroland in general, are much weaker than ours. I do not find any other cauſe than heat of the ſun. Their hair is either white or black, or of a mixture of both colours: I ſaw one red, which was looked upon as a rarity. Wild rapacious animals, as lions and leopards, are here in great numbers; alſo wolves, bucks, and hares. The elephants in this country are not domeſticated as in many other parts; they are ſuffered to run wild, and are found together by herds in the foreſts. I omit deſcribing this animal, it being univerſally known, that it is of a moſt ſtupendous body, with ſhort legs, and that its ſize may eaſily be conjectured by the teeth of ivory, which are every where to be ſeen in our country, and of which they have only one on each ſide of the lower jaw, like our boars, with this difference, that thoſe of the latter animal are erect, and thoſe of the elephant retorted towards the ground. Their gait is the ſame as that of other quadrupeds; they have three joints, or ſprings on their feet, which play when they put themſelves in motion. I thought proper to notice this particular, as I had always been erroneouſly told before I came in theſe parts, that they could not lie on their knees, and that they ſlept ſtanding; but they lie and walk like other animals. Their teeth never fall except when they are dead. The elephant is perfectly in-

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nocent to man, unleſs provoked by ill treatment. When it intends to hurt, it approaches, and takes the offender by its trunk, which lengthens or contracts at pleaſure, and launches him with ſuch an impetuoſity, as to throw him an arrow's caſt diſtance. Their ſwiftneſs is not leſs obſervable, as in ſpite of their bulk, they will catch a man, though ever ſo good a runner, owing to the length of their ſteps. They are more dangerous when they have whelps than at other times, of which they never have above three or four. They live upon leaves, and fruits of trees, which they break down, together with the branches, with their trunk, which is of a large bore, and through which they receive the food. I cannot recollect any other animals of this kind exiſting in Senegal.

There are various kinds of birds in this country, but the parrots are the greater number, and they overſpread the whole country. The negroes hate them becauſe they commit great depredations on their ſeeds and vegetables. They are ſaid to be of various ſpecies, but I remarked only two; one ſimilar to thoſe we receive from Alexandria, or rather ſmaller; the other bigger; and theſe have the head, neck, beak and feet brown; the body is yellow and green. I had brought a vaſt number with me to Spain; but ſome died on the paſſage, eſpecially little ones from the neſt. Yet I ſaved above one hundred and fifty, which I ſold at half a ducat each. Their neſts are conſtructed with a marvellous induſtry; they employ ruſhes for their materials, and combine them together ſo as to give it the form of a ball. This done, they make choice of a palm-tree, or ſuch other whoſe branches are the thinneſt and weakeſt poſſible; then twiſting a ruſh at the extremity of the branch, they ſuffer it to hang down for about two ſpans; on that they artfully fix their neſt, which hangs in the air like a ball, with only one opening. This is a precaution by which they inſure the lives of their little ones from the rapacity of ſnakes, to which the debility and thinneſs of the branch precludes all acceſs. I have ſeen another kind of birds in this country, called Pharaoh's hen, which we get from the Levant. There is no ſcarcity of theſe hens, nor of geeſe, which only differ from ours in their feathers; not to mention many other ſmall and large birds, no other way remarkable, but by their being extraneous to us.

As I was for a conſiderable time in this country, I determined one day to ſee a market or fair of theirs, within a ſmall diſtance from the place of my reſidence, which was held in a kind of meadow regularly twice a week, on Monday and Friday; and I went two or three times. The people that reſorted thither, came not farther diſtant than four or five miles; for at the ſame time thoſe beyond that ſpace had other markets, more within their reach and convenience. Their poverty may beſt be known on ſuch an occaſion, by the trifling value of the goods they convey for ſale; beſides cottons, and even that in ſmall quantities, cotton, yarn, vegetables, oil, millet, kettles of earth, mats of palm-tree, and ſome other articles of the firſt neceſſity, were very nearly all they had to boaſt of. Men and women are concerned in it; the men bring chiefly arms, and a little gold, as they can afford. No money is to be ſeen here; all contracts are made by bartering, one article for another, according to eſtimation. I was ſurrounded by thoſe negroes of both ſexes, and gazed at like a phœnomenon. They were wonderfully gratified in ſeeing what they ſo ardently deſired, a Chriſtian. They were not leſs enchanted with my dreſs than the whiteneſs of my face. I was then in the Spaniſh habit, with a waiſtcoat of black damaſk, and a woollen cloak over it. They were ſurpriſed when they conſidered the woollen cloth, and had no conception of it.

They handled my arms and hands, and rubbed me with ſpittle, to ſee whether that whiteneſs was artificial or real; and when they were convinced of the latter, their admiration was ſtill greater. I went to thoſe markets through curioſity, and to ſee whether I could not procure ſome gold. I generally returned unprovided, on account of the ſcarcity of that commodity.

The value of the horſes is enhanced in this country by their ſcarcity. The Arabians and Azenhagi tranſport them by land from Barbary, but very ſparingly; and the exceſſive heat of the climate kills even thoſe few in a ſhort time. They proſper very much in fatneſs, but this is uſually attended with a diſtemper, which ſtops their urine, and kills the greateſt part of them. The food they give them is the leaves of the kidney-beans, which they gather after their crop, cut and dry them like hay, and lay them before their horſes, inſtead of barley: they alſo give them millet, by which they grow very fat. I have often ſeen a horſe of a good breed ſold for twelve and fourteen ſlaves. Whenever a lord buys a horſe, he takes ſome of his horſe magicians with him, who, lighting a large fire of the branches of certain trees, according to their fancy, make a thick ſmoke; they then hold the horſe by the bridle over it, uttering a few words; and anointing it with a certain ſubtle ointment, they keep it eighteen or twenty days ſhut up from every perſon, and hang about its neck ſome Mooriſh charm, which they fold up like a letter, in a ſquare form, and cover it with red leather, ſuperſtitiouſly believing, that by means of this fantaſtical practice, they put their lives in greater ſecurity in time of battle.

The women of this country are very gay and airy; they are much inclined to ſinging and dancing, eſpecially the younger; but they never dance except by moon-light. Their dances differ infinitely from ours.

Among the many European things thoſe negroes ſhewed themſelves admirers of, are the croſs bows: but the effect of our cannon, which ſome of them had occaſion to ſee at the ſhip, aſtoniſhed them above all. I ordered one to be diſcharged in their preſence, and they were all ſtruck with terror. When I told them that a ſingle one might kill above an hundred men in a group, they gave me to underſtand, with an air of deep ſurpriſe, that none but the devil could do ſuch things. They were alſo not a little aſtoniſhed, when, deſiring one of my mariners to play on the bagpipes, they ſaw it, admired the different parts, and aſked me whether it was not ſome living animal that ſung in ſuch a variety of modulations, which gave them exquiſite pleaſure. When I put it into their hands, unfilled, upon ſeeing their error, they told me with great ſimplicity, that it was a celeſtial inſtrument, and a work of God's own hands; that otherwiſe it could not produce ſuch manifold inflections, and thoſe ſo ſweet. They were not leſs aſtoniſhed in ſeeing the conſtruction of our veſſel, its equipment, the maſts, ſails, anchors, &c. They thought that the openings in the prow of the veſſel were real eyes, by which it had perception, and could ſurvey the ſtate of the ſea and its own. They told us that we muſt be ſorcerers, and rivals to the devil; not comprehending how we ſhould arbitrarily rule the ſea without ſight of land, unleſs guided by the devil, ſince even thoſe who travel on land often could not find out their places—an error the leſs ſurpriſing, as they had no idea of the art of navigation, of the compaſs, and maps. The burning candle was one of thoſe phœnomena that made them all attention and admiration, as they are abſolutely ſtrangers to any other kind of light but that of their fire. Having perceived that they picked the honey (of which there is ſome produced in their country) from the comb, they threw the wax away, and having purchaſed

purchaſed a few combs from one of them, I ſhewed him the method of extracting the honey from wax, and, in their preſence, cauſed ſome candles to be made and lighted from that apparent droſs. Upon this new ſpectacle, they declared, with marks of undeſcribable aſtoniſhment, that we Chriſtians knew all things.

I know of no particular muſical inſtruments among this nation, except a Mooriſh tabaſki, like our drums, and a groſs fiddle, with only two ſtrings, which they touch without art, or the leaſt harmony.

Having now, for a conſiderable time, remained in this country, and ſurveyed, purchaſed, and learned as much as I thought uſeful, as ſoon as I received the number of negroes for which Budomel had agreed with me, I reſolved to ſet ſail, in order to double Cape Verde, in ſearch of new countries and adventures. Farther ſtimulated by the former information I had obtained from the infante, of the probability of new diſcoveries, and the certainty of another kingdom beyond Senegal, called Gambra, where the negroes I had ſeen in Spain aſſured me there was an abundance of gold, and that all Chriſtians who had ever put a footing in it returned opulent, I took early leave of Budomel, and ſailed, big with expectations, for thoſe deſirable countries. One morning our crew exclaimed, that two veſſels were in ſight, and coming up with us; we mutually diſtinguiſhed the religion and the nation, and came to a parley. When I heard that one of the two veſſels belonged to Antonio, a Genoeſe gentleman, much famed for his experience in navigation; that the other was conducted by a number of the armourers of the infante Henry; and that they were jointly ſteering for Cape Verde, thence to ſeparate upon new diſcoveries, I offered the company of my veſſel, as I was going the ſame direction. My propoſal was readily accepted. We coaſted the land in a ſtrait ſouthern direction till next day. Carried by a proſperous wind, we landed at Cape Verde, which is only thirty Italian miles diſtant from the place I had ſet out.

The iſland of Cape Verde has its name from the quantity of green trees which the Portugueſe (who diſcovered it only one year before my own landing*) had found in it, and which are in a continual ſtate of verdure during the whole year, as Cape Blanco, before ſpoken of, derived its appellation from the ſandy and whitiſh proſpect it afforded. Cape Verde has, beſides its elevated ſituation, and its prominence into the ſea, two hills, which embelliſh it, and render it highly attractive. The negroes that people it are ſubjects of Senegal, and they live diſperſed upon it, and around it, along the coaſt, in thatched habitations. Oppoſite to this cape, there are a few banks, reaching about half a mile into the ſea. Beyond them, to the weſt, three iſlands offer, which are uninhabited, and overgrown with green and lofty trees. As we ſtood in need of water, ſearched two of thoſe iſlands to trace ſome ſprings, and found in the largeſt of them a ſmall proviſion, in a ſpot ſomewhat eminent, which could be of little ſervice to the cravings of our crew. Birds and fiſhes are equally common here; we found a number of neſts, with eggs of divers birds, exotic to us; and we fiſhed with lines and hooks. We took ſhoals of fiſhes; among others, gurnets and gold fiſh, at a medium of thirteen pounds apiece. It was then June; the next day reſuming our voyage, we kept ſtill the ſame courſe, and always in ſight of land. A little beyond the aforeſaid cape, we perceived a gulph that was encompaſſed by a low ground, ſtored with the moſt beautiful and lofty trees, that never loſe their greenneſs, or wither like ours;

* This muſt be an error. Cape Verde was diſcovered in 1446.

but before a leaf falls, another takes place. This chain of trees, however, extends not far; they are almoſt waſhed by the ſea, and continue to render that coaſt extremely pleaſant; and if I ſhould add my ſuffrage, I would ſay, that in all my voyages, either to the weſt or eaſt, I never beheld a proſpect ſo enchanting as that of this coaſt, which is interſected by many rivers of every deſcription.

The whole coaſt beyond the gulph is inhabited by two tribes of negroes, the one called the Barbacini, the other the Serreri: neither of them are ſubjects to the king of Senegal. They are free and independent. There is no other diſtinction among them but that natural one which affluence, qualities, and other excellencies, procure to one individual over another. They abhor the name of lord or maſter, owing perhaps to the impreſſion which the conduct of the neighbouring princes has made on them, who ſnatch women and children from their ſubjects whenever they can find matter of offence or diſguſt. They are profeſſed idolaters, and live without any law: they are cruel as to their character. Their chief weapon is the bow, on which they launch poiſoned arrows, which carry infallible and immediate death on the object of their aim. They are ſtrong-bodied, and of the deepeſt black. Their country is overſpread with lakes and woods, behind which they intrench themſelves, and baffle the combined efforts of all their neighbours. The kings of Senegal have often attempted to ſubjugate this country, but they have generally been compelled to give up their enterpriſe with diſgrace, either by the dreadful effects of thoſe poiſoned arrows, or by the natural impregnability of the country.

Continuing thus our voyage with a favourable wind to the ſouth, we at laſt arrived at the mouth of a river which was about an arrow's caſt in breadth, but not deep: we gave this river the name of Barbacini, and it is by the ſame name it will alſo be marked on the map of navigation drawn of that country, at a diſtance of ſixty miles beyond Cape Verde. We only ſailed by day, and anchored every night at ſome place of one or two fathoms of water, not above four or five miles from the coaſt. At day break we hoiſted ſail, ſtationing a man at the main maſt, and two others on the deck, watching the motions of the ſea, and noticing the ſhoals or banks, if there fell any in our way. By this courſe we were ſoon ſurpriſed by another river, which fell little ſhort of the Senegal. At the ſight of this river, and the beauty of the country it waſhed, which was decked by innumerable trees, we caſt anchor, and determined to ſend one of our interpreters on ſhore. Each caravella had one brought from Portugal, where they had been purchaſed of merchants, to which they had been ſold in Senegal, and which were to be ſubſervient to our reſpective views. They had been converted to Chriſtianity, and inſtructed in the Spaniſh language, which they ſpoke fluently: we had them from their maſters upon engagement of his being permitted the choice in thoſe of our procuring: and theſe negroes may purchaſe their liberty, if they replace themſelves by four other ſlaves. Having caſt the lot which ſhip was to ſend its interpreter, it fell upon the Genoeſe. Manning the boat, the interpreter was ſent on ſhore, with inſtructions not to approach with the boat within an eaſy reach of inimical attempts. He was ordered to inform himſelf of the ſtate of the country; of its ſovereign; and whether there was any gold, or ſuch other goods worth trading. He was ſcarcely put on ſhore, and the boat withdrawn, when a crowd of negroes advanced, who having perceived the veſſels approaching their coaſt, had put themſelves into an ambuſcade, armed with bows and arrows, to overtake whatever ſhould offer from the veſſel. Having now come up to the interpreter,

preter, they ſpoke ſome words to him, of which he did not know the purport. They were not long before they fell upon him with their *goines*, a kind of Mooriſh ſword, and he was ſlain in an inſtant, without thoſe in the boats having it in their power to fly to his aſſiſtance. This news aſtoniſhed us, and we concluded that by their ſavageneſs toward one of their blood, they muſt be of a ferocious and cruel diſpoſition, and ſtill more unſparing towards our people. We left theſe ſavages, ſtill continuing to the ſouth at a ſmall diſtance from the coaſt, which was low, and progreſſively augmenting in beauty and verdure. Having at laſt met with a third river, which was in the narroweſt part of its mouth above three or four miles wide, and very convenient for harbouring ſhips, we caſt anchor in it, reſolving the next morning to inform ourſelves whether or no it was the country of Gambra.

Having then reached this river, which is above ſeven miles broad in its mouth, we concluded that we were now in the much deſired Gambra, and that aſcending this river, we ſhould find ſome land where we might make ſome ſucceſsful adventures in gold or other valuables. The next day having a favourable wind, we permitted the ſmalleſt and lighteſt of our caravellas, with ſome of our boats, to proceed a conſiderable way, with inſtructions to diſcover the banks, and ſtudiouſly to ſound the water, giving exact ſignals of the danger or ſecurity. This order was punctually executed. Having then gone up the river, for ſome diſtance, the caravella ſent one of our boats, and its own, which was ſomewhat leſs, to examine and explore, forbidding them to fight, in caſe they ſhould be aſſailed by the negroes in their canoes, but inſtantly to withdraw, as it was not our intention to ſubdue thoſe nations by violence, but to attach ourſelves to them by the bands of benevolence and kind treatment. They ſathomed the water, and finding no where leſs than ſixteen feet deep, they advanced two miles higher, and ſeeing the ſhore on both ſides of the river delightful, and bordered with lofty and numerous green trees, and the river flow in circles, they reſolved to return and report. Deſcending the ſtream, they unexpectedly ſaw three almadias coming down the mouth of a ſmall river, which mixed with the water of this river. I have obſerved that thoſe almadias are ſmall boats, made of a ſingle trunk, which they hollow, and give it the form of our burchielle. Suſpecting whether that people had any hoſtile deſigns, and being previouſly acquainted with their ſkill on the bow, and in the infernal poiſon of their arrows, ours, though ſuperior to them, took to their oars, and went to give notice of their excurſion and adventure to the above veſſel. However, the negroes went on with ſuch velocity, that they were ſoon within an arrow's throw of them. Our adventurers having got into the veſſel, beckoned them to approach. They ſtopped ſhort, and remained immoveable: they might be thirty in number; who after having leiſurely and ſufficiently contemplated the prodigy of a veſſel never before ſeen in that country, retreated, without any devices or endeavours of ours having been able to prevail upon them to come nearer. The expedition of that day ended by this ſtrange adventure.

The next morning our other two caravellas, with a favourable wind and the current, put out to join their companion, hoping to meet with more humanized people than thoſe we had ſeen the preceding day; and having joined, we entered the river in conjunction, obſerving only a ſmall diſtance from the ſmaller to the heavier veſſel; and ſo we paſſed the bank. Having made about four miles in this route, ſuddenly we ſaw ourſelves

ourſelves hotly purſued by ſome almadias, but did not know from whence they came. We prepared to meet them: the knowledge we had beforehand of their arrows, made us ſomewhat cautious. We covered and diſpoſed our veſſels the beſt way we could, and in order to defend us from their inſults, the people were at their poſts, and we made every thing ready to fight them, though not well ſupplied with arms. The almadias came under the prow of my ſhip, which was foremoſt, and making two diviſions, they took us in their center.

We took this opportunity to tell the number of their veſſels, found that they were fifteen, and pretty large. They ceaſed to row, and gazed at us with wonder, and they appeared not to be more than an hundred and fifty. They were all well made, and of a ſhining black: they had white cotton ſhirts on them, with ſome white caps on their heads, ſomewhat after the German cuſtom, except that they were on each ſide garniſhed with a kind of white wing, and with a feather in the middle of the ſame, to diſtinguiſh them, as being men of war. In the prow of each of thoſe almadias there ſtood a negro with a target on his arm, which ſeemed to be made of leather. As they did not offer any offence, we abſtained from provoking them. Upon their ſeeing the two other veſſels bear down, they rowed towards them: when they had reached them they reſted their oars, and, without ceremony, immediately diſcharged a ſhower of arrows againſt our ſhips. The guns were immediately fired at them, and they were ſo amazed by the noiſe of the report, that dropping their arrows, they ſtared thunderſtruck upon one another. Seeing, however, the ſtones from the cannon ineffectually fall into the water about them, and have no other virtue but that of ſtunning; caſting away their panic, after many diſcharges againſt them, they laid hold of their weapons, and advancing near the veſſels within a ſtone's caſt, aſſailed them with much fury. At this exigence our mariners ſeized their croſs-bows: the firſt who diſcharged his was a young man, the natural ſon of a Genoeſe gentleman; he ſhot a negro in the breaſt, and laid him breathleſs at the feet of his companions, who took the arrow in hand and contemplated it with wonder. But this accident, far from diſheartening them, inflamed their rage ſtill more, and they vigorouſly attacked the veſſels. But thoſe of our caravellas, not leſs expert in their art, than incenſed at the flagrant barbarity and perfidiouſneſs of the negroes, ſpread at laſt terror and death over thoſe almadias. Among the Chriſtians there was not one hurt: yet the negroes ſtill called up what fury could ſuggeſt to annoy their enemies. They ſaw that the ſmalleſt of our veſſels was the leaſt defended, and deficient in point of arms: they drew their forces together, and gave it a general aſſault. However, we joined the caravella with the other two veſſels, and ſtationing it in the middle, I ordered the guns to fire, and the croſs-bows to diſcharge; on which the negroes at laſt retreated. We then brought the three veſſels together, and caſt anchor, endeavouring to come to an underſtanding with them. Our interpreter uſed his beſt exertions, and cried ſo loud, that at laſt one of the almadias approached within an arrow's throw. We ſignified to them, that we could not conceive how they could offend us, as we had never betrayed the leaſt hoſtile intention againſt them; that we were peaceful men, that came to trade with them on the beſt terms, as we did with their neighbours of Senegal, who bore no ill-will againſt us. That we came from diſtant countries, and were charged with preſents for their king and maſter, on the part of our ſovereign, the king of Portugal, who wiſhed to cloſe a firm and good friendſhip with him: that they might acquaint us in what country we were, who was the lord that reigned over them, and what the name of that river: that all our intention was peacefully and friendly to barter our merchandiſes

againſt

againſt goods of theirs, perfectly ſatisfied with whatever they might preſent us in exchange. They anſwered, that they had ſome notice of our intercourſe with the negroes of Senegal, and that they could not help looking upon them as cruel; or, at leaſt, ill-adviſed, to ſell their countrymen, which they could not find of any other uſe to the Chriſtians than for eating them: that, therefore, they deſpiſed our friendſhip, and that they would maſſacre us wherever they ſhould meet us, and carry thoſe things now offered, forcibly to their ſovereign, who was not three days journey off: that we were to know we had now to deal with the people of Gambra: they alſo ſpoke the name of that great river, which I could not recollect. The wind riſing in this moment, and ſeeing their ill-will towards us, we bore down upon them. They took flight and refuge on the land, and by this eſcape hoſtilities ceaſed. We then reſolved to penetrate into the land, with our veſſels, at leaſt one hundred miles, if practicable, ſtill hoping to meet with ſome more tractable people; but our crew being tired by ſuch adventures, and impatient to return to their own home, exclaimed againſt it, and unanimouſly declared, that what they had hitherto ſeen and atchieved was quite ſufficient. We yielded, for the fear of ſome worſe conſequences, which in all probability might have enſued; knowing the obſtinacy of their character. We departed the next day, to return by the way of Cape Verde to Spain.

During the time we remained in the mouth of this river, we had once occaſion to ſee the north ſtar, which was almoſt on a level with the ſea, for when we obſerved it in clear weather, it did not appear to riſe a lance height out of the ſea. We alſo obſerved ſome other low conſtellations, which were very clear, luminous, and of the firſt claſſes. By the compaſs, they were found to lie to the ſouth, in the following ſucceſſion,

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We concluded them to be the ſouthern chariot, but could not expect to ſee the principal ſtar, as we had not yet loſt ſight of the ſouthern ſtar. We found the night to be eleven hours and a half, and the day in proportion. It was in June; and, if I am right, it was the ſecond of that month. This country is hot in all ſeaſons of the year: it is true, they have ſome variation in the climate, and this they call winter. It conſiſts in a copious rain, which falls partly regularly every day, at noon, from a ſudden coagulation of clouds, brought on by N. E. by E. or E. S. E. point winds, and which is accompanied with thunder and lightning. This winter, or rains, begin in July, and continue the whole of October. At that time the negroes ſow, as do thoſe of Senegal: like that people, they ſubſiſt upon millet, pulſe, fleſh, and milk.

The extraordinary heat of the air makes the very rains on the continent warm. I was ſtruck at not ſeeing any dawn at the ſun-riſe, as in our quarter; the ſun riſes almoſt precipitately; and between the dropping of the night's veil and the full day, there is no longer ſpace than that of half an hour, during which ſpace, the horizon ſeems ſomewhat gloomy, and, as it were, wrapped in ſmoke. I could hardly attribute this phœnomenon to any other cauſe then the flatneſs of the ſoil, which is no where interrupted by any mountain. My opinion coincided with thoſe of my companions.

SECOND

SECOND VOYAGE of CADA MOSTO.

The aſperity and ſavage diſpoſition of the nations we met with in Gambra, was the reaſon why I could not effect my intentions, nor ſet down any obſervations from my firſt voyage, on a country which had ſo much raiſed our expectations. To this I muſt add, that unconquerable impatience, by which our crew forced us to abſtain from any farther attempts, which might, perhaps, have been ſucceſsful in the event. I reſolved, therefore, next year, in conjunction with the above-mentioned Genoeſe gentleman, to arm two caravellas, and to perſiſt in our diſcoveries on the ſaid river.

Prince Henry, having been informed of this reſolution, expreſſed his particular ſatisfaction, and immediately iſſued out his orders for equipping one of his caravellas to accompany us.

We put to ſea from Lagos the beginning of May, with a fair wind, ſteering for the Canaries, and reached them in a few days. The wind continuing favourable, we did not touch there, but proſecuted our former direction. The current running to the ſouth-weſt, and the wind blowing the ſame way, the rapidity of our courſe was doubled. When we got ſight of Cape Blanco we kept out to ſea, but being overtaken the enſuing night by a ſtorm from S. W. we were compelled to run weſtward for two nights and three days, rather than to return north. The third day we got ſight of land, to our great joy, uncertain whereabout we were caſt. I ordered two men to the main-top, who ſoon announced to us, that we had two great iſlands before us. We fell on our knees to thank the Almighty for having reſcued us. Our tranſport increaſed when we perceived that thoſe iſlands could not yet be known to the Spaniards; hoping moreover, that they might be inhabited, and the ſphere of our information thereby enlarged, we ſtood, without loſs of time, towards one of them; and coaſted it till we found a convenient road, where we caſt anchor. The weather having at laſt turned calm, we ſent a boat well-manned, to ſee what ſtate the iſland was in; and whether any inhabitants, or veſtiges of habitations could be traced. Upon their returning with the account that, after a diligent examination, they had found no other marks than thoſe of uncultivation and ſolitude, I ſent ten other men completely armed, to land on the moſt elevated part of the iſland, there to make new obſervations; and to ſee whether ſome other iſlands might not be deſcried from the ſummit of the mountains. Their relation was like the former; that they did not believe the iſland to be inhabited; that they ſaw nothing on it but a prodigious quantity of pigeons, which were ſo tame and familiar, that they ſuffered themſelves to be taken with the hand, without the leaſt ſtruggle: they brought ſome to the ſhip. But that they had deſcried three large iſlands; that one of them lay to leeward, towards the north, and that the other two were to the ſouth, towards our courſe; all three within ſight of each other: they ſaw alſo a reſemblance of other iſlands, but at ſo great a diſtance they could not exactly diſtinguiſh them. I neglected viſiting them, ſuſpecting them to be as deſert as the former, and being moreover in great haſte to purſue our main purpoſe.

From the latter report of this diſcovery, others ſet out in queſt of theſe iſlands, which they found ten in number, all waſte, and with no other inhabitants than pigeons, ſome other curious birds, and ſome rich fiſheries round the ſhore.

Having thus quitted thoſe iſlands, we came in ſight of two others. When we were ſearching for an anchoring place, near one of them, which had a great ſhew of trees,

trees, we were ſenſibly comforted in diſcovering the mouth of a river ſtreaming through that iſland. Having ſent part of the crew of my ſhip to the river, they found ſome lakes filled with ſalt; whereupon they returned with a quantity, the fineſt imaginable. We made a large proviſion of it; and having found the water excellent, we ſhipped a ſufficient quantity of that alſo. We took ſome tortoiſes, which we found in great numbers, but whoſe ſhells were larger than a target. Our ſailors killed them, and prepared them in various diſhes, ſaying, that they had eaten many times of this amphibious animal in the bay of Arguim, though they were not ſo large. Out of curioſity I taſted ſome, and found them perfectly good, with fleſh as white as veal, and of an excellent taſte and ſmell. They ſalted a great number of them, and they were found a moſt welcome proviſion in the progreſs of our voyage. We caught alſo ſuch a large number of fiſhes, in and about the mouth of this river, as is ſcarcely credible; among which, there were ſome ſpecies unknown to us: they were all large and very good taſted. The breadth of the river was about an arrow's caſt, and its depth proportionate; a veſſel of an hundred and fifty tons might navigate it for ſome way up. We ſtaid two days here to refreſh ourſelves, killing and taking (beſides the above proviſions) as many pigeons as we could foreſee we ſhould ſtand in need of. We gave to the firſt of theſe iſlands the name of Bona Viſta, as it had been the firſt land we ſaw in thoſe parts, and called the other St. Jago, from our having anchored there the day of St. Philippe and Jago.

We left theſe four iſlands, and ſteered to the ſouthward. In a few days we arrived at a place called the Two Palms, which lies between Cape Verde and the river Senegal. After a ſlight inſpection of the cape, we paſſed it, and ſailed ſo proſperouſly, that in a ſhort time we found ourſelves at the mouth of the river Gambra, which we entered, without any oppoſition on the part of the negroes, ſounding with great attention. We met with ſome almadias, but ſo circumſpect, that they kept cloſe to the ſhores of the river, without venturing to approach us; and about ten miles up the river we came to an iſland, where we caſt anchor. It was on a Sunday, and we loſt one of our ſailors, who had lingered for ſome days under a fever: he was buried in this iſland, which we called (from his name) St. Andrew. Continuing our voyage on this river, we were followed by ſome almadias at a diſtance: we ſteered towards them, and our interpreter ſpoke to them, held out ſome trinkets to their view, and told them, if they would approach, all thoſe things ſhould be theirs; that there was no occaſion for fear, ſince we were men like themſelves, inoffenſive, and in every reſpect civilized.

Having by little and little calmed their apprehenſion, they made towards us, and came cloſe to my caravella. One among them, who underſtood our interpreter, came on board: he loſt himſelf in admiration, when he ſaw that we had no oars in our ſhip, but that the whole was put in motion by means of the ſails. He ſtared at our dreſs, as well as the whiteneſs of our ſkin, expreſſing his being a total ſtranger to them both. It is unneceſſary to notice, that the moſt part of them are naked, and have no other idea of veſtment than that of their cotton ſhirts, and that is peculiar to the few affluent among them. We endeavoured to engage him by careſſes, and gave him ſome tinſel, of which he ſeemed extremely ſatisfied. Having aſked him ſeveral queſtions, he told us, at laſt, that the country we were in was Gambra, and that their principal lord was Foroſangoli, who had his reſidence towards the ſouth-

weſt, at a diſtance of nine or ten days journey: that this Foroſangoli was a vaſſal to the emperor of Melli, who was the emperor of the negroes, but that there were many inferior lords who inhabited the ſhores of that river: he offered to conduct us to one of them (if we had any inclination for it) whoſe name was Baltimanſa, whom he hoped to perſuade to be friendly with us, ſince it appeared to him that we were a good-natured kind of men. We accepted his offers with many teſtimonies of ſatisfaction, and kept him in our veſſel until we arrived at the place of Baltimanſa's reſidence, which lay higher up, and about ſixty miles from the mouth of the river.

From the deſcription I have given of this country, it appears that our ſteering on this river muſt needs have been eaſtward. The river was much more contracted where we caſt anchor, than about the mouth; from whence, to this place, we had ſeen many other rivers mingling their waters with this. We ſent our interpreter with the negro to Baltimanſa, accompanying the meſſage with a preſent, conſiſting of a garment of ſilk, in the Mooriſh faſhion, called a zembra, made like a ſhirt; and to announce to him that we arrived, on the part of the Chriſtian king of Portugal, to make a friendſhip with him; to learn whether he might not want ſome of our merchandiſes, and that we would annually ſupply him with the requiſite quantity. They acquitted themſelves of their commiſſion ſo well, that the lord immediately ſent ſome of his negroes to our caravella, with whom we entered into a treaty. They brought us gold and ſlaves for our merchandiſes, though not in ſuch abundance as the negroes of Senegal had informed us. Our hopes ſunk, when we ſaw them advance with trifling quantities of gold; and even the value of that magnified; for they eſteem this metal as highly as we ourſelves, being more ſcarce among them than it is in our country: however, as their inclination was chiefly turned on wares of little worth and moment, we made ſome profit by them. We ſtaid eleven days here, during which time, all the negroes of the neighbourhood flocked about our caravellas; ſome to ſee new things, others to exchange ſome of their property, or a gold ring. The chief articles they brought us were cottons, and cotton yarn; ſome of them white, others ſtriped white and blue, others red, blue and white, well manufactured. They alſo offered us civet and civet-cat ſkins, monkies and baboons, of various kinds, great and ſmall, as there is a great quantity in theſe parts: they bartered them for things of little value, for about ten marquets a head. There were others who brought civet, which they ſold and eſtimated by ounces (forty or fifty marquets an ounce); ſome brought fruits of different kinds; among others, little and wild dates, not very good, but which were eaten by the ſailors, who affirmed, that they had a different flavour from ours; and, in their opinion, they were not bad. I abſtained from them, as I was apprehenſive of a flux, or ſome other ill effects, from an exotic plant I had not been accuſtomed to. By this means we had every day freſh ſcenes of new people, and new languages, about our caravella. They went up and down the river, with their whole families, uninterrupted. In their almadias they have only oars, which do not reſt againſt any nail, or ſupport by any aperture in the ſide of the boats, but they hold it by main force, and tug upright, in two rows, one on each ſide. The oar is a pole, like a half-lance: at the end they fix a round trencher, by which they cut the water with great ſwiftneſs, and go into the ſea along the coaſt. As there are numerous little rivers diſcharging into it, they have always ſome ready, as an aſylum. They are very careful, however,

however, not to go at a diſtance from their country, as they would otherwiſe endanger their ſafety, and perhaps be ſold for ſlaves. At the end of eleven days, we found ſome of our crew beginning to ſicken with an acute and continual fever, therefore thought it high time to abandon that ſtation, and make a precipitate retreat to the mouth of the river. I ſhould, however, not leave this nation without mentioning a few particulars about their cuſtoms and ſoil. They are idolaters as to their faith, and put great confidence in charms and other diabolical practices; yet they all acknowledge one God, and ſome of them profeſs Mahometaniſm; the zeal of whoſe profeſſors impels them to propagate their religion among thoſe claſſes of people who are the leaſt able to inſtruct themſelves. Their way of living ſeems to be the ſame as that in Senegal, and their food the ſame, excepting ſome kinds of rice, in which the former have the advantage. They alſo eat dogs, a food I had never ſeen or heard any where elſe in faſhion. They do not go naked, like the negroes of Senegal, but cover themſelves with cotton cloth; and by reaſon of the abundance of this production, the women are equally adorned. When they are young, they take pleaſure in performing certain operations on their fleſh, by pricking themſelves with a needle, making figures on the breaſt, arms, and neck, in ſuch fancies as thoſe works of ſilk we ſee on ſome of our handkerchiefs: they hold the part to the fire, which fixes the impreſſion ſo as never to be defaced. This is one of the hotteſt regions, yet I am apt to believe muſt ſtill be more habitable than thoſe that lie to the ſouth. I found the degree of heat much greater on the river than in the ſea; perhaps, becauſe it is ſurrounded by the trees, with which the whole land is overgrown. When we laid in ſome water from a ſpring near the river, we ſaw, among others, a tree, whoſe height, though very conſiderable, fell infinitely ſhort in proportion to its trunk, which we found to be ſeventeen fathoms in compaſs, whilſt its height was only twenty paces. The trunk was hollow in ſeveral parts, but the branches were thick and vigorous. There were others ſo high and thick, as to beſpeak the greateſt fertility of ſoil, which is beſide watered by a great number of rivers.

Elephants are very common here, and I have ſeen a ſmall group of wild ones: they have not the art of taming them, as in other countries. We were in the middle of the river, when we perceived three iſſue from the wood, and walk on the ſhore. We took a boat to approach them, as they were at ſome diſtance; but they returned to the wood when they ſaw us. I ſaw another little one afterwards that had been killed by a negro, called Gaumi Menſa, who dwelt near the mouth of the river, after having, in complaiſance to me, chaſed him, with ſome of his negroes, during two days. They hunt on foot, and uſe no other arms than their zagaye and the bow. Their weapons are all dipped in poiſon. When they chaſe elephants, they poſt themſelves behind, or upon the trees, and aſſail them with poiſoned arms. As they leap from one tree to another with facility, they run no danger, but kill the huge animal with much eaſe, as its bulk hinders it from eſcaping the numerous darts with which it is overwhelmed from all ſides. It is otherwiſe in open plains, where the leaſt overſight of a hunter may make him a prey to his game, which is by far more ſwift-footed than even a good runner. This I have heard from the negroes themſelves.

I believe I have hinted that the elephant is not a ferocious animal; they will reſpect a man, if they are not provoked. The teeth of that little elephant I ſaw were not longer than three ſpans, one of which was rooted in the jaw. This was a proof of its youth, as the grown ones generally project teeth of ten or twelve ſpans in length.

Though it was reckoned a ſmall one, I can avow that its maſs of fleſh was equal to five or ſix of our bulls. Part of this elephant was offered me as a preſent by that lord; the reſt was left to the hunters for their banquet. When I heard that they made ſuch a uſe of it, I ordered pieces to be roaſted and boiled, which I taſted out of mere curioſity, and a deſire of confirming reports by experience, whenever I ſhould return to my country; but in fact I found it tough and taſteleſs. I took a leg, and a part of its trunk, into my ſhip, together with ſome handfuls of his hairs, which were black, rough, and above a ſpan and an half in length. The fleſh I ſalted, and made a preſent of the whole to prince Henry on my return to Spain, which he received with marks of great ſatisfaction, as they were the firſt fruits of that country, whoſe diſcovery had been owing to his ſagacity and reſolution alone. The elephants feet have no great reſemblance to thoſe of the horſe; it has, among other differences, no hoofs, but five nails round the extremity of its foot, which touch the ground, and are round, of about a groſſon's ſize*. The foot of this little elephant was heavy, and meaſured a ſpan and an half on its ſole, which is nearly circular. The above lord had preſented me another foot of an elephant, whoſe ſole was three palms and an inch both ways. I offered it, together with a tooth of twelve palms in length, to prince Henry, which he immediately ſent to the ducheſs of Burgundy as a preſent.

We found, in the river Gambra, and the other rivers, divers animals; one called the river horſe, which is amphibious, and not widely different from our ſea calves. It has a body like a cow, with ſhort legs; its feet are flat, and the head is like that of a horſe, with a large tooth in each jaw, as our boars; nearly of the ſame ſize, but rather longer. This beaſt lives promiſcuouſly in water, or on land; is peculiar to this country, and ſome other on the Nile. We ſaw bats of three ſpans and more, with ſome other of the feathered tribe, (differing from ours) particularly whole ſwarms of parrots.

The ſickneſs of our crew having forced us to fly that unhealthy ſpot, we left the port of Manſa, which is the land of Baltimanſa, and found ourſelves in a few days at the entrance of the ſea. As our ſhip was in the beſt condition, I thought it incumbent, ſince we had now advanced ſo far, to venture farther ſouth. This reſolution was applauded, and, the firſt favourable wind, put in execution; the more willingly, as that ſhore about Gambra began to appear tireſome and unprofitable. We now advanced more and more into the ſea: the land was low, and exhibited one of the moſt delightful wild proſpects, conſiſting of lofty and innumerable trees; we were therefore obliged to ſteer weſt, and when in open ſea, diſcovered that this projection of land was not a cape, the ſhore continuing ſtrait for a conſiderable way. However, we kept at a diſtance, and could ſee the waves break for about four miles. I ordered a look-out to be kept from the main-top-maſt-head and the prow, for banks and ſhoals. We navigated only by day, and even then with circumſpection: we caſt anchor for the night, one caravella ſucceeding the other, according to the lot of the day, as no one of the ſhips ſued for the firſt place, taking it by rotation. The third day we diſcovered a river; it might be about half a mile wide; and farther on, a ſmall gulph, which might have been taken for the mouth of a river. As the night came on, we anchored there. The next morning, as we had made ſome way in our former direction, we were ſurpriſed by another river, little inferior to that of Gambra. Both ſhores were decked with high and green trees. We entered it, and anchored. We determined to diſpatch

* A piece of ſilver about the ſize of a penny.

two

two armed boats, with our interpreters, to explore and enquire into the name of the river, and who was the lord that governed there. They returned with an anſwer, that the river was Caſamanſa, after the name of the negro lord, called Caſamanſa, who lived about thirty miles higher up the river; but he was abſent, and engaged in a war. Upon this news we hoiſted ſail the next day and departed. This river lies at the diſtance of twenty-five leagues, or one hundred miles from that of Gambra.

Having reſumed our firſt direction along the coaſt, we arrived at a cape, which lies about twenty miles off the river Caſamanſa. This cape ſeems to riſe a little above the ſurface of the adjacent coaſt; its front carried a red appearance, from which we called it Cape Roſſo. Shortly after we came to another river, whoſe mouth was about a bow-ſhot wide, but made no attempt on it, contenting ourſelves with giving it the name of Santa Anna. We ſaw another river a little beyond the latter, which was nearly of the ſame ſize as the river Santa Anna: we gave it the name of St. Dominico, and reckoned it to be fifty-five or ſixty miles diſtant from Cape Roſſo. After another day's ſailing, we diſcovered the mouth of a ſtream ſo majeſtic and capacious, as to paſs for ſome time, in our opinion, as a gulph. Its ſouthern ſhore was bordered with green trees, and the paſſage from one to the other was at leaſt twenty miles, by our eſtimation on croſſing it. From the other ſhore we could ſee ſome iſlands in the ſea, and reſolving to inform ourſelves of that country, caſt anchor: the next morning we ſaw two almadias near us, of which the largeſt was as long as our caravella, and contained about thirty negroes; the leſſer might have carried ſixteen. When we ſaw them preſſing with great velocity towards us, we lay on our oars, determined to give them a warm reception in caſe they ſhould offer any hoſtilities; but when they were within hearing, they held out a white handkerchief tied to an oar, as if to demand a parley. This we anſwered by doing the ſame; whereupon they drew to our ſide, and were followed by other almadias, who crouded about my caravella, to ſee and admire the white men, the veſſel, the maſts, &c. which were all unknown, and ſtupendous things to them. I ſent the interpreter, but neither he, nor thoſe of the other caravella, could ever comprehend a word of theirs, or learn who they were. Here we reſted, deſpairing now to find any people we could have commerce with beyond theſe limits; and as, by going further, the difference of languages would only increaſe the difficulties, our return home was agreed upon. We bartered ſome trifles for a few ſmall gold rings, of the two almadias, by ſigns. We remained only two days at the mouth of the river, where we obſerved the Polar ſtar to be extremely low. I have remarked in that place, that the tide, inſtead of increaſing ſix hours, and decreaſing as many, as in our parts, increaſes four hours, and takes up eight in flowing. The impetuoſity of the current is beyond that of any other in my memory. Three anchors were barely ſufficient to hold one of our ſhips for ſome time, and we were at laſt torn away, with imminent danger, in ſpite of the wind, which favoured us.

When we left this river, on our return to Spain, we ſailed towards thoſe iſlands we had lately deſcried from the ſhore of the great river: we found them thirty miles from the ſhore; two of them were of ſome extent, the others ſmall and inconſiderable. The two greater ones were inhabited by negroes, though almoſt on a level with the ſea: they were both enriched with fine and lofty green trees. We could not communicate with them, as their language was as unintelligibe to our interpreters as the former; ſo we ſteered homewards without delay, where, not long after, we arrived in perfect ſafety.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VII.

Grant of King Alfonſo to his Brother Don Ferdinand. Cape de Verde Iſlands diſcovered. Grant of them by the ſame King. Death and Character of Prince Henry.

A. D. 1457. KING ALFONSO this year paſſed a grant to don Ferdinand, his brother, of all the iſlands which had been hitherto diſcovered, with juriſdiction both civil and criminal, under ſome limitations; and
A. D. 1460. three years after, the infante don Henry made over to the ſaid don Ferdinand, his nephew and adopted ſon, the iſlands of Jeſus and Gratioſa, reſerving only the ſpiritual juriſdiction, which belonged to the order of Chriſt. This donation was confirmed by the king on the
A. D. 1461. ſecond of September in the ſame year. The next year, as many people repaired to the iſland of Arguim, to trade for gold and negroes, the king ordered a caſtle or fort to be built on that iſland, which ſtill remains. This was done by Soero Mendez, a gentleman of his houſhold, on whom the king beſtowed the government thereof, with remainder to his ſons.

" We find (ſays De Barros) that about this time the iſlands now called Cape de Verde, were diſcovered by one Antonio de Noli, a Genoeſe of noble blood, who, from ſome offence he had received in his own country, went to Portugal, in company with his brother Bartholomew, and his nephew Raphael de Noli. To theſe the infante gave permiſſion to proceed on diſcovery. Sixteen days after their departure from Liſbon, they diſcovered the iſland which they called May, becauſe they arrived there on the firſt day of that month. The next day, being the feſtival of St. Philip and St. James, they diſcovered two iſlands, to which they gave the names of thoſe ſaints. At the ſame time ſome other ſervants of the infante don Ferdinand, being out on the diſcovery, ſaw the other Cape de Verde iſlands, (making in the whole ten) ſo called from their ſituation, about one hundred leagues weſt of the ſaid cape."—Of theſe iſlands the king made a grant to his brother don Ferdinand, on the 19th of September in the ſame year.

It may be neceſſary here to make ſome remark concerning the diſcovery of theſe iſlands, the honour of which, we have already ſeen, has been claimed by Cada Moſto, and the Portugueſe writers give it to De Noli. It is therefore not unlikely, but Cada Moſto actually diſcovered two of theſe iſlands; but his voyage being undertaken on a private account, the journal or record of it might not be preſerved by the Portugueſe.

This is the laſt expedition we find during the life of prince Henry: that great man ſeems, ever ſince the acceſſion of his nephew, don Alfonſo, to have reſigned the active part to his other nephew, don Ferdinand. He lived, however, many years after, attained the age of ſixty-ſeven, and quitted this world in the year 1463. His character is drawn by his countryman, De Barros, who may be ſuppoſed to have heightened the colouring rather too much; however, we inſert it as a juſt tribute to the memory of ſo great a man.

This excellent prince, third ſon to king John I. of glorious memory, and of queen donna Phillippa, his wife, daughter of John duke of Alem Caſtro, or Lancaſter, and ſiſter to Henry IV. of England; and, as in general, from the nobleneſs of blood, all perſonal qualities are derived, we may believe, that upon this foundation God

God Almighty inſpired his ſoul with equal greatneſs, as his actions proved, in the whole courſe of his life. His perſon was of a middling ſtature, broad, ſtrong limbed, and fleſhy; of a good red and white, denoting a good aſſemblage of humours. His hair was ſomewhat raiſed, and from the gravity of his countenance, he appeared ſevere to thoſe that were not acquainted with him; and when provoked to anger, looked fierce; but this very ſeldom happened; for even in the height of his diſpleaſure, he never made uſe of any other words to thoſe that diſpleaſed him, than to ſay, "I give you up to God, "lucky may you be." His demeanour was ſerene, of mild ſpeech, and conſtant to what he ſaid, which was ever chaſte and honeſt; and this he moſt religiouſly obſerved in all his dealings: his houſhold and dreſs kept pace with them. All this proceeded from the uprightneſs of his ſoul; and it was ſaid he never was unchaſte. In his labours and paſſions he was very patient, and maſter of himſelf; humble, and ſo ready in pardoning errors, that he did it to a fault. He had a great memory, and much weight and authority in his councils among the learned: was magnificent in his expences for improvement, and very deſirous to try experiments for the general good, at his own private coſt. He was very fond of bringing up young noblemen, and having them taught good habits; ſo bent was he on theſe things, that his palace was beheld as a ſchool of virtuous nobility, where the greateſt part of the chief perſons of the kingdom were brought up, whom he maintained and rewarded for their ſervices. He had ſuch confidence and eſteem for them, that in his will, he recommended them to king don Alfonſo, and the infante don Ferdinand, whom he had adopted for his ſon; that they, as well as all his ſervants, ſhould have their ſtipends continued to them: and that they would receive them in their houſhold as their own ſervants; becauſe, he thanked God, they were deſerving of every favour conferred on them. Notwithſtanding his plain appearance, words, faſtings, and prayers, and his whole life moſtly devoted to religion, yet he had an exalted mind for great enterpriſes, equal to any of royal blood, which ſhewed itſelf conſpicuouſly, when he was in Africa at the taking of Ceuta, as we have related in our African narration; in which, he not only managed and laid a proper plan to go upon, but ſent to the iſland of Majorca for one Iacome, a learned man in the art of navigation, a drawer of charts and maps, and a maker of inſtruments, to teach the Portugueſe officers that ſcience, which coſt him a great deal of money: he alſo ſent ſugar canes from Cicilia, and Sicily, to the iſland of Madeira, that they might be there planted, as alſo people to cultivate them; ſhewing by theſe things how much he had at heart the common good, and deſire of anſwering to his motto, *talent de bien faire.* In regard to letters, he moſtly loved ſacred writings, and as to other literature, he principally ſtudied coſmography, from which the kingdom now poſſeſſes the lordſhip of Guinea, with the other titles annexed to the crown. He not only left theſe pledges of the love he bore to letters in general, but gave up his houſes and other things, for the benefit of ſtudies then purſued at Liſbon; which, on the return of every year, the celebration was kept up. In his life time, the diſcoveries from Cape Bajador, which was in thirty-ſeven degrees north as far as Sierra Leona, which is ſeven degrees and two-thirds, and contains a coaſt of three hundred and ſeventy leagues; Sierra Leona being diſcovered by Pedro di Sintra, one of the knights of his houſhold. In the beginning of theſe diſcoveries, though attended with great difficulties and murmurs, he never deſiſted nor deſpaired, with the help of God, to accompliſh them, during the ſpace of forty years, commencing in 1420 (not mentioning ſome years before without ſucceſs in the diſcovery of the iſland of Madeira); and on the thirteenth

thirteenth of November, 1463, he died at Sagres, and was buried at Lagos, and afterwards ſent to the monaſtery of Santa Maria da Victoria, called a Batalha, in the king his father's chapel.

One remark we think neceſſary to make in juſtice to his memory: the encouragement given by the prince to the purchaſe of the human ſpecies, can in no reſpect be juſtified; yet if we view his other actions, we may with juſtice conclude, that the bigotted tenets of his religion are more to be blamed than he. The ſuppoſition that the perſon and properties of unbelievers could lawfully be aſſigned, by virtue of the pope's power, to thoſe of the true faith, is ſo big with abſurdity, that it is aſtoniſhing any human being could aſſent to it: however, this good man certainly did. We can only therefore lament the blindneſs of human nature, when clouded with ſuperſtition; and it is but juſtice to conclude, that had this excellent prince lived in more enlightened times, he would have rejected ſuch principles with horror.

CHAPTER VIII.

Voyage of Captain Pedro di Sintra, a Portugueſe. Written by Alviſe da Cada Moſto.

Introduction of Cada Mosto.

A. D. 1462. HITHERTO I have related adventures and diſcoveries of which I have been myſelf a witneſs; and I am now going to give an account of diſcoveries that have been made by others after me. Don Henry having died, the king of Portugal ſeemed to adopt his ſchemes, and ſent ſoon after his death two armed caravellas. The captain to whom he entruſted the command of them was Pedro de Sintra, one of his equerries, whom he commiſſioned to extend the ſphere of the diſcoveries already made, by penetrating along the coaſt of the negroes farther into the ocean than any ſhip had done. Among the company of the captain, there was a young Portugueſe, who had been with me in my voyage in thoſe parts, in the capacity of clerk. At the return of theſe caravellas, I happened to be in Lagos, where he came to pay me a viſit, and related their adventures, and the countries they had ſeen (which were exactly the ſame I had diſcovered before); the names they had given them, and the ſucceſſive order of the places from Rio Grande, forwards. He told me they had landed on the above-mentioned inhabited great iſlands; that they deſcended on one of them, and endeavoured to make themſelves underſtood by the negroes, but in vain; that they went to their houſes, and found them ſmall, covered with ſtraw, and in a wretched condition; that they found ſome wooden idols in them, and conjectured the people to be idolaters. Fatigued with that ſcene, they quickly reſumed their voyage to the ſouth, along the coaſt, until they came to a large river, about three or four miles wide, and which might have been diſtant from Rio Grande about forty miles: its name was Biſequis, from a lord of the ſame name, who reigned on its ſhores. After that, they arrived at a cape to which they gave the name

name of Verga. All the land from the river Biſequis to this cape, is mountainous, though of no conſiderable elevation. He computed the diſtance from the ſaid river to this cape, one hundred and forty miles. They were all delighted with the pictoreſque appearance of thoſe mountains, covered with a number of lofty and green trees, which could be ſeen from a great diſtance.

About eighty miles beyond Cape Verga, they diſcovered another cape, which, in the opinion of the ſailors, was the higheſt they had hitherto ſeen. In the middle, it riſes in a high point; and the whole is alſo embelliſhed by green and lofty trees. They named it Sagres, in memory of a fortreſs which don Henry had conſtructed on one of the points of Cape St. Vincent of the ſame name, and the Portugueſe call it, at preſent, Cape Sagres of Guinea. From the information they could procure, they learned that the inhabitants were idolaters, and proſtrated themſelves before wooden ſtatues, in the form of men; that they never eat or drink without offering a part of their repaſt to thoſe idols. Their complexion inclines more to the tawny than black colour. They had marks made with an inſtrument on different parts of their face and body. They go about naked, and only cover their privities with the rinds of trees. As they have no iron in their country, they have ſcarce any arms. They ſubſiſt upon rice, millet, pulſe, beans, and kidney-beans, which differ from ours by their beauty and ſize: and they have cow and goat fleſh, though not plentiful. Oppoſite this cape are three iſlands, diſtant about four miles from one another, and eight from the cape; they are not inhabited, as they are very ſmall, but are all covered with fine trees. They met with ſome almadias on that river, which are ſomewhat like our zoppoli, and generally carry thirty or forty men: they are alſo conducted with oars, and without the help of ſails, as I obſerved above. The ears of this people are all perforated, and they carry many different ſorts of rings in them. The griſtle of their noſe has alſo a hole, through which they paſs a gold ring, as with our buffaloes: when they eat they take it off: it is worn both by men and women. They ſay, that the women of the kings and lords, or any other man of note, have the labiæ of their private parts pierced with ſome holes, as their ears, on which they wear, from an affectation of finery, dignity, and high life, gold rings, which they take off or put on at pleaſure.

Forty miles beyond Cape Sagres there is another river named St. Vincent, which is about four miles wide at the mouth. Five miles further there is another river, called Rio Verde, which appeared larger than that of St. Vincent. Both theſe names have been impoſed on them by the new adventurers. This country is all over mountainous, and the coaſt has every where good ſailing and a good anchoring ground. Liedo is the next place they diſcovered; it is a cape to which they gave this name, on account of the gay appearance which that and the country afforded them. At this cape a mountain begins, which extends fifty miles along the coaſt; it is high, and perpetually covered with the loftieſt green trees. Towards its extremity they found three iſlands, about eight miles from the ſhore; the largeſt of which was ten or twelve miles in circumference. They called theſe iſlands Salvezze, and the mountain Sierra Leona, on account of the tremendous roaring of the thunder about the ſummit of it, which is continually wrapped up in cloud and miſt.

After they had left the mountain Leona behind them, they found the whole coaſt full of ſand banks, reaching into the ſea. Not thirty miles off the cape of the ſaid mountain, a river, about three miles wide occurs; from the red appearance of which, the

waters of this river carried, owing to the ſand on the bottom, it was named Rio Roſſo, the red river. A little off this river we ſaw a cape, which was likewiſe of the ſame colour, and we called it Cape Roſſo; and the iſland which lay near this cape in the ſea, we alſo gave the appellation of Red Iſland, from the vicinity to the red cape. From that iſland we could ſee the north ſtar about the height of a man above the ſea: we found the diſtance from the red river to this iſland to be ten miles. Behind Cape Roſſo, there is a gulph in which a river diſcharges: as it was diſcovered on the day of Santa Maria of the Snow, they gave it this name. On the other ſide of the river, a point riſes, oppoſite to which there lies a ſmall iſland in the ſea. This gulph or baſon is interſperſed with banks of ſand, which extend along the ſea coaſt, for about ten miles, on which the ſea breaks. The current of water is very impetuous, both on the ebb and flood tide. This iſland was called by them the iſland Scamid a Barſo, on account of the aforeſaid ſhoals. Beyond this iſland to the ſouth, there is a conſiderable cape, which having been diſcovered on the day of Santa Anna, was called by the name of that ſaint. They reckon from that iſland to this cape, four-and-twenty miles: the coaſt is low and ſhallow.

After a new progreſs of ſeventy miles, the caravella arrived at a river, which, as it was bordered with palms, received the name of Palm river. The entrance of this river is impeded by innumerable banks, highly dangerous. They found the whole coaſt from Santa Anna to this river full of ſhoals, as alſo for the ſpace of ſeventy miles beyond it, as far as the river of Smoke, which derived its name from the clouds of ſmoke that flew from the land. This river is but inconſiderable for its ſize. Four-and-twenty miles beyond it, alſo on a low coaſt, a cape projected far into the ſea, on which a high mountain roſe, and occaſioned its being called the Cape of the Mountain. Another cape occurred on this ſhore about ſixty miles off, which, as it was ſmall, and diſtinguiſhed by a mountain of a moderate appearance, they called it Cape Court, or Miſundo. Here they ſaw high flames that had been lighted by the negroes, when they ſaw the veſſels for the firſt time. Sixteen miles from hence, they found a large wood of green trees on the coaſt, which was watered in ſome parts by the ſea, and received the name of the wood of Santa Maria. The caravella was plying for a ſhort time near it, when they perceived ſome almadias of negroes, with two or three men in each, who were all naked, and carried ſome ſharp-pointed weapons, reſembling darts. Some of them had ſmall knives about them; they had two targets of ſkin, and three bows among them: they made towards our caravella: they had alſo many rings about their ears, one in the noſe, and were diſtinguiſhed by the teeth they carried about their necks, which ſeemed to be human teeth. The interpreters ſpoke to them, but were totally ignorant of their language. Three came on board one of the caravellas; the Portugueſe kept one, and diſmiſſed the two others, in compliance with the orders they had received from the king of Portugal, that from the remoteſt country they would land at, they ſhould bring, if practicable, ſome negroes with them, in order to obtain from them, by means of other negroes in Portugal, (once poſſeſſed of the language,) ſome uſeful information about their country. For this reaſon, as they were now reſolved upon their return, they had made this capture, which they preſented to the king, who had divers negroes before him, and alſo a negro girl, the ſlave of a citizen of Liſbon, who was alſo from a remote country, and was the only one that could underſtand him, not by her native language, but by the medium of another, in which they were both converſant. His whole relation was however very enigmatic and abſtruſe; all that could

could be learned of him was, that there were unicorns in his country. The king, after having kept him for ſeveral months, and cauſed him to be ſhewn the greateſt curioſities of the kingdom, gave him ſome gowns, and ſent him back to his country in a caravella, with good treatment, and marks of benevolence. However, that country has always been the limits of navigators, until my departure from Spain, the firſt of February, 1463.

CHAPTER IX.

Trade to Africa farmed. Further Diſcoveries. Commerce opened with Mina. Iſland of Fernando de Po diſcovered. Cape St. Catherine's, the Iſlands of St. Thomas, Annobom, and Principe, or Prince's Iſland diſcovered. Another Iſland diſcovered. Voyage of D'Azambuja. Fort and Church built in Africa.

A. D. 1474. AT this time the trade to Africa was well underſtood between the Portugueſe and the inhabitants of that coaſt. The commercial intercourſe between the two countries was carried on with peace and friendſhip; not as at firſt, by making deſcents on their coaſts and plundering them, "which (ſays Barros) was unavoidable, when you conſider thoſe people in the barbarous ſtate they were in. But when they began to receive benefits, as well in their underſtanding as to their ſouls, and many things for their uſe, they became more civilized;" ſo that whenever the Portugueſe arrived at their ports, multitudes came to traffic with them. But the king being too much taken up with the affairs of his kingdom to attend to this commerce, farmed the ſame to a citizen of Liſbon, Fernandes Gomez, for five years, at two hundred millreis per annum, [about 55l. ſterling] on condition that he ſhould every year diſcover one hundred leagues beyond Sierra Leona, the extent of diſcovery then made by Pedro di Sintra and Soeiro da Coſta. Afterwards Soeiro da Coſta diſcovered the river which is now called Soeiro, which is between Cape Palmas, and the Three Bridges, near to the houſe of Axim, where the factory for the traffic of gold is eſtabliſhed. Among other conditions of this contract, all the ivory was to belong to the king, for which he was to allow at the rate of one thouſand five hundred reis per quintal, [about eight ſhillings and three-pence ſterling] and which the king diſpoſed of at a higher price to one Martimannes Boavige, agreeable to a prior contract, that he, the ſaid Boavige, ſhould have all the ivory that was brought from the coaſt of Africa; and alſo as a thing that was much in eſtimation at that time, Fernandes Gomez had liberty to traffic for each of thoſe five years for a civit cat.

This contract with Gomez was made in 1469, with reſtriction that he ſhould not carry on any traffic to the part of the continent oppoſite the Çape de Verde iſlands, that being reſerved for the inhabitants of thoſe iſlands; nor to the iſland of Arguim, as the king had granted it to prince John, his ſon. Fernandes Gomez afterwards farmed it of the prince for a certain number of years, at one hundred millreis per annum, [about twenty-five pounds ſterling]. He was ſo ſucceſsful and diligent, that in the year 1471, he opened a commerce for gold at the place we now call Mina or

Mine, by means of Joam de Santarem and Pedro Eſcovar, both knights, and their two pilots, Martin Fernandes, of Liſbon, and Alvaro Eſteves, of Lagos; which laſt was reckoned the moſt expert in his profeſſion in all Spain. The firſt exchange of gold in this country was made at a ſmall village called Sammá, containing about five hundred inhabitants; and afterwards more was made lower down, where a fortification is now ſtanding, built by king John, which is called the village of Aldea, or of two parts. Fernandes Gomez not only diſcovered this exchange of gold here, but alſo further on in his diſcoveries, which by his contract carried him as far as Cape Santa Catherina, thirty-ſeven leagues beyond Cape Lopo Gonzalez, in two degrees and an half ſouth latitude, from which he gained great riches. In 1474, which was the laſt year of his contract, the king created him a noble, and gave him a new coat of arms, with the appellation *Da Mina*, in memory of this diſcovery, and appointed him of his council, in reward for having brought the commerce of Guinea to be of ſuch conſequence.

At this time the iſland Formoſa was diſcovered by one Fernando de Po, which now goes by his name. The laſt diſcovery in the time of king Alfonſo was by don de Sequiera, a knight of his houſhold, who diſcovered Cape St. Catherine's, and called it ſo, becauſe firſt ſeen on that ſaint's day.

Theſe voyages were by order of this king, and don Henry alſo purſued his; ſo that there were diſcoveries going on always, even from the coaſt, from whence came the firſt Malagueta, which was brought to the infante don Henry. Though ſome of it had found its way to Italy, by means of the Moors of Mandinga, and the deſerts of Lybia, which they call Cahará, theſe bringing it to a port in the Mediterranean, called Mundi Barca, and corruptly Monte da Barca; and as the Italians did not know from whence this precious ſpice came, and being ſo exquiſitely fine, they called it grains of paradiſe.

The iſlands of St. Thomas, Annobom, and Principe, or Prince's, were alſo diſcovered under king Alfonſo, and other iſlands and places of traffic, which we cannot relate in particular, becauſe we know not the real time, nor who were the captains that diſcovered them. There was alſo an iſland diſcovered, of which we have not even the name, though we could bring many teſtimonies to prove it. This iſland was diſcovered in the year 1438; and from a journal of the voyage of a Spaniſh expedition from the coaſt of Africa to the coaſt of Brazil, in the year 1525, and thence to the iſlands of Malucca, under the command of Francis Garcia de Loais, captain-general. The journaliſt ſays, that one don Roderigo da Campa, an Andaluzian nobleman, captain of a veſſel called St. Jago in that expedition; and St. Jago Guevara, a Biſcainer, in another veſſel, likewiſe called St. Jago, had a diſpute with each other about the taking a Portugueſe ſhip, with negroes, from the iſland of St. Thomas, and they even came to blows: however, the Portugueſe veſſel was carried before the captain-general, who was deſirous of taking the pilot out of her, that he might carry him away with him; but as there was no perſon that could navigate her, except this pilot, he gave up his intention. He interrogated the pilot on many things concerning ſea affairs, and then ſuffered him to depart. According to this journal, we find he received information that the Portugueſe were then at Malucca, where they had built a fort.

Proceeding on their voyage, being in two degrees ſouth, they found an iſland called St. Matthew's, in which were two watering places; one a very good one, and the other not ſo; and they found inſcribed on two trees, that eighty-ſeven years before, ſome Portugueſe had been there, and benefited by the fruits of the iſland, which produced

produced plenty of ſweet oranges, palm-trees, and fowls, like thoſe of Spain, of which they killed many with their croſs bows. He alſo relates many other articles found on the iſland; but I only mention theſe to prove, that we had made more diſcoveries at that time than what Gomezeanes de Zurara, the hiſtoriographer, had written of. It was no uncommon thing to find inſcriptions on trees, as the Portugueſe made a practice of doing ſo wherever they came, and generally affixed don Henry's motto, *Talent de bien faire*; which written on the bark of trees, and ſome wooden croſſes, were eſteemed a ſufficient claim to the diſcovery. King John II. afterwards ordered ſtone marks to be erected, which explained the time, and by whom the places were diſcovered, and was then thought ſufficient to aſſert poſſeſſion; but now (ſays De Barros) even fortifications in theſe very places will hardly give them a right, from the jealouſies that have ariſen in the world.

On the death of Alfonſo, king John ſucceeded. He had in the life time of his father the buſineſs of Africa conſigned to him as part of his revenue; from experience he knew, that gold, ivory, ſlaves, and other things, enriched his kingdom; that every year new diſcoveries were making, and he had great hopes that India would be diſcovered through theſe ſeas. Being a prince of great prudence and judgment, he ordered a caſtle to be built, and a church in honour of God, to aſſert his right to the poſſeſſions of the diſcoveries already made, or that might hereafter be made, which was alſo confirmed to him by the pope. He knew that the blacks, from whence the traffic for gold was carried on, were very fond of ſilk, cotton, linen cloths, and other things, as they were more enlightened than moſt of their neighbours, and alſo ſeemed to ſhew that no great difficulty would ariſe to their receiving Chriſtian baptiſm. He built a fort accordingly at that place, although ſome were averſe to its being on that part of the coaſt, becauſe they alledged that the country was very unwholeſome, and the navigation troubleſome. The king's anſwer to this was, that if one ſoul was brought to the faith by means of this fortification, all the other inconveniencies might be provided againſt. Having determined on this fort, he ordered a fleet of ten caravellas, and two hulks, or large tranſports, to be got ready, with ſtones, wood, bricks, and every other neceſſary for ſuch a purpoſe, with proviſions for ſix hundred men, of which one hundred were labourers, and the others ſoldiers. Of this expedition Diogo d'Azambuja was captain-general, a perſon well verſed in war. The other captains were Gonzalez da Fonſeca, Ruy d'Oliveira, Juan Rodrigues Gante, Juan Afonſo, Diogo Rodrigues Inglez, Bartholomew Dias, Pedro d'Evora, and Gomez Aires, an attendant of don Pedro king of Arragon. All the foregoing were of noble extraction, and of the king's houſhold. The captains of the tranſports were Pero de Cintra and Fernam d'Afonſo, who having all the materials for building this fort, ſailed ſome days before the reſt; and Pedro d'Evora went with them in a ſmall veſſel, with a view of fiſhing at the port of Bezeguiche, in caſe the large ſhips could not come near enough for that purpoſe: Pedro d'Evora was ſo active and diligent in this buſineſs, that he made peace with the proprietor of that coaſt, whoſe name was
A.D. 1481. Bezeguiche. Diogo d'Azambuja, on his arrival, confirmed this peace, being only twelve days after he left Liſbon; and continuing his voyage,
A.D. 1482. it was ſo proſperous, that on the 19th of January the next year, he arrived ſafe at the place where the fort was to be built, which was then called the village of Aldea, where he found Juan Bernardo, in a veſſel belonging to the king, trafficing for gold with Caramança, the proprietor of that village, whom he deſired

deſired to inform him that he was come there with a large fleet, belonging to his maſter the king of Portugal, in which were many people of rank and conſequence, to ſhew him every reſpect, as he ſhould learn from him in perſon the next day, if he approved of it, and that he would come on ſhore for that purpoſe. Caramança was pleaſed with his arrival, and Diogo d'Azambuja went on ſhore, attended with all his people dreſſed, with their arms concealed, in caſe they ſhould be wanted. The firſt thing he did was to take poſſeſſion of a large tree, a little diſtant from the village, a very proper place to erect the fort, and ordered the royal arms to be diſplayed on it, and at the foot an altar to be erected, where the firſt maſs was celebrated in that part of Africa, which was heard by all our people with great devotion, praiſing God, and imploring his aſſiſtance in bringing all thoſe idolatrous people to the faith, and that the church which was to be there founded, might laſt to the end of the world. This maſs being ended, which was on St. Sebaſtian's day, this name was given to the valley: it was the place where they firſt landed, and where Diogo d'Azambuja waited for Caramança, who was now coming from his village. The general placed all his men in order, and ſeating himſelf on a high chair, in embroidered cloaths, with a collar of gold and precious ſtones, all his captains dreſſed, and the reſt of his people arranged in length, made a long avenue, that when Caramança ſhould come, (who was likewiſe deſirous of ſhewing his ſtate) he might be received properly. Caramança came with his people, arranged in a martial manner, with a number of odd attendants, and people playing on different kinds of inſtruments in their country faſhion. They were almoſt all naked; their ſkins anointed and ſhining, which heightened their blackneſs. They had only a monkey's ſkin to cover their private parts, or a piece of cloth made from the palm tree; and ſome of the principal of them made uſe of our painted cloths, which they had bartered with the ſhips that came there for gold. In general they were armed with ſpears, ſhields, bows, and arrows; and many had on their heads what they called a head-piece, made of monkies ſkins, and ſtuck full of fiſhes teeth, but all very much diſfigured, which they meant ſhould ſtrike terror; but, on the contrary, made a very different impreſſion, and excited laughter. Thoſe among them that were ſuperior in rank had two pages to attend them; one carrying a round wooden ſtool for his maſter to ſit upon, and the other carrying his ſhield and arms. Some of theſe nobles had chains and other ornaments of gold on their heads and beards.

Their king Caramança came in the middle of them, his legs and arms covered with bracelets and gold rings; round his neck a collar, from which hung ſome ſmall bells, and from his beard hung wires of gold, twiſted with the hair. He moved on very ſlow, putting one foot gently before the other, and never moving his head, as if to ſupport his dignity. Diogo d'Azambuja remained ſeated till the king got within the ranks of the Portugueſe; he then came forward to meet him. Caramança took him by the hand; and on quitting it, made a motion with his fingers, ſaying, *bere, bere,* which means *peace, peace,* and which motion is alſo looked on as the greateſt mark of civility that can be ſhewn. The reſt of his nobles did the ſame to Diogo de Azambuja, but with this difference, that they touched his fingers with their fingers, but firſt whetted their own, by putting theirs in their mouth, then wiping them on their breaſt, to ſhew that they were not infected by poiſon.

Theſe ceremonies being ended, which laſted ſome time, from the number of people he brought with him, and ſilence being ordered, D'Azambuja, through means of an interpreter which he had with him, addreſſed himſelf to Caramança, and acquainted him, that the king his maſter having ſeen how ready he was to ſhew civilities to his people

and

and ſhips when they came to his ports, and doing it with ſuch true affection that he could no longer delay ſhewing him, in return, a ſimilar regard, which would be attended with greater advantages to him, and that was the ſalvation of his ſoul; a thing that all mankind held ſuperior to every other conſideration; that for thoſe who were willing to know theſe things, it was neceſſary for them firſt to know the creator of them, which was God: that he made the heavens, the ſun, moon, and earth, with every thing therein contained: which God, the king of Portugal his maſter, as well as all the other princes in Chriſtendom, (who were the greateſt part of the world) acknowledged as their Creator and Maſter; they adored him, and they believed in him; and that our ſouls after our death would appear before him, to give an account of their good and bad actions in this world; and his judgments were ſo juſt, that thoſe who had done good, ſhould be placed in heaven, where he was, and thoſe that had done evil ſhould be ſent to a bottomleſs pit, called hell, where they were to be tormented by things called devils. But for his comprehending all theſe things, it would be neceſſary for him to be waſhed in an holy water, which the Chriſtians called the baptiſm of faith; and as it was natural for every one that had his eyes full of duſt, to have recourſe to the water to waſh them, the ſame ſtood good in regard to the baptiſmal waſhing, to clear the underſtanding for the comprehenſion of the myſtery of the ſoul. The king his maſter ſent him to beg of him that he would acknowledge this God as Creator; to aſſure him that he would live and die in this faith, and to receive baptiſm as a pledge to perform the ſame; which if he would do, he could, in the king his maſter's name, promiſe that he ſhould receive him as a brother in faith, and bind himſelf to aſſiſt him in every thing that he was deſirous of; and that was the great motive that brought him there with ſo many people, to ſhew him every civility and honour, for the good of his nation; and not only at that moment he would receive ſuch aſſiſtance, but as long as he ſhould continue in the faith of Chriſt, which he then proffered to him. He now had brought a number of rich merchandiſe, never before ſeen in thoſe parts: that it would become neceſſary for him to build a ſtrong houſe to put them in, and likewiſe ſome habitations for thoſe honourable people he had brought with him, which he hoped he would not deny him. That it would be the means alſo of the king his maſter always ſending there to carry on the traffic between them; that it would be a great guard to him, and prevent any other power from doing him an injury. That though Bayo, king of Sama, and other princes his neighbours, would think it a great honour to have this fort built on their territories, yet from the love and affection he had ſhewn the king his maſter, and his ſubjects, he was deſirous of having the fort built on this ground.

Caramança, though in a ſtate of barbariſm, had a ſtrong underſtanding, was quick and clear in his judgment, ready to liſten to any thing reaſonable, and very deſirous of conſidering the things propoſed to him. He kept his eyes on D'Azambuja's countenance to obſerve his motions; during the whole of this ſpeech a ſtrict ſilence was obſerved. When the latter had finiſhed, Caramança fixt his eyes on the ground for a ſhort time, and replied, that he was much obliged to the king his maſter, for his great attention to the ſalvation of his ſoul, and for every thing elſe that he deſigned to honour him with: that he (Caramança) certainly had been very ſtrict and juſt in the traffic between him and their ſubjects, and attentive in getting their ſhips that came to his ports quickly diſpatched; that he had never obſerved

ſuch

ſuch a difference in the people's dreſs as he then did; that thoſe he had hitherto ſeen were generally ragged, and eaſily ſatisfied in the exchange of the commodities they brought, and never ſeemed deſirous of ſtaying to get habitations in his country; but, on the contrary, always wiſhed to be gone as ſoon as their trade was over. Now he ſaw a wide difference; a great many people, better clad, having gold and jewels, came with a new deſire, to build houſes and ſtay on ſhore; from which he could draw two concluſions—that D'Azambuja could be no leſs than a very near relation of the king of Portugal, or that being ſo great a man, he could not come but on ſome great errand, ſuch as he had explained to him, from the God that made the day, night, and every thing elſe. He judged that from ſo great a man as he was, accompanied by ſuch a number of ſplendid gentlemen, they never could put up with the miſeries of the coaſt of Africa, but required things ſuitable to ſuch ſplendor; and as paſſions exiſted in every one, theſe might draw on diſputes: he hoped he would look upon it right to continue on the ſame footing as they had hitherto done, their ſhips coming and going as uſual; that it was likely peace would be always continued by that means, and the deſire of ſeeing each other now and then would be more affectionate than to be always neighbours. To which he could draw a ſimile from the ſea and land, which, though neighbours, were always contending with each other who ſhould give way; the ſea with great violence often attempting to get into the land, and the land unwilling to permit it. All this he did not ſay in any wiſe to object to the commands of the king of Portugal, but only as advice, to preſerve peace, and to have the traffic continued upon its original plan. By this continuance of peace, he was ſure his people would be more inclined to hear about the God he had mentioned, therefore he wiſhed to ſee no alteration take place.

Diogo d'Azambuja judging from this ſpeech that they were averſe to having a fort built, told him that the king his maſter having ſent him in ſuch ſplendor, was only to deſire a more ſtrict union and peace, and as a pledge of his ſincerity, was deſirous of building an houſe there to ſecure his merchandiſe in; for no one would put their effects in a dangerous ſituation: that ſurely had they any ſuch idea, they would not venture their lives and property in a ſtrange country, and at ſuch a diſtance from their own, from which they could get no aſſiſtance: that it was certainly in the nature of mankind to wiſh to be free, yet under ſuch a juſt king as they ſerved, they had much rather die than diſobey his orders: that he was neither ſon or brother of his king, as he had thought, but one of the ſmalleſt of his vaſſals; and looked upon himſelf ſo much bound to compleat the work of peace, and build this houſe, as he was ordered, that he would rather loſe his life than not accompliſh it.

This anſwer alarmed Caramança and his people; however, concluding they would build the houſe, he thought he might as well give them leave, on the condition of a ſolid peace; and that if they became troubleſome, he could ſoon remove to ſome other place; their habitations being eaſily erected by means of a few boughs of trees and pieces of timber. This interview ſoon broke up, Caramança retiring as he came, without taking the leaſt notice of the baptiſm that was mentioned to him. Azambuja and his captains remained conſulting on what ſpot they ſhould build the fortification. The next day ſome of the maſons having occaſion for ſtones, began to work upon ſome that lay near the ſea ſhore, where they intended to lay the foundation of the fort. It happened that theſe had been placed there for religious purpoſes, which as ſoon as the negroes perceived they meddled with, began to fall upon the workmen with

with great fury, and did them ſome harm. D'Azambuja being with his captains on board the veſſels, taking out the ſtores which were to be landed, ſeeing his people running to the ſea ſide, came to their aſſiſtance; and underſtanding alſo that the preſents which the natives expected had not been yet given them, he pacified them as well as he could, and immediately ſent for a double portion, which were delivered to the king and his nobles, and a good harmony eſtabliſhed. However, as long as this fortification was building, they kept a good look out, for fear of any future attack. In the ſpace of twenty days they got it pretty high: it was called St. George, and in the year 1486 the king endowed it with all the privileges of a city. Notwithſtanding the care that was taken during the building of this fort, not to have any diſpute with the blacks, yet they were conſtantly throwing one thing or other at the Portugueſe, that it became neceſſary to burn their village, which left them perfectly at our eaſe. The work being compleated, peace eſtabliſhed, and trade put on a good footing, D'Azambuja ſent back the ſhips with the people that he had no occaſion for, and a good quantity of gold that they had bartered for, and remained with only ſixty men, agreeable to the king's orders. Thoſe that died were buried under the tree, where the firſt maſs was ſaid. Here the firſt church was eſtabliſhed in that part of the world, frequented both by the Portugueſe and thoſe Ethiopians which have entered amongſt the faithful, and every year a maſs is ſaid there to the memory of the infante don Henry. D'Azambuja remained two years and ſeven months in that part of the world. There was not ſo much ſickneſs amongſt his people as was expected. He eſtabliſhed the trade on ſuch a footing, that to this day the ſame is carried on under his regulations. On his return, the king beſtowed on him many honours*.

A. D. 1484. King John being fully determined to proſecute the diſcovery of the ſpice trade by ſea, but unwilling that other princes ſhould afterwards intrude and ſhare the profits, made known his intention to the ſeveral courts of Chriſtendom, ſoliciting each to furniſh men for making conqueſts on the infidels; offering them in return a part in proportion to the quotas furniſhed. But this undertaking being looked upon as hazardous and uncertain, if not chimerical, they all declined the propoſal: whereupon the king of Portugal applied to the pope to confirm his donation, which he did; and not only granted him all the countries that the Portugueſe ſhould diſcover from eaſt to weſt, but alſo decreed that no other prince ſhould have the liberty of making diſcoveries that way but the king of Portugal; and that if any ſuch were made, they ſhould belong to him†. This grant afterwards cauſed great diſputes between the crowns of Spain and Portugal.

* De Barros. † Thorne's declaration in Hackluit, Vol. I.

CHAPTER X.

King of Portugal takes the title of lord of Guinea. Congo diſcovered by Diogo Cam, who ſails two hundred leagues beyond. The kingdom of Benin diſcovered. Bartholomew Dias doubles the Cape of Good Hope. Two gentlemen ſent by land to India. An African prince flies to Portugal for refuge: A fleet ſent out to build a fortreſs, and reſtore him. Returns without ſucceſs. Gonçalo de Souza ſent to Congo. Tranſactions there. Columbus returns to Portugal. Further tranſactions and negociations in Africa.

AT the time the king directed this fort to be built at Mina, he determined it ſhould remain as a ſtanding mark of his claim to all the lands inhabited by the blacks, and that he would add a new title of "Lord of Guinea," to his crown; his anceſtors having been the firſt diſcoverers, and the popes having granted to them the countries from Cape Bojador to the Indies incluſive: but he did not take upon him this title till three years after this fort of St. George was built. From that time alſo he would never ſuffer any of his captains that went on diſcoveries, to put up wooden croſſes, but ordered that ſtones, about twelve feet high, ſhould be erected inſtead, with the arms of the kingdom cut on them, and inſcriptions on the other ſide in Latin and Portugueſe, mentioning the time when, and by whom put up, with a croſs alſo of ſtone on the top. The firſt who made uſe of
A. D. 1484. them was Diogo Cam, who calling at Mina for refreſhment, proceeded to Cape de Lobo Gonçalez, which is one degree to the ſouthward, and paſſing that and Cape St. Catherine's, the laſt land diſcovered in the time of king Alfonſo, he came to the mouth of a large river, on the ſouth part of which he erected one of theſe ſtones, taking poſſeſſion of all the land he had paſſed. He, from the great devotion the king had for St. George, gave it that name; though it went for a great while under the name of the river of Padram, or ſtone mark, but is now called Congo, from its courſe through a kingdom of that name, which Diogo Cam diſcovered on this voyage. It is called by the natives Zaire: its waters run with ſuch rapidity into the ſea, in winter time, that for twenty leagues from land you find freſh water.

Diogo Cam entered the river, to ſee if the ſhores were not peopled: he proceeded a little way up, and ſoon ſaw a number of people on the banks, the ſame as he had ſeen on the coaſt he paſſed, black, with woolly heads; and though he had ſome people on board of the different countries which had been diſcovered, yet none of theſe could underſtand the language; they had, therefore, no other means of communication but by ſigns. They underſtood that they were governed by a great king, who lived ſome days journey within land; and obſerving that they behaved very friendly, he ſent a preſent to the ſaid king by ſome of his own people; and having made alſo preſents to thoſe that were to be the conductors of this embaſſy, it was agreed that they ſhould return to him in ſo many days.

Double the time elapſed, and no appearance of his people, or meſſage from them; and ſeeing that a good underſtanding was kept up between the inhabitants that came on board for traffic of cloaths, &c. and that none of his people came back, he determined to return, and carry with him ſome of theſe blacks, to learn the Portugueſe language, as the Portugueſe, that muſt be left behind, would learn theirs; from which conſiderable

conſiderable knowledge might be acquired of the country. Having kept four of the blacks on board, he acquainted the reſt by ſigns that he would take them with him, to ſhew them to his king, and return in fifteen moons; and that he would leave thoſe men which were gone to their king, till he brought back their countrymen.

On his return to Portugal, the king was highly pleaſed to ſee men of ſuch good underſtanding, who had already learned ſo much of the language on board the ſhip as to be able to give him a very good account; being men of conſequence in their country, and for fear of any harm to our people, he very ſoon ſent back Diogo Cam, according to what had been promiſed, with theſe people, and many preſents for the king of Congo; and likewiſe recommended his being brought to the faith.

On his arrival off the bar of the river Padram, he was received by the inhabitants with much joy, ſeeing their countrymen return alive and well; and by orders he received from the king, he was to ſend one of theſe men, with others of the country that he had before ſeen, with a meſſage to the king of Congo, acquainting him of his return with the men he had taken away, and that he had ſent him one of them, who would inform him that the king of Portugal had given orders to proceed further on that coaſt, and begged he would ſend him his own men which he had left, when he would deliver up the others he had on board; and on his return, he would come himſelf and ſpeak to him on matters which the king his maſter had intruſted him with, and would give him further preſents. Accordingly they were ſent, and having taken leave of theſe people, he proceeded on his voyage, and went beyond Congo above two hundred leagues, where he fixed two ſtones, one called St. Auguſtine, in the latitude of thirteen degrees ſouth, and the other in twenty-two, near ſome large ſands, and gave it the name of Cape Padram. He went on ſhore on this coaſt, and took ſome people away, to ſerve as interpreters for thoſe diſcoveries he might make, having received orders ſo to do; and after having inſtructed them, brought them back.

Diogo Cam, having made theſe diſcoveries, returned to Congo, and paid a viſit to the king, who by that time was well informed by his people that had been to Portugal, and by thoſe Portugueſe that remained with him, of the affairs of that kingdom. He was greatly pleaſed to ſee Diogo Cam, and very inquiſitive concerning the faith. He ſent one of his principal noblemen, called Caçuta, with other young men, on an embaſſy to the king of Portugal, with Diogo, when he returned, to pray the king to ſend ſome prieſts to baptize him and his ſubjects; and alſo that the ambaſſador and young men with him, might, on their arrival, be baptized. He ſent likewiſe a preſent of ivory, and ſome cloth made from the palm-tree, being what his country afforded.

On their arrival the king was rejoiced to ſee ſo great an object accompliſhed, and made magnificent preparations for the baptiſing of Caçuta and his followers. Accompanying them himſelf to the altar, the queen ſtood godmother, and he was named John, after the king; his other name was Silva, from the other godfather. All his followers took their names from their godfathers.

Although Chriſtianity was thus received in Congo, it was not ſo with the king of Benin, (which kingdom lays between Congo and St. George da Mina) who alſo, by his deſire, had prieſts ſent to him the firſt voyage that Diogo Cam made to that place. The ambaſſador from the king of Benin was brought by Alfonſo d'Aviero, (who alſo brought the firſt pepper to this kingdom from Guinea,) which we now call

long pepper, having part of the ſtem ſticking to it, but it was not eſteemed equal to that of India. Benin being near to the caſtle of St. George da Mina, the blacks that came then to traffic with gold were fond of buying ſlaves to carry home the goods they purchaſed. The king ordered a factory to be eſtabliſhed at a port in Benin, called Gatò, where many ſlaves were bartered for, and Mina reaped great benefit from them, becauſe the gold merchants gave double the price they would bring in Portugal. But this king being much addicted to idolatry, wiſhed to have prieſts in his country only that he might gain aſſiſtance againſt his enemies; therefore very little progreſs was made in converſions; ſo that the king of Portugal ordered the prieſts, and thoſe that had eſtabliſhed a factory there, to leave it. The place was alſo very unhealthy, yet the traffic of ſlaves between Benin and Mina was carried on during the reigns of John and Emanuel, for ſhips uſed to go from Portugal to Benin, and thence to Mina, till this was altered from the great inconveniences that aroſe; for as all theſe veſſels went to the iſland of St. Thomas on this traffic, ſlaves were brought from Congo and Benin, and then carried by the traders to Mina, to be reſold to thoſe pagans. King John III. thinking it very injurious to the faith, that ſo many ſouls ſhould be loſt by this means, gave up all idea of intereſt which his ſubjects reaped from it; and from this reſolution, there were every year above one thouſand ſouls preſerved (ſays Barros) from eternal damnation. This was ſoon repaid, by opening another port for the traffic of gold, lower than St. George, from whence more benefit aroſe.

From the information that king John received from the ambaſſador of Benin, and from Joam Alfonſo d'Aveiro, when he was there, it appeared that to the eaſtward of that country, about two hundred and fifty leagues, there lived a king, the moſt powerful in thoſe parts, whom they called Ogané, and who was held by them in ſo high eſteem, that when the king of Benin died, they ſent an ambaſſador with a great preſent, to acquaint him with the death, and to pray that he would confirm the ſucceeding one; which he does by ſending him a ſtaff, and an head-piece of ſhining braſs, to ſerve as a ſcepter and crown, and a croſs of the ſame metal to wear about his neck, which is looked upon as holy, and without which inſignia he would not be conſidered as king. This ambaſſador, when at the court of Ogané, never ſaw him, but only ſome ſilk curtains behind which he was; and during the audience, he put out his foot, to ſhew he was there, and that he accepted the preſents, and agreed to the buſineſs; and to this foot they paid a religious reverence. The ambaſſador alſo had a ſmall croſs given him to wear round his neck, which gave him a ſuperior rank in his own country; and at that time, whenever India was ſpoken of, there was always mention made of a king called Preſter John, who, they ſaid, was a Chriſtian.

It occurred to the king of Portugal, that through his means he might gain ſome entrance into India. Beſides, he had been informed by ſome religious Alexis which came from Spain, and from ſome friars that went to Jeruſalem, that this king lived above Egypt, and that his country extended as far as the ſouth ſeas; and conſulting his coſmographers, comparing Ptolomeus's general chart of Africa, conſidering the diſcoveries that his people had made, and reckoning two hundred and fifty leagues to the eaſt, according to what was told him by the people of Benin of king Ogané, he concluded it could be no other than Preſter John; for by the accounts, they both were always hidden behind ſilk curtains, and venerated the croſs; and he thought that proceeding in his diſcoveries along the coaſt, they could not but at laſt come to the

the extremity of that land; he therefore both fitted out ſhips, and
A. D. 1486. ſent men to go by land, being reſolved to compleat the diſcovery.

Having fitted two ſhips of fifty tons each, with a tender to carry proviſions, (for on theſe expeditions their proviſions too often failed them,) in the latter end of Auguſt theſe veſſels ſailed, under the command of Bartholomew Dias, one of the knights of his houſhold, who had made diſcoveries on this coaſt. The other veſſel was commanded by Juan Infante, another knight; and in the tender was captain Pedro Dias, brother to the commander.

Bartholomew Dias, paſſing the river Congo, got as far as the cape, which he called Angra dos Saltos, or Bay of the Landing, becauſe he there landed two blacks, which the king had ordered to be inſtructed, and ſent back to be landed at this place. There were alſo four other blacks belonging to the coaſt; one he landed on the Angra dos Ilheos, where he firſt erected his ſtone mark; the ſecond on the Angra dos Voltas, or the Bay of Winding; the third died; and the fourth he landed in the bay, or Angra dos Ilheos, or iſlands of Santa Cruz, with two others that were taken fiſhing. Theſe people being ſet on ſhore, well dreſſed with gold, ſilver, and other ornaments, ſpread about in this manner, could not fail to give all the inhabitants information of the king of Portugal and his kingdom; and as his ſhips were ſo often on theſe coaſts, he expected it would reach the ears of Preſter John, and raiſe his curioſity to ſend ſome of his people to meet them. He had great confidence this ſcheme would ſucceed, and many women blacks were inſtructed alſo to go as far within land as poſſible, and give information of what they had ſeen, on a ſuppoſition that women would meet with leſs moleſtation than the men.

Beſides the fixing of the ſtone marks, they gave thoſe places other names; the firſt they called St. Jago, in latitude twenty-four, one hundred and twenty leagues beyond the laſt that Diogo Cam placed. They alſo gave names to ſuch capes, bays, &c. as they diſcovered them, from ſome particular inſtance happening. As for example, the Bay of Voltas, or the Winding Bay, becauſe of the many tacks the ſhips were obliged to make there, Bartholomew Dias being detained five days without being able to make any way. This bay lies in twenty-nine degrees ſouth latitude.

Leaving this place the land trended to the eaſt, and they were obliged by tempeſts to run thirteen days with little or no ſail; and as their veſſels were ſmall, and the climate cold, it was very different from what they experienced on the coaſt of Guinea. The ſtorms are here alſo irreſiſtible, in compariſon to thoſe on the coaſt of Spain; but on the weather becoming more moderate, they ſteered eaſt, concluding the coaſt lay north and ſouth, as was generally the caſe; but finding nothing appear, they altered their courſe, and ſtood to the northward. At laſt they fell in with a bay, which they named Vaqueiros, or Cow-herds, as they ſaw many cows feeding, with men attending them; but as they had no interpreter, they could get no intelligence. The people alſo run from them, and drove their cattle to the interior parts of the country. All they obſerved was, that they were blacks, with woolly heads, like thoſe of Guinea.

Proceeding along the coaſt, they came to a ſmall iſland, which lies in thirty-three degrees and three quarters ſouth latitude, where they placed a ſtone mark, and called it De la Cruz, or of the Croſs, which gave name to an iſland about half a league from the main land, and on which they found two fountains, from whence many called it the Penedo dos Fontes, or the Rock of the Fountains.

As

As the people were much fatigued from the terrible weather they had gone through, they all began to complain, and begged they might not proceed, as their proviſions would all be expended, and before they got back to the ſtore ſhips, they ſhould periſh for want: that it was ſufficient to have diſcovered ſo much coaſt in one voyage; and that they muſt have doubled ſome great cape, which on their return they might diſcover. Bartholomew Dias, to ſatisfy the murmurs of his people, went on ſhore with his officers, and required them ſolemnly to declare what they thought was beſt to be done for the honour of their king. All agreeing to ſail back, he made them ſign a paper; yet he begged they would indulge him with ſailing a day or two more along the coaſt, and if they found nothing remarkable, he would immediately return; which they agreed to. In theſe two or three days, they diſcovered nothing but a river, about twenty-five leagues beyond the iſland of the Croſs, in latitude thirty-two degrees and two-thirds: and as Juan Infante, captain of the veſſel St. Pantelam, was the firſt that put foot on ſhore, it took its name from him, and continues the name of Rio de Infante. He then returned to the iſland of the Croſs, and with great regret left it, remembering with pleaſure the aſylum it had afforded him after the great danger they had eſcaped.

Leaving this iſland, they got ſight of that great and remarkable cape, undiſcovered for ſo many centuries, which opened to view a new world, and which, from the ſtorms they experienced, they called Cape Tormentoſo; but king John, on their return, gave it the name of Cape Boa Eſperança, or Cape of Good Hope, from the hope he now had of diſcovering the Indies, ſo long deſired. This name will probably be preſerved as long as the world laſts. Bartholomew Dias having made his obſervations on it, as to the nautical part, and left a ſtone mark called St. Felippe, had not time to go on ſhore, on account of the bad weather, but returned to ſeek for his veſſel that had the proviſions, which he found, after having been abſent from her nine months; and though he left nine men in her, only three were living. One of theſe men, the ſecretary of the ſhip, on ſeeing the ſhips, being very weak, died with joy; the other two gave an account of their fate, which was, that they had truſted too much to the faith of the blacks, who had put ſome of them to death. Having taken out what proviſions they wanted, they ſet fire to this veſſel, as they had not men to navigate her.

They afterwards came to the iſland of Principe, where they found Duarte Pacheco, one of the knights of the king's houſhold, very ſick; and not being able to go on diſcoveries himſelf, he had ſent his veſſel to traffic on the coaſt, where ſhe was loſt: ſome of the men were ſaved; both he and them returned in Bartholomew Dias's ſhip.

As they had knowledge of a river called Riſcate, and were unwilling to return empty, they called there, and the commanding officer at the caſtle of St. George da Mina, delivered all the gold he had, with which they returned to Por-
A. D. 1487. tugal, in December, having been abſent ſixteen months and ſeventeen days, and having diſcovered three hundred and fifty leagues of coaſt.

Diogo Cam, and Dias, had acquired the knowledge of ſeven hundred and fifty leagues, on which were placed ſix ſtone marks: the firſt, St. George, on the river Zaire, in the kingdom of Congo; the ſecond, St. Agoſteriho, on the cape of that name; the third, which was the laſt of Diogo Cam, on the ſands; the fourth, by Bartholomew Dias, in the Brown Wilderneſs; the fifth, on the great cape of Boa Eſperança, called St.

St. Felippe; and the ſixth, on the iſland of Santa Cruz, where Bartholomew Dias's diſcoveries ended. No further diſcoveries were made by ſea in the reign of king don Juan.*

A. D. 1487. Whilſt theſe adventurers were purſuing their diſcoveries by ſea, Peter de Covillam and Alfonſo de Paya travelled by land. They proceeded firſt to Naples, thence to Rhodes, Alexandria, and Grand Caïro; and then, with a caravan of Moors, to Toro, in Arabia. Here they parted; Payva went towards India, and Cavillam to Ethiopia, having appointed a time to meet again at Caïro. Cavillam went to Cananor, Calicut, and Goa; thence to Zofala in Ethiopia; then to Aden, at the mouth of the Red Sea, on the ſide of Arabia; and at laſt back to Caïro, where he heard his companion had died.

After theſe went two Jews, Rabbi Abraham of Beja, and Joſeph of Lamego. Cavillam ſent the latter back to inform the king of his ſucceſs, and with the other embarked for Ormus; where, having obſerved what was moſt remarkable, he left the Jew to follow the caravan of Aleppo, and returning to the Red Sea, came to the court of Preſter John, where he was detained as a ſpy. Mean time, one Mark, an Ethiopian prieſt, was ſent by Preſter John to the king of Portugal. His information revived the king's hopes, and he was ſent back.

A. D. 1489. Before his departure from Portugal, Bemoi, a prince of the Jaloſs arrived there, and was received at court in ſtate. This prince had been driven out of his dominions by a rival, and came to implore aſſiſtance, which was granted, on his receiving baptiſm, and doing homage for all the lands he ſhould recover. He was then furniſhed with ſeventy caravellas, well manned and armed, with the double intent to reſtore him, and to build a fort on the river Senega. The king was induced to the latter, by the hopes of ſharing in the gold trade of that coaſt.

The government of this fleet was given to Peter Vaz de Cunno, with whom went many people, both for the army and to build a fortreſs, and ſome religious men for the converſion of the infidels. Peter Vaz entered the river of Senega with this great armament, which alarmed the inhabitants of the country; he immediately laid the foundation of a fortreſs, which was ſaid to be in a very unhealthy place. Here Vaz baſely ſlew Bemoin on board his ſhip, with a poignard, ſaying, he was in a treaty to betray him. Others affirm, that Peter Vaz, fearing to die in that country, killed the king, endeavouring to hide by that foul crime another not ſo heinous, which was, returning to Portugal without compleating his work; and in fine, he came back without any effects†.

A. D. 1490. Navigation now began to be attended with leſs danger. The king, who entertained at his court ſome able mathematicians, and who was ever in ſearch of ſomething or other to facilitate the ſucceſs of his diſcoveries, had often ſtimulated them to the invention of ſomething that might render the art of navigation more ſafe and eaſy. They anſwered his expectations; for the Portugueſe authors do them the honour to attribute to them the method of taking an altitude by the aſtrobabe, and to have formed tables of delineation for the uſe of pilots. Had they done nothing elſe, this alone would have been ſufficient to have immortaliſed them; for ſince that time they have no longer been compelled to keep along the

* De Barros. † Faria.

coaſt

coaſt, but they can now venture into the open ſea without fear of quitting the land, which has rendered voyages at ſea much ſhorter, and attended with leſs danger *.

It was now two years ſince the ambaſſador of the king of Congo, and
A. D. 1493. the young men that accompanied him, had been made Chriſtians. They had learned the Portugueſe language, to enable them to convert their king and countrymen; the king therefore ordered three veſſels to be fitted out to carry them home, and with them two prieſts. The command was given to Gonçalo de Souza; and of the two other veſſels, Fernam de Avellar and Alfonſo de Moura were captains. They ſailed from Liſbon, and it is ſuppoſed carried with them ſome infection of the plague, which had been in Portugal; for at Cape de Verde Gonçalo de Souza died, and don Juan de Souza, the ambaſſador, the ſecretary of the expedition, and ſeveral other perſons, which cauſed much confuſion. Diſputes aroſe about the command, and the ſeamen of each ſhip joining therein, it was referred to the diviſion of Fernam de Goes, governor of the iſland of St. Jago, who determined that Ruy de Souza ſhould be captain-general, being nephew to Gonçalo de Souza, deceaſed, though he only went to accompany his uncle as a volunteer. On this all animoſities ceaſed. Having proceeded on their voyage towards Congo, the firſt land they made was called Sono, governed by an uncle of the king, who having heard of the intention of their voyage, came with all his great men and vaſſals, with inſtruments, &c. to receive Ruy de Souza, and by an interpreter begged he might be baptized, ſaying, he was old, and might not be alive when they returned from the king his nephew. Ruy de Souza immediately ordered every thing to be prepared, and Mani Sono ordered branches of trees to be cut, and erected three altars, which were ornamented by the rich trappings that were brought by the Portugueſe. After Mani Sono had made a ſpeech, he ſaid he would undertake to excuſe himſelf to the king his nephew for receiving baptiſm before him. He, as well as his ſon, went through the neceſſary ceremony, which was performed
A. D. 1494. on Eaſter-day, in the preſence of five-and-twenty thouſand of his countrymen, who all wiſhed to receive baptiſm at the ſame time, but Mani Sono would not permit it till his nephew the king had received it, who being informed of what had paſſed, ſent congratulations to his uncle, and conferred on him a further grant of territory. The prieſts perſuaded Mani to burn all idolatrous images, and he went conſtantly to maſs, whilſt the Portugueſe were waiting for a meſſage from the king, and was ſo particularly attached to his new faith, that hearing a noiſe made by ſome people at the door of the place erected for this devotion, he gave orders for their being immediately put to death, but the prieſt interceded for them.

As ſoon as the Portugueſe were informed that the king of Congo was ready to receive them, about fifty leagues diſtant, Ruy de Souza left a ſufficient guard for the ſhips, and proceeded to the city. A captain with two hundred men were ſent by Mani, to guard them from any inſult, and to carry their baggage. Theſe contended amongſt themſelves who ſhould bear the ſacred things. About the middle way to Ambaſſe-Congo, the city where the king was, he found a captain with a great many men, and as he approached, a greater number joined him. They all came armed, and accompanied by the muſical inſtruments of their country, ſinging ſomething

* Lafitau.

like

like pſalms, anſwering each other, which ſeemed very pleaſing, and at other times they ſhouted loudly in praiſe of the king of Portugal, for the things he had ſent them. The Portugueſe being conducted in the midſt of theſe guards, it was with great difficulty they could make way for them to approach the king, from the multitude of the inhabitants who had got together. It was on a large plain: he was ſeated in an ivory chair, well carved, upon a ſcaffold built of wood, very high, to be ſeen by every one. From his waiſt upwards, he was naked, and his ſkin of a ſhining black: he had a damaſk cloth, which Diogo Cam had given him, that went round him: on his left arm he had a bracelet of braſs, and on that ſhoulder hung a horſe's tail, which was a royal inſignia: on his head he had a cap, like a mitre, made of palm cloth, very fine, and much worked. Ruy de Souza having approached him, made a bow, and the king his ſalute, which was by touching the ground, as if he took up ſome duſt; then putting his hand on Ruy de Souza's breaſt, and then on his own; the greateſt compliment that could be paid in his country. Theſe ceremonies being over, he expreſſed a deſire to ſee the things that they had brought for his baptiſm, which the prieſts immediately, with great ceremony, began to take out of their packages; and on the croſs being expoſed, the Portugueſe immediately fell upon their knees; the natives did the ſame. After all the things were expoſed, the king was conſtantly aſking queſtions. He received thoſe that the king had ſent him for his own uſe, and retiring to his houſe at the end of this plain, (built of wood, with much carving,) he would there have them brought again for his cool inſpection, and of the queen his wife and children, and many of his nobles. He ſeemed to take much pains to explain their uſe to them, which he had retained very exactly from what was told him by the prieſts. The whole day and ſome part of the night were thus employed, and then Ruy de Souza, the prieſts, and his men, were conducted to the place appointed for their reception.

It being the command from the king of Portugal to have a church built of ſtone, and no ſtone being near that ſpot, the king of Congo gave orders to his people that they ſhould bring whatever the workmen might be in need of. On the third of May the firſt ſtone of this church was laid, and finiſhed on the firſt of June. It was called Santa Cruz, from the day of the invocation of the croſs when the foundation was laid, and afterwards it became the epiſcopal church.

The king of Congo had juſt received intelligence that ſome of his people, called Mundequater, were in rebellion, which are inhabitants of ſome iſlands ſituated in a great lake, from whence the river Zaire, which runs through Congo, takes its riſe; and that it was neceſſary that he ſhould bring an army in perſon to quell them. It was impoſſible for him to wait the building of the church for the great ſolemnization of his baptiſm, therefore on the firſt ſtone being laid, he went through that ceremony, and, by deſire of the king of Portugal, he was to be called Joanne. Many of his nobles were baptized at the ſame time, and about one hundred thouſand perſons. Ruy de Souza gave him a flag with the ſign of the croſs, which had been brought from the cruſades, ſanctified by the pope againſt the infidels; that carrying it in his army, he was certain to be victorious. The queen ſeeing the king going on this expedition, and as it had been determined ſhe was to wait till the church ſhould be built, before ſhe was baptized, deſired the king would not let ſo long a time elapſe; that many of the prieſts were ſick, and the principal had died. He accordingly conſented, and ſhe was immediately baptized, and the name of Eleanor given her, after the queen

of Portugal, ſo that this king and queen reigned afterwards under theſe names.—The king of Congo departed to quell the rebellion with as much haſte as poſſible; and from what was reported by ſome of the Portugueſe that went with him, there were above eighty thouſand men in arms; but he ſoon reduced them. On his return, Ruy de Souza took his leave of him, and returned, leaving a prieſt and four friars for the conſecration of the people, and ſome of his people to diſcover the interior parts of that great country beyond the great lake above mentioned*.

Afterwards prince Alfonſo, who had been abſent in the wars, was baptized. Aquitimo, the king's ſecond ſon, would not receive the faith. The father ſoon fell off from it, becauſe, as a Chriſtian, he could be allowed only one wife, and reſolved to leave the crown to the heathen prince Aquitimo. Alfonſo was in baniſhment when his father died, but returning, was received as king, and was attacked by Aquitimo when he had only thirty-ſeven Chriſtians, Portugueſe and blacks, with him; but defeated and ſlew him, although ſupported by a multitude. Alfonſo eſtabliſhed in peace, deſtroyed all idols, propagated the faith with great zeal, and ſent his ſons, grandſons, and nephews, to Portugal for ſtudy†.

A. D. 1493. The beginning of this year, Chriſtopher Columbus, in returning from his diſcovery of the Weſt Indies, came into the river of Liſbon, and brought ſome men, gold, and other tokens of riches, from an iſland then ſuppoſed to be Cipargo. This great man had ſome time before offered his ſervices to king John of Portugal, who ſlighted him, but now looked on his ſucceſs with regret, and provoked him to uſe ſome angry words, in revenge for the ſlight put upon him. There were people in Portugal ſo abandoned as to offer the king to kill him, as well to puniſh his boldneſs, as to conceal his diſcoveries from Spain: but the king diſmiſſed him with honour. His diſcoveries, and the conſequences of them, will be the ſubject of the following book.

Though prince Bemoin was dead, the hopes of making further progreſs in the country about Senega did not die with him. The perſons who went in the former fleet, had gained the good will of the natives. The trade was afterwards continued, and a good correſpondence ſettled between the king of Portugal and the African princes. Some Portugueſe were ſent to the princes of Turucol and Tombuto; others to the prince of the Foulis, the moſt warlike of theſe people; to thoſe of Moſes, very famous in that age; and to the king of Sango. The king of Portugal laboured alſo to ſettle a factory at Huaden, ſeventy leagues to the eaſtward of Arguim: but death put a ſtop to his further progreſs.

* Barros. † Faria.

CHAPTER

A MAP of AFRICA,

Engraved for the Portugueze Voyages.

From a Map in the last edition of the Asia of de Barros.

ACORES
I. do Corvo
I. de Flores
I. Graciosa
I. Terceira
I. do Pico
I. de S. Miguel
I. S. Maria
Lisboa
C. de S. Vicente
Estreito de Gibraltar
Tanger
Oran
Argel
Tunes
Sicilia
Malta
Candia
Chipre
MAR MEDITERRANEO
SIRIA
Porto Santo
I. da Madeira
Mazagão
Salé
MARROCO
CANARIAS
Palma
Tenerife
Lanceroto
I. de Ferro
Canaria
C. Bojador
Tropico de Cancer
R. do Ouro
C. Branco
ILHAS DE CABO VERDE
I. de S. Ant.°
I. de S. Nicolao
I. de S. Luzia
I. de Sal
I. da Boavista
I. Santiago
I. Brava
Fogo
C. Verde
ZARA
MANDINGA
Biſagos
Costa da Malaguета
C. S. Anna
GUINEA
BENIN
C. das Palmas
C. das 3 Pontas
C. Formoso
I. de Fernão do Pó
I. do Principe
I. de S.t Thome
C. de Lopo Goncalves
I. do Anno bom
C. S. Catharina
EQUINOCTIAL
I. de S. Matheus
I. de Fern.do de Neronha
Primeiro Meridiano
I. da Ascenção Maior
CONGO
LOANDA
ANGOLA
BENGUELA
Jago Caconda
I. de S. Elena
C. Negro
I.as de Martim Vas
Tropico de Capricornio
Golfo frio
I. da Ascenção Menor
I. dos Picos
Angra do Ilheo
C. Rostro da Pedra
Golfo de S. Thome
Angra pequena
C. das Voltas
I. de Saxemburg
Bahia da S. Elena
B. de Saldanha
C. da Boa Esperança
I.as de Tristão da Cunha
EGYPTO
MAR PERSICO
ARABIA
Cairo
Alexandria
Medina
Meka
NUBIA
MAR ROXO
Camarão
Zabid
Moka
Adem
ABISSINIA
Babelmandel
Zeila
Ormus
Mascate
Calaiate
Rofalgate
Curia muria
Dofar
C. Fartaque
I. Socotora
I. Bedaleuria
C. Guardafu
Enseada Bella
C. delgado
ETHIOPIA
Mogadaxo
Brava
Juba
Melinde
Mombaca
Pemba
Zanguebar
Monsia
Quiloa
C. Delgado
ZANGUEBAR
CAFRARIA
Ilhas de Comora
Mozambique
C. de Natal
Golfo de Sofala
MONOMOTAPA
C. de S. Sebastião
Bahia de S. Agost.
C. das Correntes
B. de S. Lour.°
C. da Pescaria
Porto de S. Luzia
R. do Infante
Penedo das Fontes
Bahia Formoza
MADAGASCAR
I. de Bourbon
I. da Franca
C. de S. Romão
Banco da Estrella

CHAPTER XI.

Vaſco de Gama's voyage from Caſtagneda: he ſails with a ſquadron from Portugal: touches at the Bay of St. Helena: doubles the Cape of Good Hope: calls at San Blas: diſcovers Terra de Natal: arrives at Mozambique: tranſactions there: touches at Mambaſſa and Melinda: arrives at Calicut: tranſactions there: returns to Portugal. Further particulars of this voyage from Oſorio and De Barros.

WE have hitherto purſued the Portugueſe navigators in their voyages along the coaſt of Africa, in which they had ſpent ſixty years before they could find a paſſage to the eaſtward, when Bartholomew Dias fortunately made that diſcovery by doubling the Cape of Good Hope. This muſt naturally inſpire them with hope of accompliſhing the much wiſhed for paſſage to the Eaſt Indies, yet ten years elapſed between his return to Portugal and the departure of the firſt expedition for India.

King John II. having paid the debt to nature, without leaving any legitimate ſon, his couſin, don Emanuel, ſucceeded him by hereditary right from his
A. D. 1495. anceſtors: he alſo inherited their ardent deſire of diſcovering the eaſt by the weſtern ocean. For this purpoſe, in the firſt year of his reign, he held a great council, the major part of which were againſt purſuing the diſcovery of the Indies; but the king being determined, directed a fleet to be fitted out; the command of which he gave to Vaſco de Gama, a man equal to the enterpriſe, and who was the firſt that, in modern times, made the paſſage by ſea from Europe to the Eaſt Indies.

This voyage, although of ſo much importance, like moſt of the preceding, has not been ſeparately written, but for the particulars we muſt have recourſe to the hiſtorians mentioned chap. i. John de Barros, Maffei, Caſtagneda, and Oſorio, have all inſerted it at ſome length. Remuſio has a ſhort account of it. We ſhall take our firſt extract from Caſtagneda, afterwards compare him with each of the others, and inſert what he has omitted.

Don Emanuel ſucceeding to the crown, and having received much intelligence reſpecting this navigation from the late king John, commanded the treaſurer of the houſe of La Mina to build two ſhips, one of one hundred and twenty tons, he called the Saint Gabriel, and the other of one hundred tons, the Saint Raphael. The king likewiſe purchaſed a caravella of fifty tons of a pilot, named the Berrio, which name he continued; and alſo a ſhip of two hundred tons of Arias Correa. Theſe ſhips being ready and prepared, and the king then at Monte Meyer, he conferred upon Vaſco de Gama, one of his houſhold, and who had before ſerved king John, the chief command in this voyage to India: a man experienced in navigation and nautical affairs, in which he had done the kingdom good ſervice; of great courage, and therefore very likely to attain the end the king had in view. When king Emanuel beſtowed the command on him, he did it in preſence of many noble perſons, earneſtly requiring him to anſwer and ſatisfy the expectation he had formed, and the truſt he had repoſed in him; promiſing, if he did, that he would largely and liberally reward him; and he began to make performance of a part of his promiſe, by giving him the colours, with the croſs of the military order of Chriſt thereon,

and money to equip himſelf for the voyage. The king appointed under him Paul de Gama, brother to Vaſco, and Nicolas Coello, both of them his ſervants; men fit for any enterpriſe that required courage. Bartholomew Dias was alſo to proceed with them in a caravella to La Mina; and as the ſhips of war were unable to carry proviſion for their people further than to a place called Saint Blaze, where they were to take in freſh water, the king ordered that the ſhip of Avez Correa ſhould proceed thither loaded with proviſions, in company with the fleet, where ſhe was to be unloaded and deſtroyed. Thus commiſſioned, De Gama and his captains departed for Liſbon: the ſhips being ready, he embarked his company, being one hundred and forty-eight perſons, at Belem, one league from Liſbon, on Saturday, July 8, 1497. At the embarkation, all the religious of the church of our lady at Belem, went in proceſſion bare-footed, and in their cowls, with wax tapers in their hands, praying; accompanied by moſt of the people of Liſbon, weeping and pitying thoſe who were to embark. Being thus on board, they immediately ſailed. The captain-general went in the Saint Gabriel, having Pedro de Alanquez for his pilot, the ſame who went pilot with Bartholomew Dias, when he was on the diſcovery of the Rio de Infante. The general's brother went in the ſhip Saint Raphael; Nicolas Coello in the caravella Berrio; and one Gonzalez Gomez, a ſervant of the general's, was appointed captain of the ſhip which carried the proviſions. The general gave them all orders, if they ſhould ſeparate, that they ſhould proceed to the iſlands of Cape Verde.

Purſuing their voyage, on the eighth day they made the iſland of the Canaries, and from thence ſtanding from the Rio d'Oura, the night grew dark, and they loſt ſight of each other; therefore they ſtood back towards the iſlands of the Canaries for eight days, when Paul de Gama, Nicolas Coello, Bartholomew Dias, and Gonzalez Gomez, fell in with each other, and late on that day they joined their general, ſaluting him with many guns, and the ſound of trumpets. The next day, the 28th of July, the whole fleet arrived at the iſland of St. Jago, and came to anchor in the bay of Santa Maria, where they remained ſeven days, taking in water, and repairing the damage the ſhips had received in the late ſtorm. On Tueſday the third of Auguſt, the fleet departed from thence, firſt taking leave of Bartholomew Dias, who returned to Portugal: they ſteered for the Cape of Good Hope with all the ſhips of his company, through the main ocean, for the months of Auguſt, September, and October, in which they met with many tempeſts of wind and rain, ſo that they expected nothing but preſent death. However, on the fourth of November they ſaw land, to their great joy: all the people ſaluted their general, and diſplayed their colours on this occaſion, as he had directed them.

As they knew not the land, the general directed them to tack, and they ſtood along ſhore until the third day, when they had a clear view, and perceived it to be low, and to form a large bay with good anchoring ground. Here they came too, in order to take in water, and named it the Bay of Saint Helena. The people which inhabited the inland country were of low ſtature, ill-favoured, and black, and when they ſpake they ſeemed to ſigh. Their cloathing was the ſkins of beaſt, made after the manner of French cloaks: their private parts they hide in caſes made of wood, very well wrought. Their arms were ſpears of oak, hardened in the fire, and at the end, inſtead of iron, they fix the horn of ſome animal, with which they wound terribly. They live on roots of herbs, ſea wolves, whales, (of which there is plenty in this bay) ſea crows, and ſea mews: they eat alſo herons, doves, and other beaſts and birds which they

they have in the land. They have dogs like thoſe of Portugal, which bark in the ſame manner. While they lay here, the general ordered the bay to be ſearched to find freſh water, but without ſucceſs: he then ordered Nicolas Coello to go along ſhore in his boat, who found a river four leagues diſtant, which he called Saint Jago, from whence the whole fleet ſupplied themſelves.

The next day the general and captains, and ſome of the ſoldiers and ſailors, went on ſhore to ſee what ſort of people the inhabitants were, and to make ſome inquiries about the Cape of Good Hope; for not only he, but even the chief pilots were ignorant of it. The latter had been on the voyage with Bartholomew Dias, but they had, on their firſt paſſing, ſtood off from that cape early in the morning; and on their return they paſſed it in the night with a fair wind, therefore had not been near the ſhore. He did not, conſequently, know it, but conjectured it to be about thirty leagues diſtant at the utmoſt. The general being on ſhore, and walking about, ſaw a man gathering honey at the foot of a buſh, where the bees made it without a hive: with this man the general returned on board, highly contented, thinking he had got an interpreter; but there was not any of the company that underſtood him. The general directed them to give him meat, and he ate and drank of all that was given; and when they perceived that he did not underſtand them, nor they him, he was next day put on ſhore, well apparelled, from whence he went, as it appeared, among his countrymen; for on the day following, about fifteen of them came down towards the ſhips. The general going on ſhore, carried with him ſpices, gold, and pearls, to try if theſe people had any knowledge of them; but from the little eſtimation they held them in, it was apparent they had not. He then gave them ſome bells, little rings of tin, and ſuch trifles; they were highly pleaſed with them; and from that time until the next Sunday evening, many of them came to the fleet. When they were returning to their towns, one of our people, named Fernando Veloſo, had a great deſire to ſee the ſame, and to view their manner of living: he aſked leave of the general, who was very unwilling to permit him, but gave him leave, rather by importunity than good will. He departed with them: in their way they took a ſea wolf, which they roaſted at the foot of a hill, and ſupped upon it. As ſoon as ſupper was over, they compelled Veloſo to leave them, and followed him by little and little, which he perceiving, and being alarmed, haſtened to the water ſide, and hailed the ſhips. The general being then at ſupper, hearing the call, and looking towards the ſhore, ſaw the negroes following, and concluding they did it with a bad intention, leaped into his boat: the other captains did the ſame, and went towards the ſhore unarmed, ſuppoſing the negroes would not uſe force: but theſe, as ſoon as they ſaw our boats, ran away quickly with great clamour and outcry; there were many others hid behind ſome buſhes, who then ſhewed themſelves, and as ſoon as our people landed, aſſailed them with their haſſagayes, and compelled our men to retire to their boats and embark, taking with them Fernando Veloſo; on which the negroes returned to their town, having wounded the general and three others. The fleet remained there three days, but not ſeeing any people, had no opportunity to take revenge.

Having taken in water and fleſh, they put to ſea the ſixteenth of November with a S. W. wind, and on the eighteenth made the Cape of Good Hope; the wind ſtill continuing ſouth-weſt, they were obliged to ſtand out to ſea, and beat to windward until the twentieth, when they doubled the cape, and ran along the coaſt with a fair wind, ſounding their trumpets, and ſhewing other ſigns of joy. They ſaw on the ſhore great

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ſtore of cattle, ſome large and ſome ſmall, but all fat; but ſaw no town, there not being any on the coaſt; though inland there are ſome, the houſes of which are all of earth, covered with ſtraw.

The people are blackiſh, apparelled, and ſpeaking like thoſe of Saint Helena Bay, uſing the ſame ſort of dart and inſtruments of defence. The country is very pleaſant with trees and waters; on the ſouth ſide of the cape is an harbour that runs five miles within land, and is near twice that diſtance wide.

The cape being thus doubled, the captain ſteered to the watering-place of St. Blas, which is ſixty leagues beyond the cape, being a good bay, and ſafe from all winds except the north: they reached it on the Sunday, being St. Catherine's day. The people here are black, cover themſelves with ſkins; uſe darts of wood, hardened in the fire, horns and bones of beaſts, and ſtones, to annoy their enemies. In this country are many large elephants, large oxen, many without horns, on the fatteſt and beſt of which the people ride, ſaddling them with pannels, ſtuffed with ſtraw, as in Spain, and upon that a wooden frame to ſerve as a ſaddle. They thruſt a piece of wood through the noſes of thoſe they intend to ſell. In this harbour, on a rock about half a mile from the ſhore, are many ſea wolves, as large as bears, with large and ſtrong teeth: they are wild and fierce, and will aſſault men; their ſkins are ſo hard, that no ſpear can pierce them; they reſemble lions, and their young ones cry like kids. They were in ſuch numbers, that the Portugueſe ſaw at one time near three thouſand. On this rock are many birds like ducks, but they do not fly, having no feathers on their wings, and they bray like an aſs. In this bay the ſhips with proviſions were unloaded, their cargoes ſtowed on board the others, and the veſſels burnt, as the king had commanded; in doing which, and other things neceſſary for the ſupply of the fleet in the voyage, took up ten days.

A few days after their arrival, there appeared on the tops of the hills and on the ſhore, about ninety of the inhabitants, which, when the general ſaw, he and the other captains, with ſome of their people armed, and with two pieces of ordnance, went towards the ſhore, carrying arms with them, being warned by what happened at St. Helena. When the boats drew near the ſhore, the general threw ſome little bells, and the people came ſo near as to take them from his hand, which much ſurpriſed him, as Bartholomew Dias had informed him that when he was there they ran away, and would not be allured to come near. Agreeably ſurpriſed at the gentleneſs of theſe people, he leaped on ſhore with his men, and exchanged ſome red night-caps with the negroes for bracelets of ivory, which they had.

The Saturday after they came down, to the number of two hundred, all blacks, bringing with them twelve oxen and four ſheep. They began to play upon ſome inſtruments like flutes, accompanied with voices, and made agreeable muſic, on which the general ordered his trumpets to be ſounded, and both they and the Portugueſe danced. In this paſtime, and in the buying their oxen and ſheep, three days paſſed. The next day (Sunday) they came again, and many more with them, both men and women, bringing many cattle. Having bartered for one ox, the Portugueſe perceived ſome little negroes hidden behind the buſhes, who had with them the weapons belonging to the men. The general ſuſpecting treachery, commanded his people to retire, and row to a more ſecure place; and the blacks went along the ſhore, keeping pace with the boats, until they came to the place where the Portugueſe went on ſhore again: the latter were in armour. The negroes then joined in a body, as if they intended to fight; which the general perceiving, and unwilling to do them any harm, embarked again,

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and to frighten them, ordered two pieces of ordnance to be fired, which had the deſired effect, and they ran away without any order, leaving their weapons behind them. After this, he ſent on ſhore a ſtone pillar, with the king of Portugal's arms, and a croſs on it; but this the negroes pulled down before the fleet ſailed.

They departed from hence the eighth of November, and ſoon after met with ſo great a ſtorm, that the fleet lay too under cloſe-reefed courſes. In this gale they parted company with Nicolas Coello, but the next night fell in with him again. The ſtorm abating on the ſixteenth of December, they diſcovered land, or rather certain rocks, diſtant almoſt ſixty leagues from the harbour of Saint Blas, and five leagues from the rock called De la Cruz, where Bartholomew Dias had erected his laſt mark, fifteen leagues from the Rio de Infante. The country was pleaſant to the ſight, and had great ſtore of cattle: the further the fleet ſailed, the better and more lofty the trees appeared. This they could clearly ſee, as they ſailed very near to the ſhore.

Next day they paſſed the rock of La Cruz, and coming off the Rio de Infante, they were unwilling to paſs it; and to give time for determination, they ſtood a little towards the ſhore, with a fair wind, until the evening, when the wind coming round to the eaſt, right againſt them, they ſtood off and on until the twelfth of September at ſunſet, when it veered again to the weſt, and they conſulted all night whether they ſhould run in with the land or not. Next day, at ten in the morning, they fell in with the rock aforeſaid, having been driven back ſixty leagues by the current. The next day, with a fair wind, the fleet ran the ſame diſtance againſt the current, contrary to their expectation. Having happily got out of this danger, they were greatly rejoiced, and the general was much elated, concluding now he ſhould reach India.

Purſuing their voyage, on Chriſtmas-day they had diſcovered the coaſt ſeventy leagues to the eaſtwards, which was the latitude where (according to his inſtructions and the charts) the Indies were. From hence the fleet would keep out to ſea ſo long that they would be in want of water to drink, each man being now allowed only a pint a day; and they were obliged to dreſs their victuals with ſea-water. On Friday
A. D. 1498. the eleventh of January they ſtood in for the land, and ſent their boats along the ſhore to take a view of it: theſe ſaw many negro men, with a vaſt company of women, all of them of great ſtature, who kept along the ſhore; which, when the general perceived, and that they appeared to be a people of a civil and good diſpoſition, he commanded one of his people, named Martin Alonzo, who could ſpeak many of the negro languages, and another with him, to leap on the ſhore, and go up to them, which they immediately did, and were well received by them, particularly by the perſon who ſeemed to be their chief. The general perceiving this, ſent him a jacket, a pair of ſtockings, and a cap, all red, and a bracelet of copper, which he was pleaſed with, and returned thanks for, ſaying, that the general ſhould have, with a very good will, any thing in his country that he was in need of. Martin Alonzo explained this, as he underſtood their language: it pleaſed the general much, that his people and they could underſtand each other; and he immediately gave permiſſion to Alonzo, and another of his men, to go with them to their town for that night, as the chief earneſtly requeſted it. This perſon then dreſſed himſelf in the cloaths the general had given him, and with ſeeming pleaſure commanded ſome of his people to go before and receive him when he came to the town. The people viewed this new dreſs with great admiration, clapping their hands for joy; and this they repeated

peated three or four times before they reached the town. After they entered it, he marched three or four times round it, to give the people an opportunity to behold his new attire. This done, the chief repaired to his houſe, where he ordered Alonzo and his companions to be well lodged, and gave them a hen, like thoſe of Portugal, for their ſupper, and a kind of pap, made of millet, from which they alſo make bread. Many of the negroes came that night to ſee him, and the next day the chief ſent them back, accompanied with ſome negroes, laden with hens for the general, who returned thanks for the ſame, and called the place the Land of Good People.

In the town where Alonzo was, the houſes were made of ſtraw, and well furniſhed within. The women are more numerous than the men; for in a company there were forty women to twenty men. They carry long bows, with arrows and darts of iron; and upon their arms and legs they wear many bracelets of copper, and ſome pieces of it in their hair. They alſo carry daggers, the handles of pewter, and the ſheaths of ivory; ſo that it is manifeſt they have quantities of copper in the country: they have alſo plenty of ſalt, which they make by carrying the water in goards, and putting it into certain pits, dug for that purpoſe. The natives were ſo glad of the linen the Portugueſe carried them, that they gave a large quantity of copper for a ſhirt, and were ſo friendly, that they aſſiſted the ſeamen in bringing water from a river called Cobio, a quarter of a mile diſtant, to the ſea ſide.

From this place the fleet departed the fifteenth of January; they ſailed by a very low land, covered with lofty and thick trees, and came to a river, broad at the mouth. Here they came to an anchor on the twenty-fourth, the general being deſirous to gain ſome intelligence of India. The ſame night he and Nicolas Coello went up the river, and at the dawn of day perceived the land to be low, covered with water, abounding in a variety of trees, loaded with fruits. They ſoon after ſaw ſome boats, with men on board, coming towards them. The general concluded from this, that they had ſome knowledge of the ſea, and that they ſhould gain ſome information from them. As they approached, the Portugueſe perceived they were black, of good ſtature, naked, except their private parts, which were covered with cloth. They approached, and entered the Portugueſe ſhips, without any ſigns of fear, and behaved towards the people as if they had been on the greateſt familiarity with them. The general ordered they ſhould be well treated, and ſome little bells and other things given to them. He converſed with them by ſigns, for the interpreter did not underſtand them, nor they any language he was acquainted with. They went away apparently well pleaſed, and returned again to the ſhips, with many others, bringing ſuch proviſions as the country afforded. Many of the natives came alſo by land to viſit them, bringing with them ſome women, rather handſome, eſpecially the younger, all dreſſed as the men. They had in their lips three holes, through each of which they hang a piece of tin, and eſteem it a great ornament. Some of the Portugueſe went on ſhore with them, to make merry at a neighbouring town, where they got their water. Three days after two of their chiefs came to viſit their general in a boat, apparalled like the reſt, except that the piece of linen cloth they wore was much larger, and one of them had on his head an handkerchief wrought with ſilk, and the other a cap of green ſattin. They appeared very cleanly, and the general received them courteouſly, gave them victuals, apparel, and other things; but it was evident, by their countenances, that they little eſteemed them. The general underſtood, by the ſigns of a young man who accompanied them, that their country was far from hence, and that they had before ſeen

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ſhips as large as the Portugueſe. This gave great joy to all, as they concluded India could not be far off; and they were further confirmed in this opinion by ſome cotton cloth which was brought on board for ſale, marked with ochre. Theſe circumſtances induced the general to name that place the River of Good Signs, and he erected a mark at a place which he called St. Raphael, from the name of his ſhip. But afterwards conſidering, that as theſe men by ſigns deſcribed their country to be far off, and that India might be at a greater diſtance than they at firſt concluded, he therefore determined to lay all the ſhips aground to repair them, which was accordingly done. This employed them thirty-two days, in which time the crew were attacked by a diſorder, which was thought to proceed from the air; the hands and feet of many of them ſwelled, and their gums, to ſuch a degree, that they could not eat; the gums rotted, and the ſmell that proceeded out of the mouths of the diſeaſed perſons was intolerable. They were all greatly alarmed; many died, but others recovered, by the care and attention of a perſon on board, who had carried medicines for his own uſe, which were ſucceſsful in this diſorder.—This is the firſt mention we find of the effects of that dreadful diſorder the ſea ſcurvy.

The fleet ſailed from hence the twenty-fourth of February, and were becalmed that night; next day they paſſed three ſmall iſlands, diſtant about four leagues from each other; two of them were furniſhed with wood, the third was a plain: the general was unwilling to loſe time in viſiting them, therefore continued his voyage for the ſpace of ſix days, coming to anchor every night.

On Thurſday the firſt of March, towards evening, the ſeamen diſcovered ſome iſlands, two of which were near the ſhore, and the others further out. To avoid getting in with them in the night, they ſtood out to ſea, deſigning to paſs between them; but the next day the general commanded Coello, whoſe ſhip was ſmaller than the others, to go firſt, which he did, running in between one of the iſlands and the main; but miſſing the channel, touched the ground; on which the other ſhips ſtood off, to avoid the danger, and ſoon ſaw ſeven or eight little boats coming from the iſland, under ſail. They repaired on board Coello's ſhip: he went with them to the general, who directed him to go on ſhore, as he deſigned to anchor at the iſland from whence they came, to gain what information he could reſpecting India. The boats followed the ſhips, making ſigns, or calling to the Portugueſe to ſtay for them. At laſt they came to anchor, and the boats came on board. Theſe people were black, of a good ſtature, and well made; they were dreſſed in cotton cloth, ſtriped with different colours: ſome wore it cloſe to their knees, others like cloaks, and on the head a kind of handkerchief, or turban, wrought with ſilk and gold thread. They had ſwords and daggers, like the Moors, and brought with them inſtruments like ſackbuts. They came on board, and converſed as freely as thoſe before-mentioned, ſpeaking in the Arabic tongue, and could not be diſtinguiſhed from Moors. They ate and drank heartily of whatever was given them. Being aſked by one who underſtood Arabic, what land that was, they anſwered, that the land belonged to a great king, and the iſland was called Mozambique; that the town was full of merchants: the latter trade with the people of India, who brought thither ſilver, linen cloth, pepper, ginger, ſilver rings, pearls, and rubies; and from another country they brought thither gold, offering to pilot their ſhips into the harbour, where they might ſee the truth of what they aſſerted. The general conſulted with his officers, if he ſhould go in; and Nicolas Coello was ordered to ſtand in firſt, and ſound the bar. In this attempt his ſhip touched on the point

of the iſland, broke the helm, and was in great danger, but ſoon got off, found the paſſage into the harbour, which was good, and anchored two bow ſhot from the town. It was ſituated in fifteen degrees north, had a good harbour, and the country produced plenty of proviſions. The houſes are of ſtraw, and the inhabitants Moors, who trade to Sofala in large ſhips, without decks, built without nails, and are ſewed with coyro [a kind of cord made with the rind of the cocoa-nut]. Their ſails were mats, made of the leaves of a green palm-tree. Some of them carry ſquare compaſſes to ſteer by; they have alſo ſea charts.

Theſe Moors not only trade with the people of India, but alſo with the Moors of the Red Sea. They concluded the Portugueſe to be Turks, from the knowledge they had acquired of the Turkiſh cuſtoms from the Moors who dwell in the Red Sea. The firſt which came on board the ſhip, informed their ſcheik or governor ſo, who reſided there for the king of Quiloa.

This ſcheik being informed of their arrival, and believing them to be Moors, came to viſit Coello on board his ſhip, accompanied with ſome perſons dreſſed in ſilk, whom Coello received with courteſy; but as they could not underſtand each other, they did not ſtay long; however, he diſcovered that they believed them Moors, and preſented the chief with a red cap, of which made no account; he then gave him ſome black beads, which he carried away as a pledge of friendſhip. When he was departing, he, by ſigns, requeſted Coello to let him have his boat to land in, which was readily granted, and ſome Portugueſe ſent with him: theſe the governor carried with him to his houſe, feaſted them with dates and other things, and ſent to Coello a pot of preſerved dates.

When the other ſhips arrived in the harbour, the governor ſent to viſit them, preſented them with many delicacies, and deſired leave to come on board. The general ſent, in return, ſome red hats, ſhort gowns, coral, braſs baſons, little hawks bells, and other things, all of which (the meſſenger who carried the ſame reported) they little eſteemed, aſking the uſe of them, and demanding why the captain did not ſend them ſomething ſcarlet, which they more deſired.

Notwithſtanding this, he viſited the general, who, having knowledge of his coming, dreſſed his ſhip with colours, ordered the ſick men to be concealed, and that thoſe who were not ſick, ſhould be ſent from the other ſhips on board his; theſe he armed, to be ready, if the Moors offered any violence, or ſought to betray them. The governor came, accompanied by many, all well dreſſed in ſilk, bringing with them ſeveral ivory trumpets, and other inſtruments, on which they played. He was a man of good ſtature, though lean; he wore a kind of ſhirt made of linen, which came down to his heels, and over it another of Mecca velvet; on his head a ſilk cap of many colours, trimmed with gold; at his girdle a ſword and dagger, and ſhoes upon his feet. The general received him at his entrance into the ſhip, and conducted him with ſome of his people into the cabin, the reſt remaining in their boats. The governor deſired him not to be offended that he had not ſent him any ſcarlet, ſince, in truth, he had brought none with him, and had no merchandiſe, except to exchange for victuals, when his men wanted; that the intent of his voyage was to diſcover the Indias, by command of a great and mighty king, whoſe ſubject he was. This was explained by an interpreter. Meat and wine were then ſet before them, and the governor and his people ate and drank heartily.

After

After this they were very friendly to each other; the governor aſked the general if they came from the country of the Turks, for he had heard ſay the people of that country were as they were, requeſting alſo to have a ſight of their bows, and the book of their laws. The general anſwered, that they were not of that country, but from a kingdom bordering thereon. As to the book of their laws, they had none with them, ſince at ſea they had no uſe for it: ſome croſs-bows were then brought, and in their preſence bent and ſhot off; ſome armour was alſo ſhewn them, at all which they expreſſed great ſurpriſe.

At this meeting De Gama gained intelligence, that from thence to Calicut was nine hundred leagues; that it was neceſſary to take a pilot of this country, on account of the many ſhoals in the paſſage: that along the coaſt were many cities, and that the country of Preſter John was far from thence inland. As it ſeemed expedient to take a pilot, the general requeſted the governor to have two, leaſt one ſhould die. This was agreed to, on condition they ſhould be well uſed and paid. The governor, at a ſecond viſit, brought the two pilots, to each of which were given thirty crowns and a coat. It was likewiſe agreed, that if one of them went on ſhore, the other ſhould remain in the ſhip.

Notwithſtanding this apparent friendſhip, the Moors having found out that the Portugueſe were not Turks, but Chriſtians, plotted to deſtroy them. The governor planned this enterpriſe, which would have ſucceeded, had not one of the Mooriſh pilots, conceiving his own ſafety concerned, diſcovered it to the general, who, as the infidels were numerous, and his company ſmall, determined to depart immediately. Accordingly, on the tenth of March, he put to ſea with his ſquadron, and came to an anchor at an iſland about a league from Mozambique: this he did to have an opportunity of ſaying maſs, and confeſſing themſelves on ſhore, which they had not done ſince they left Liſbon.

The general concluding the ſhips to be out of danger in this place, determined to return to Mozambique in his boat, to demand one of the pilots who was left on ſhore; leaving his brother with the fleet, in readineſs to ſuccour him, if there ſhould be occaſion, he departed, carrying with him Nicolas Coello and the Mooriſh pilot. As they paſſed along they ſaw ſix boats, with Moors in them, armed with bows and arrows, ſhields and ſpears: they called to the Portugueſe to come into their harbour. The Mooriſh pilot told the general what they meant, and adviſed him to go there, for that otherwiſe the governor would not deliver up the other pilot. De Gama was angry at this counſel, thinking the Moor wanted to take an opportunity, when they came near the ſhore, to run away; he therefore commanded him to be ſecured, and diſcharged his ordnance at the boats. Paul de Gama hearing the report, immediately put the ſhip Berrio under ſail; the Moors perceiving this, fled ſo faſt, that the general could not overtake them, on which they returned to the ſhips.

The general ſeeing no hopes of recovering the pilot, ſailed the next day, and directed the pilot that was on board to be releaſed from his confinement; but this man, incenſed at the treatment he had received, determined within himſelf to be revenged. To accompliſh this, he perſuaded the general not to be troubled for want of the other pilot, as he would carry him to an iſland about one hundred leagues from thence, inhabited both by Moors and Chriſtians, who were conſtantly at war, where he might furniſh himſelf with pilots to carry him to Calicut. The general liked the advice, but did not put any confidence in him, only promiſed him good rewards if he carried

him ſafe. They proceeded with little wind, and the next day (Tueſday) they had not loſt ſight of the land they departed from: that day and the next they were becalmed; at night the wind coming eaſterly, they ſtood out to ſea, and on the next morning found they had been driven by the current four leagues to the weſtward of Mozambique; in the evening came to anchor again near that iſland, where they were detained eight days by a contrary wind. In this period a white Moor came on board, belonging to the governor of Mozambique, and declared that the latter was much concerned at the breach of friendſhip between them, and was deſirous to renew the ſame. The general anſwered, that he would not be in friendſhip with him, until he returned the pilot. With this anſwer he went away, and did not come back again. Soon after another Moor with his ſon, a boy, came on board, to aſk the general to take him to Melinda, a place which lay in his way to Calicut, as he wanted to return to his country, which was near Mecca, from whence he came as a pilot in a ſhip to Mozambique. He adviſed the general not to expect an anſwer from the governor, who would make no peace with him, as he was a Chriſtian.

De Gama was much rejoiced at the coming of this Moor, thinking he ſhould by him gain full information reſpecting the Red Sea, and of the towns along the coaſt which he muſt ſail paſs to Melinda. He immediately reſolved, as they were in want of water, to return to the harbour of Mozambique, and take ſome by force: accordingly they entered the harbour, and at night got out their boats to go, according to the Mooriſh pilot's information, to the continent for water: the general went himſelf, with Coello and the pilot, leaving Paul de Gama in charge of the ſhips. When they came to the place, they could not find any, although they ſearched all night, therefore they ſuſpected the pilot had deceived them, to gain an opportunity to eſcape, and before day-light appeared they returned on board for more ſtrength.

Being reinforced, they returned again on ſhore, and as the pilot now ſaw he had no means of eſcape, he directly ſhewed them the watering place, where were about twenty Moors, who ſeemed placed there for the purpoſe of defending it. The general ſeeing this, cauſed three pieces of ordnance to be diſcharged, which frightened them, and they ran away and hid themſelves. The Portugueſe landed, ſupplied themſelves with water, and returned to their ſhips a little before ſun ſet.

When they returned on board, they learned that a negro belonging to Paul de Gama's pilot had that day run away to the Moors. On Saturday the 24th of March, early in the morning, a Moor appeared on the ſhore, and dared the Portugueſe to come for more water. The general provoked at this inſult, the detention of his pilot, and the loſs of the negro, determined to take revenge on the town; and his captains approving his reſolution, they all embarked in their boats, with their people armed: they found about one hundred Moors on the ſhore, armed with ſhields, darts, bows, arrows, and ſlings, and beyond them a paling of boards. The Portugueſe could not ſee what was behind. As ſoon as the boats were near, they began to uſe their ſlings, and were anſwered by the Portugueſe ordnance, which drove them from the water ſide behind the paling: that alſo was ſoon beaten down, and they fled to the town, leaving two dead on the ſpot. The general then returned on board to dinner, and ſaw the Moors running from one town to another, from whence they went by water to another place.

After dinner the general went on ſhore, to ſee if he could take any Moors to exchange for the negro, and for two Indians, which the Mooriſh pilot told them were priſoners

priſoners in the town. Paul de Gama took four; the reſt got away, leaving their boats behind them, in which were found much linen cloth, and the book of the Alcoran. The boats were all day rowing about, but they could not get to the ſpeech of any of the Moors. They took in water the next day without reſiſtance. However, the general determined to have his revenge on the town of Mozambique, which he had by battering it.

The fleet ſailed from Mozambique the 27th, and made two little rocks, which they called Saint George, where they met with ſuch light winds, that the current drove them back again. They had the good fortune to find, that one of the Moors which Paul de Gama took was a pilot, and could carry them to Calicut. On Sunday, April 1ſt, they ſaw four iſlands very near the ſhore, to one of which they gave the name of Aſotada, becauſe the Mozambique pilot was whipped there for having told them theſe iſlands were the continent. On being whipped, he confeſſed that his deſign had been to make them run on the rocks of the iſlands. The iſlands were very cloſe together; to avoid them, they ſtood out to ſea. On the 4th they ran N. W. and before noon on that day they ſaw the continent, and two iſlands near the ſame, (round which were many ſhoals) three leagues beyond Quiloa, which the pilots ſaid were inhabited by Chriſtians. De Gama was ſorry to have run paſt it, and the pilots excuſed themſelves, by ſaying they were driven by the current. The truth was, the pilots were more diſappointed than the general, for their intention, by telling him the inhabitants were Chriſtians, was to put him off his guard, and get him and his people deſtroyed. Both parties wiſhing to return, they ſpent that day in endeavouring to get to Quiloa, without effect. The general then determined to run for Mombaſſa, in which the pilots ſaid were two towns, inhabited by Moors and Chriſtians: this was alſo falſe, that place being inhabited wholly by Moors.

In their paſſage thither they ſaw an iſland, which lay to the north, of which the pilots gave the ſame account. They did not attempt to get to it. In a day or two after, the Saint Raphael early in the morning ran aground upon a ſhoal, two leagues from the land: as they made proper ſignals, the other ſhips avoided it, and came to anchor, ſending their boats to the aſſiſtance of the Raphael. The ebb tide left her dry, and as it was a ſandy ground, ſhe received no damage: they carried out anchors, waiting for the flood. During this time they had a full view of the iſland, and called theſe ſands the ſhoals of Saint Raphael; and gave the ſame name to ſome iſlands and hills on the continent, then in ſight.

While the ſhip remained dry, ſome boats with Moors came to the ſhips, bringing oranges, finer than thoſe of Portugal, which they gave to the men, telling the general not to fear, for the ſhip would float on the return of the tide. The general made them preſents, and on hearing the ſhips were going to Mombaſſa, ſome of them deſired he would give them a paſſage thither, which was granted. On the return of the tide, the Saint Raphael floated, and they proceeded on their voyage.

On Saturday the 7th of April, about ſun ſet, they anchored without the bar of the iſland of Mombaſſa, which is very near the main land. This iſland is well furniſhed with proviſions, as millet, rice, and cattle, both large and ſmall (the ſheep are without tails). The iſland is pleaſant, full of orchards planted with pomegranates, Indian figs, oranges of both kinds, lemons and citrons: it has alſo excellent water. The city is large, bears the ſame name as the iſland, lies in four degrees ſouth latitude, on a hill, formed of a rock.

The

The harbour is barred, and is defended by a fort, low and near the water: moſt of the houſes are built with lime and ſtone; the ceilings wrought in figures with plaiſter of Paris. It is governed by a king, and the inhabitants are Moors; ſome white, ſome brown, both men and women; the men are good horſemen; they dreſs richly, eſpecially the women, who wear ſilk gowns adorned with gold and jewels. They have a conſiderable harbour, which is good, and continually full of ſhips; and from the continent they get plenty of honey, wax, and ivory.

While the ſhips lay at anchor without the bar, rejoicing at their good fortune in arriving where they expected to meet with Chriſtians, and where they ſhould be able to cure their ſick, of which a few only remained alive, the greater part having died, they ſaw a large bark approach with near an hundred men in her, armed, who, on coming up, would have entered the ſhip; but De Gama would not ſuffer more than four to come on board, and thoſe not armed, excuſing this precaution as being a ſtranger. To thoſe who came on board, he gave good entertainment of ſuch as he had. They ſaid they came out of curioſity to ſee him, as a new ſight to them; that he muſt not wonder to ſee them bring arms, as it was their cuſtom to carry them both in peace and war. They told him that the king of Mombaſſa was apprized of his arrival, and would ſend to viſit him the next day: that he was glad of his coming, and would give him ſpices to load his ſhip: they alſo ſaid there were many Chriſtians on the iſland, who lived by themſelves. The general was pleaſed with this information, as it agreed with what the pilot had told him; yet reſolved to be on his guard.

The next day being Palm-Sunday, ſome white Moors came from the king, to ſay he was glad of their arrival, and that if they would come into the harbour, he would ſupply them with what they ſtood in need of: he ſent the general a ring, a ſheep, ſome ſweet oranges, citrons, and ſugar canes: theſe Moors alſo ſaid there were Chriſtians in the iſland. The general believed them to be ſincere, ſent preſents back to the king, returning him thanks, and ſaying that the next day they would come farther in. He ſent alſo two men (criminals) who were on board, to be employed on ſuch deſperate enterpriſes, to be left on ſhore occaſionally, to gain intelligence, and to be called for again. When theſe landed with the Moors, a multitude of people met and accompanied them to the king's palace: they were conducted through three apartments before they came to his preſence, at the doors of each a porter attended with a ſword on. The king ſhewed little ſtate, but received the Portugueſe well, and ordered the Moors to ſhew them the city. They ſaw in the ſtreets many men priſoners, and in irons: as they did not underſtand the language, they could aſk no queſtions, but had ſome reaſon to believe them to be Chriſtians.

They were alſo carried to the houſe of ſome Chriſtian Indian merchants, who having information that the Portugueſe were of the ſame perſuaſion, gladly received them; and after having banquetted them, ſhewed them, on a painted paper, the figure of the Holy Ghoſt, before which they paid their devotion on their knees. The Portugueſe were further informed by the Moors, there were other Chriſtians who dwelt in another place, but that they ſhould not be introduced to theſe till after the Portugueſe captain-general had entered their harbour.

After viewing the city, they were brought into the king's preſence, who commanded a ſample of pepper, ginger, cloves, and wheat to be ſhewn them; alſo a quantity to be preſented to the captain-general, informing him by his meſſenger, that he would give him a freight of all theſe commodities, in which his country abounded; and

and that at a ſmall labour and expence he would amply furniſh him with gold, ſilver, amber, wax, ivory, and other valuable articles.

This meſſage was brought to the captain-general on Monday: having ſeen the ſpices, and hearing the king's promiſe, he was elated with his good fortune, eſpecially when the two baniſhed men gave him ſo ample an account of the population and wealth of the country; as alſo of the treatment they met with at the houſe of the Chriſtian merchants.

He and his captains immediately propoſed to enter the port and accept the offer of ſpices, and afterwards proceed on their voyage to Calicut; if they could not be better furniſhed there, they would return and remain contented with their preſent acquiſition. They determined, therefore, to enter the harbour next day.

Mean time the Moors behaved themſelves with ſuch friendſhip, that it ſeemed as if they and the Portugueſe had been of long acquaintance. The captain-general, therefore, gave orders to weigh their anchors, with an intention of fulfilling his purpoſe; but here the Portugueſe were preſerved from impending deſtruction in an extraordinary manner. When the general's ſhip had weighed anchor, and was going to enter the port, her ſtern ſtruck upon a ſhoal; which being inſtantly perceived, command was given to drop their anchors, leſt the ſhip, as was expected, ſhould be loſt.

When the Moors ſaw the accident, and that the fleet was obliged to anchor, they were diſappointed of their intention of getting them into their harbour that day; they therefore ran to their boat, and got off the pilot of Mozambique, having taken to the water from the ſhip's ſtern; and though the captain-general called to them to return and deliver him up, they diſregarded him, and rowed towards the city.

The captain-general now perceived that miſchief had been deſigned againſt him and his company, by the king and his people, which divine providence had prevented, by throwing him on this ſhoal to preſerve them from the intended treaſon. He communicated his ſentiments to the company, and in the evening put to the torture two Mozambique captives, to force them to confeſſion. The command was inſtantly obſerved, and a confeſſion obtained by heating bacon and dropping it upon their fleſh. The treaſon was immediately acknowledged; as alſo that the pilots had taken to the water, on ſuſpicion they were diſcovered.

The captain-general now altered his intention of entering the harbour, and being greatly chagrined at the falſhood of the Moors, propoſed to torture another captive, to know if he was in the confederacy. But the Moor perceiving theſe preparations, threw himſelf bound into the ſea, as did another before day-light.

The miſchief intended being now evident, the captain-general returned thanks to God, by whoſe goodneſs alone they were delivered from the ſlaughter of the infidels. He then, on board his ſhip, ſaid the "ſalva regina." Being now mindful of their ſafety, they ordered a diligent watch to be kept to prevent any danger in the night. It is to be remarked, that when the Portugueſe came firſt to the town of Mombaſſa, thoſe among them that were ill, began to mend, ſo that when this conſpiracy ſubjected them to ſo much danger, they felt themſelves ſtrong beyond expectation, and the common courſe of nature.

It happened after the watch of the ſhip Berrio was ſet, the cable of their anchor was diſcovered to move. They at firſt judged this proceeded from the number of the fiſh called the tunney, very plentiful on the coaſt of Mombaſſa, whoſe fleſh is of excel-

lent

lent ſtavour; but they were ſoon deceived on perceiving their enemies were cutting the cable with their wood-knives or ſwords, hoping by this means that the ſhip would run aſhore, and the men taken; and they practiſed this method, being unacquainted with any other for their purpoſe. However, on the alarm being given, they were prevented; but the crew of the ſhip Raphael, on coming to the reſcue of their companions, diſcovered ſome of their enemies among the chains of the tacklings of their fore-maſt. The Moors perceiving this, ſuddenly dived under water, together with their companions, and ſwam to ſome boats which were waiting for them at a diſtance; in which, as was afterwards underſtood, were many Moors, who taking them in, rowed faſt away, and returned to the city.

The Wedneſday and Thurſday following the Portugueſe fleet ſtill remained there, during which, in the night, the enemy came in their boats, which always lay on ſhore; from which ſome ſwam to diſcover if they could by any means cut the ſhip's cables, but by the diligence of the watch, they were counteracted; nevertheleſs the Portugueſe were in continual alarm, leſt they ſhould burn the ſhips. It is wonderful that the Moors did not attack the fleet with ſuch veſſels as they had, by which means the Portugueſe might have been totally deſtroyed. The moſt probable conjecture is, that the ordnance ſcared them, and made them careful to avoid ſuch an approach.

The general watched the laſt two days to ſee if he could get the pilots to carry him to Calicut, without whom the navigation would be difficult, as his own pilots were unacquainted with the coaſt. Not being able to procure them, he proceeded on his voyage on the Friday. He was obliged to leave one of his anchors behind him upon the bar, his people being ſo fatigued with heaving up the others, that they could not purchaſe it. The Moors afterwards took it up, and fixed it near their king's palace, where it remained until the place was afterwards taken by the Portugueſe, who found the anchor there.

It falling calm, they came to anchor eight leagues from Mozambique under the land. At the dawn of day, they diſcovered two boats, called Sambucos, under their lee, three leagues from the fleet, to ſeaward. Hoping to find ſome pilots on board, the general weighed anchor and purſued them till evening, when his ſhip came up with and took one of them; the other got in ſhore. They found on board ſeventeen Moors, among whom was an old man who appeared maſter of the reſt, and a young woman his wife; they alſo found a quantity of gold and ſilver, and ſome proviſions.

The fleet proceeded to Melinda, eighteen leagues from Mombaſſa, ſituated in three degrees ſouth latitude: it has no harbour, but an open road; and on account of a reef on which the ſea beats, the ſhips anchor far from the ſhore. The city ſtands on a plain near the ſea ſide, ſurrounded with palm and other trees, which are green all the year round; alſo with gardens well furniſhed with herbs and fruits, and with fountains of good water. Their oranges are very large, and are very ſweet and pleaſant; they have alſo great ſtore of proviſions and cattle, both great and ſmall, and poultry fat and cheap. The city is large, the ſtreets few, and many good houſes of ſtone, ſeveral ſtories high, with windows, and terraces of lime and earth. The natives are black, and well proportioned, with curled hair: the Moors of Arabia reſort thither, and behave themſelves well, eſpecially the gentlemen, who are naked from the girdle upwards

wards and downwards, cover themſelves with ſilk, or very thin cotton cloth; and others with ſhort cloaks, made of cotton. On their head they wear a certain cloth, wrought with ſilk and gold. They carry daggers, with taſſels of ſilk of many colours, and ſwords well garniſhed: they are all left-handed, and conſtantly carry with them bows and arrows.

The men of Melinda reckon themſelves good horſemen, although there is a ſaying uſed by the inhabitants of the coaſt, which gives a preference therein to their neighbours, "The horſemen of Mombaſſa, and the women of Melinda;" for in Mombaſſa the horſemen are very good, and in Melinda the women are handſome. There are alſo in Melinda many heathens from Cambaya, who are great merchants, and traffic for gold, ambergris, ivory, pitch, and wire, in exchange for copper, quickſilver, and cotton cloth, from Cambaya. The general and his fleet were highly delighted to ſee a place much reſembling the cities of their own country, and came to an anchor in hopes of procuring pilots; for hitherto he had not found any among the Moors they had taken.

The next day, the old Moor informed the general that there were in Melinda four ſhips belonging to the Chriſtians of India; and promiſed, if he would permit him and the other Moors to go on ſhore, he would procure him pilots and whatever he was in need of. This offer was accepted, and they weighed and came within half a league of the city: however, nobody came on board, fearing to be made priſoners, as they knew from the capture of the Sambuco that they were Chriſtians, and believed them to be ſhips of war. The general conjectured this to be the caſe; therefore ordered the old Moor to be landed on a ſhelf or ſhoal oppoſite to the city, and there to be left. As ſoon as the Portugueſe boat returned, a Mooriſh boat carried him on ſhore, to the king, whom he informed what the general wiſhed, particularly his deſire of peace, and his want of aſſiſtance for the diſcovery of the Indies. The king ſent the Moor back in a boat, accompanied by one of his own ſervants, and a prieſt, with a meſſage, ſignifying, that he was willing to conclude a peace, and would ſupply the general with pilots, and whatever elſe he ſhould want. He at the ſame time ſent him a preſent of three ſheep, ſome oranges and ſugar-canes. The general received all thankfully, and anſwered, that the next day he would come with his ſhips into the harbour, and inform the king, that he was the ſubject of a great prince, who being deſirous to know where the city of Calicut ſtood, had ſent him to diſcover a paſſage to it, and to make peace with the kings and princes whoſe territories he ſhould ſtop at in his way; that he had been now two years from his own country, and that the king, his maſter, was a powerful prince, worthy of his friendſhip. With this meſſage he diſmiſſed them, ſending alſo a hat, two bunches of coral, three braſs baſons, ſome little bells, and two ſcarfs to the king.

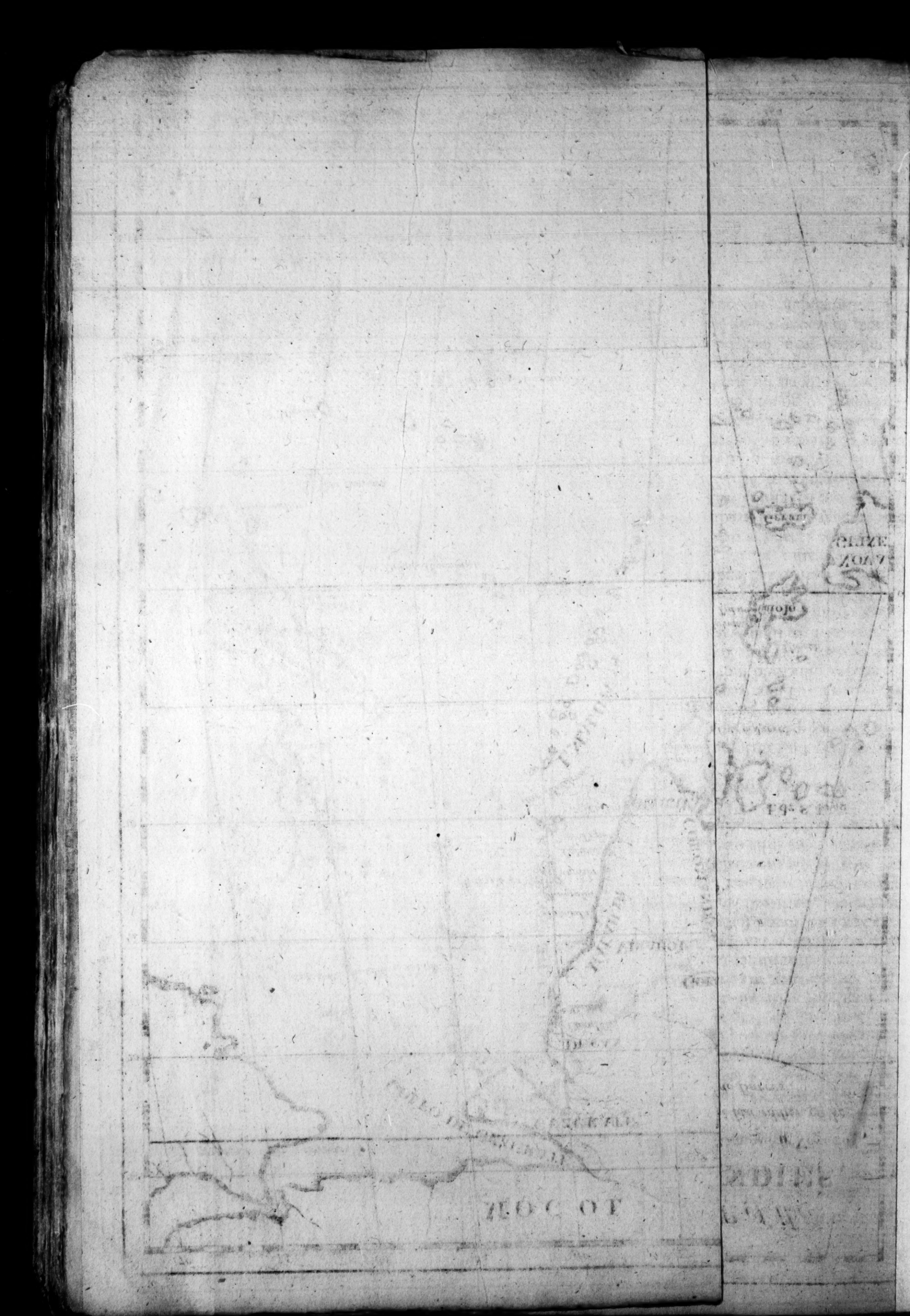
The next day he came nearer the city, which the king being informed of, conceiving a high idea of the king of Portugal, and having a great curioſity to ſee men who had made ſo long a voyage, ſent word to the general, that he would viſit him the next day, and that their meeting ſhould be on the water. This meſſage was accompanied with a ſecond preſent of five ſheep, and plenty of cloves, ginger, pepper, and nutmegs. On receiving this meſſage the general went with his ſhips further in, and anchored cloſe to the four ſhips the Moor had ſpoken of; the owners of which finding the Portugueſe to be Chriſtians, immediately paid a viſit to the general. They were of a brown colour, good ſtature, and well proportioned: they wore long white cotton

gowns, long beards, and their hair long and plaited up under their turbans. The general received them well, and converſed, by an interpreter, in the Arabic tongue, of which they had acquired ſome knowledge, by their trade with the Moors; of theſe they adviſed him to beware, and not to truſt thoſe of Melinda too far. The general, to be aſſured theſe people were really Chriſtians, commanded a table to be brought in, on which was the picture of the Virgin Mary, and ſome of the apoſtles; on ſeeing which, they fell proſtrate on the deck, worſhipping it and praying. Gama enquired if they were of Calicut; they anſwered no, but of a city further off, called Cranganor, and knew a little of Calicut. Theſe people came every day after to pay their devotions to this picture, and offered pepper and other things to the image. The Portugueſe were informed that they did not eat fleſh.

Next day, after dinner, the king of Melinda came in a large boat to the fleet, dreſſed in a caſſock of crimſon damaſk, lined with green ſattin, and a rich turban on his head. He ſat in a very handſome chair, upon a ſilk cuſhion, and another near him, on which lay a hat of crimſon ſattin. Near him ſtood an old man, his page, who carried a very rich ſword, the ſcabbard of which was ſilver. He brought with him many ſackbuts, and two ivory flutes of eight ſpans in length, and played on by holes at the ſide, agreeing well with the ſackbuts. He was accompanied by twenty Moors, richly apparelled. When the king approached the ſhips, the general went in his boat, with flags flying, and accompanied by twelve of his principal officers, to meet him, leaving his brother in charge of the ſhips. As the boats approached, mutual ſalutations paſſed: the king invited the general into his boat, where he was as much honoured as if he had been a prince: he viewed the Portugueſe very attentively, and enquired the name of their king, which he cauſed immediately to be written down: he next enquired many particulars of him and his power, which the general readily anſwered, declaring for what cauſe his maſter had ſent him into thoſe ſeas. After ſome converſation with the king, the latter promiſed him pilots for Calicut, invited him to his palace in the city, and promiſed to viſit him afterwards on ſhipboard. The general anſwered, that his king had given him no permiſſion to go on ſhore, and therefore he dare not. The king was grieved at this excuſe; however, ſaid he would ſend either letters or ambaſſadors to the king of Portugal, if he would call on his return. This De Gama promiſed, and made him a preſent of the Moors he had taken, at which he expreſſed great ſatisfaction.

After this, the king, accompanied by the general, rowed among the ſhips, and beheld them with much admiration; he was particularly delighted at the firing of the cannon; ſeemed much pleaſed with the Portugueſe, and ſaid he ſhould be glad to have ſome of them to help him in his wars. He then deſired the general to ſend two of his men to ſee his palace, if he would not go with him himſelf; and for a pledge of their ſafety, he would leave his ſon and one of his chief cadis or judges, and deſired him alſo to come near the ſhore in his boat, the next day, to ſee his horſemen. The general agreed, ſent two of his men, and the next day he and Coello went along ſhore in the boats, where they ſaw the horſemen ſkirmiſhing. As the boats came near the ſhore, ſome footmen came down from the king's houſe, took him up in a chair, and carried him near to the general's boat. He once more requeſted him to go on ſhore, and viſit his father, who was a lame man, and very deſirous to ſee him; and if he would go, the king and his children would remain on board the ſhips; but the general ſtill declined, ſaying, he muſt obey his prince.

As



A MAP of the EAST INDIES,

Engraved for the Portugueze Voyages.
From a Map in the last edition of the Asia of de Barros.

MOGOL
CHINA
GOLFO DE CUZURATE
GUZURATE
Cambaia
Dio
C.de S. Joaõ
DECAN
Chaul
Dabul
MALABAR
VISAPOR
Goa
Batecala
Mangalor
B. de Padua
Cananor
Calicut
Tanor
Cochin
MARAVA
Canal das Maldivas
I. MALDIVAS
Capt. Comorin
Colombo
I. CEILAM
COROMANDEL
Rio Ganges
R.no DE BENGALA
C.das Palmeiras
Pirampor
Ponâi
GOLCONDA
Chicacol
Masulipatam
Patinaute
Madras
Pondichori
Negapatam
Jasnepatam
Trinquemate
Batecalú
GOLFO DE BENGALA
Tropico de Cancer
EQUINOCTIAL
I. de Diego Rodrigues
I. de Mascarenhas
Tres Irmans
S. Miguel
I. de Diego Garcia
I. Gallega
I. Mauricio
Primeiro Meridiano passa pela Ilha do Ferro
Pegú
Martaham
Mergui
Tenastarin
R.no DE SIAM
C. Liant
GOLFO DE SIAM
I. Ubi
Lagor
Quedá
Patane
Achem
Rua de Achem
Estreito de Malaca
Pera
Pahang
Malava
C. Romania
I. Nias
I. SUMATRA
ESTREITO DA SONDA
Batavia
Mataram
I. JAVA
I. Hainam
Macao
I. Formosa
MANDCHEOU TONQUIN
COCHINCHINA
R.no DE CAMBOJE
I. Condor
Banco dos Inglezes
C. Baiador
Segovia
I. FILIPPINAS
Manilha
I. Paragoia
I. de S. Joaõ
Mindanao
C.de S. Agost.o
Ponta de Sade
Borneo
I. DE BORNEO
Sambas
Beniarmassim
Tetuli
Benlon
Ternate
Tidor
Morotai
Gilolo
Jurate
Bancala
CELEBES
Talamon
I. Bouro
Geram
NOVA GUINE
I. Madurá
I. Cumbava
Flores
Timor

As they returned on board they paſſed by the India ſhips, and ſaluted each other: that night, by the king's permiſſion, they entertained the crews of theſe ſhips. On Sunday, April 21, a man of ſome rank came from the king to viſit De Gama, who, not having ſeen any for two days before, was fearful the king was offended at his refuſal to go on ſhore. His ſuſpicion increaſed when he ſaw this perſon brought no pilot. When this was told to the king, he immediately ſent him a Gentile pilot, with many excuſes for not ſending one before.

Having all things neceſſary, the fleet ſailed from Melinda for Calicut on the 22d of April, and they now determined to quit the ſhore, which they had hitherto coaſted, and ſtand out to ſea, truſting to the conduct of the pilot. On the next day they ſaw both the north and ſouth polar ſtars; the former of which they had not ſeen for a long time: they were alſo agreeably ſurpriſed to meet with no ſtorms at that time of the year, but rather fair weather. They were twenty-three days out of ſight of land, which they ſaw on the 17th of May, a high ſhore, eight leagues diſtant: on ſounding they found forty-five fathom; and to avoid getting into ſhoal water, they ſtood to the ſouth-eaſt until next day, and hauled in again for the land, but not ſo cloſe as to be certain what part of the coaſt it was; but by ſome ſhowers which fell, the pilot judged it to be the coaſt of India, that being their winter ſeaſon. On the 20th they diſcovered ſome hills over the city of Calicut, which the pilot knew, and with much joy demanded his reward of De Gama, aſſuring them that this was the land he ſo much deſired to ſee. The general paid him, and immediately went to prayers, ſaying the ſalva, and returning thanks to God for their happy arrival; after prayer they feaſted and rejoiced, and on the evening came to anchor two leagues from Calicut. Immediately four little boats, or almadias, came on board, to enquire what ſhips they were, having never ſeen any ſuch on that coaſt before. The people were naked, except their private parts, covered with pieces of linen cloth; they were of a brown complexion. They went on board the general's ſhip, who treated them well, although his pilot told him they were only fiſhermen, (a name applied on this coaſt to poor people) and directed his men to purchaſe their fiſh. From them he learned that the town in ſight was not Calicut, that being further off, and offered to pilot him thither; which they did.

Calicut, is a city ſituated on the coaſt of Malabar, in the ſecond Indies, beginning at Mount Delhi, and ending at Cape Comorin: it is in length ſixty-one leagues, and fifteen in breath: all the country is low, and often overflowed. It has many iſlands belonging to it, and is divided from a great kingdom, called Narſinga, by a high hill. The Indians have a tradition, that this land of Malabar was once ſea, and reached as far as the Maldive iſlands, which were then firm land.

The province of Malabar was anciently governed by a king, who reſided at Coulan. In the reign of their laſt king, who died about ſix hundred years ago, the Moors of Mecca diſcovered the Indies, and ſettled in Malabar, the people being then heathens. They converted the king, who became ſo zealous a devotee, that he determined to go and end his days at Mecca. Before he departed, he divided his dominions among his kindred, reſerving only a ſmall portion of twelve leagues, from which he was to embark, and which was never before inhabited. This he gave to a kinſman, who had been his page, commanding that the ſame ſhould be inhabited, in memorial of his embarkation, inveſting him with his ſword and turban, and commanding all others to be obedient to him as their emperor. This was

the origin of Calicut: at the place where he embarked, the city was built, and out of a principal of devotion, they now ſhip all goods from hence; by which means the port of Coulan became neglected. The merchants removing hither, it was ſoon one of the richeſt marts in India, for ſpices, drugs, precious ſtones, pearls, ſeed pearl, peaſe, muſk, ſanders, china, gum, lace, gold, amber, wax, ivory, cotton, raw ſilk, wrought ſilk, cloths of gold, tiſſue, &c. carpets of ſilk, copper, quickſilver, vermillion, alum, coral, roſe water, and all kind of conſerves. It had the advantage of a good road, the other parts of the coaſt being very dangerous.

This place is ſurrounded with many orchards, and has excellent water; they have alſo many palm and other trees. They have but little rice, although their common food; but import great quantities. The city is large, and all the houſes of ſtraw, they being prohibited by law from having any other, except the temples of their idols, and the king's palaces, which are built of lime and ſtone, and covered with tiles. It is inhabited both by Gentiles and Moors, ſome of whom are great merchants, and ſo rich that ſome individuals are owners of fifty ſhips. There is ſcarce a winter but ſix hundred ſhips remain there; theſe they haul on ſhore with little trouble; they are built without nails, ſewed together with Coyro ropes, and pitched over that: they have no keel, but are flat-bottomed.

The increaſe of trade to Calicut, and the country round, enlarged the king's income greatly, and enabled him to keep ſo many men that in one day he could raiſe thirty thouſand, and in three days one hundred thouſand fighting men. His title is that of Samorin, or emperor, as he is among the kings of Malabar, of which there are only two, thoſe of Coulan and Cananor. The Samorin is a bramin, as his predeceſſors were; theſe are prieſts among the Malabars. It is an ancient cuſtom, that all their kings ſhall die in one pagoda, which is a temple of their idols: he is elected for the purpoſe of ſerving thoſe idols, and when he dies, the king, who is then reigning, muſt reſign his empire and take his place, in whoſe room another is elected. If the perſon in poſſeſſion refuſes to go to the pagoda, he is compelled. The kings are brown men, naked from the girdle upwards, and cloathed downwards with cloths of ſilk or cotton; ſometimes they have ſhort gowns of ſilk, or cloth of gold and of ſcarlet, with very rich ſtones; eſpecially the king of Calicut, who excels in dreſs and jewels. They ſhave, except their upper lip, like the Turks: they are ſerved at their meals with little ſtate, except the king of Calicut, who has greater.

The kings of Calicut do not marry, yet are allowed a lady of the houſe of the nayres, or gentlemen: ſhe has a houſe by herſelf near the palace, and a liberal allowance. The kings may leave them when they pleaſe, and in that caſe the children cannot inherit, although after they are men, they are in more eſtimation than they receive from their mothers. Their brothers inherit, if they have any; if not, then their ſiſter's children: the ſiſters do not marry, but are free to chooſe whom they like. Theſe have large incomes allowed them: at ten years old their kindred ſeek for a young nayre, preſent him with gifts, and the young virgin to deflower: he receives her with great joy; and when ſhe is thus uſed, he ties a jewel about her neck, which ſhe always afterwards wears as a token of the liberty given her to do as ſhe will with herſelf.

The kings ſometimes war with each other, and take the field themſelves. When they die they are carried into an open field, where their bodies are burned with a great quantity of ſanders-wood, and a ſweet wood called aguila. At this ceremony all his brothers neareſt kindred, and the nobility are preſent, for which purpoſe they

put

put off the burning three days, to give them time to come together. After he is burned, and his aſhes buried, they are all ſhaved, even the leaſt child, and abſtain from eating betel for thirteen days. During this time the ſucceſſor does not take upon him the government, to ſee if any one objects againſt him. After which he is ſworn to ſupport the laws of his predeceſſor, and to pay all his debts. The thirteen days being ended, they are allowed to eat betel again, except the king, who for the ſpace of a year muſt not eat fiſh, fleſh, or betel, nor muſt he ſhave his beard, cut his nails, or eat but once a day, before which he muſt bathe. At the expiration of the year he performs a certain ceremony for the ſoul of his predeceſſor, gives great alms, and is then confirmed in his kingdom.

All the kings of Malabar have one perſon charged with the adminiſtration of juſtice, who is equally obeyed with the king himſelf. The ſoldiers are all nayres, or gentlemen; they are all Gentiles, and carry arms, which are bows, arrows, ſpears, daggers made like a hook, and targets. They go naked, except a painted cloth from the girdle to the knee; bare-footed, and have turbans round their heads: they are all ſupported by the king and nobility, who allow them ſtipends for their maintenance: they eſteem themſelves ſo highly, that they will not permit any huſbandmen to touch them, or to come into their houſes. The king cannot make nayres, they are ſo by deſcent; they ſerve well and faithfully; their allowance is ſmall, and by the laws of the country, they cannot marry, but have their women in common, who are all gentlewomen: the brothers children inherit their lands and goods: they are privileged, that none can be impriſoned or put to death by the ordinary courſe of juſtice; but if one of them kill another, or kill a cow, (which is eſteemed a great ſin, as they worſhip them) or ſleep or eat with a woman of inferior degree, or ſpeak evil of the king; in either of theſe caſes, the king iſſues a warrant in writing, directed to other nayres, to kill him: this they do by cutting him with their ſwords: upon his body they hang the king's writing, that every one may know why he was ſlain. The nayres cannot take arms until they are made knights: at ſeven years old they are taught the uſe of their weapons; the maſters who teach them are much reſpected. When any of the nayres would be made a knight, they go, accompanied by many of their relations, to preſent themſelves to the king with a preſent of gold. He aſks them, if they will obſerve and keep the cuſtoms of the nayres. To which they anſwer, "Yes." He then girds them with a ſword, and laying his hand upon their heads, mutters ſomething in a low voice, like a prayer: and then embraces them, ſaying, "Have a regard to the bramins and their kindred." The nayre then worſhips the king, and becomes a knight.

Theſe nayres, when they engage with any nobleman, undertake to live and die with him, which bond they inviolably keep. They are great ſoothſayers, and have good and bad days. They worſhip the ſun, moon, fire, and the cattle that they firſt meet on going out of a morning. There are other ſorts of people in Malabar, which are of divers ſects, and obſerve different cuſtoms; but all obey theſe kings, except the Moors, who are exempt on account of the great duties they pay on their merchandiſe.

The general having come to anchor without the bar of Calicut, ſent one of his convicts in the boat, to ſee what ſort of country it was, and if they ſhould be well received. When the man landed, a number of people immediately came round to look at him. They aſked the Malabar who carried him on ſhore, what he was, who

who anſwered, that they took him for a Moor, and that he came in one of the three ſhips they then ſaw. The people of Calicut obſerved, he was dreſſed different from the Moors. Among the people who flocked round him, ſome ſpake to him in Arabic, which he could not anſwer. This ſurpriſed them, that he ſhould be a Moor, and not underſtand that tongue; however, they carried him to the houſe of two Moors, who were natives of Tunis, in Barbary; one of them, whoſe name was Bontaybo*, could ſpeak Spaniſh, and knew him to be a Portugueſe. As ſoon as the convict entered the houſe, the Moor ſaid to him in Spaniſh, "I give thee to the "devil, who brought thee here?" He then aſked him which way he came. The man anſwered and told him how many ſhips the general had with him. Bontaybo was much ſurpriſed how they could get by ſea thither, and aſked him what brought him ſo far. The man anſwered, "To ſeek for Chriſtians and ſpices."—"Why (ſaid "Bontaybo) did not the kings of France and Spain, and the doge of Venice, ſend "fleets hither alſo?"—"Becauſe (ſays the man) the king of Portugal would not "give his conſent." Bontaybo ſaid, he did very wiſely. He then entertained him well, and gave him ſome cakes made of wheat flour, and ſome honey. After he had eaten, Bontaybo adviſed him to go on board, and ſaid he would go with him to ſee the general. As ſoon as he got there, he addreſſed himſelf to De Gama: "Good luck, good luck! many rubies, many emeralds! thou art bound to give God "thanks, for he hath brought thee where there are all kinds of ſpices, ſtores, and "riches in the world." When the Portugueſe heard him, they were much ſurpriſed to find one, at ſo great a diſtance from their native country, who could ſpeak their language. The general embraced Bontaybo, made him ſit down, and aſked him if he was a Chriſtian. The Moor told him from whence he came, and what he was; that he came to Calicut by way of Caïro; told him how he came to have a knowledge of the Portugueſe, and that he entertained a good opinion of them, had been a friend to them, and would be now. The general returned him thanks, and promiſed to recompenſe him liberally for any ſervice he did him or his company.

The general aſked him what kind of man the king of Calicut was, and whether he thought he would receive him as an ambaſſador from the king of Portugal. Bontaybo anſwered, he was a very good man, of an honourable diſpoſition, and he had no doubt but he would gladly receive him as an ambaſſador, if he came to eſtabliſh trade, or brought any kind of merchandiſe for that purpoſe; "for (ſays he) he reaps "great advantages by duties, which form a principal part of his revenue." He further informed De Gama, that the king was at a village called Panane, five leagues from Calicut along the coaſt, to which place he adviſed him to ſend to declare his arrival. The general approved of his advice, made him a preſent, and ſent two of his men with him, with a meſſage to the king of Calicut; requeſting Bontaybo to conduct them thither, which he did. When he came before the king, one of them, whoſe name was Francis Martin, by an interpreter, declared that he came from his captain, who had letters for him from the king of Portugal. The king hearing the meſſage, ordered they ſhould each of them be preſented with a piece of cotton cloth and two pieces of ſilk, ſuch as he uſed himſelf. He then aſked what diſtance the kingdom was from thence. Martin informed him, and added, that his king was a

* Oſorio calls him Monzaybo.

Chriſtian,

Chriſtian, as they all were in the ſhips. He then related the dangers and difficulties they had encountered on the voyage. The king was pleaſed with the meſſage, and ſent word to the general that he and his company were heartily welcome to his country, requeſting him to bring his ſhips to anchor near Pandarene, being a better harbour than Calicut, from whence the general might come by land to viſit him. He ſent a pilot, who conducted the ſhips to that port, but the general would not permit them to be carried ſo far in as the pilot wiſhed, not being willing to rely too implicitly on theſe people, who might afterwards do him miſchief.

The captain being come near this harbour, received a meſſage from the cutwal, an officer of Calicut, ſignifying that he was come to Pandarene by the king's command, to conduct him to Calicut; he was therefore at liberty to diſembark when he pleaſed. As the day was far ſpent, De Gama excuſed himſelf for the preſent, and conſulted with his captains and officers how to act: he expreſſed his deſire to wait on the king, to ſettle trade and alliance. His brother objected to his going, from a fear that the Moors might procure his deſtruction, and propoſed that he ſhould ſend one of them. The others were of the ſame opinion. To which De Gama ſpiritedly replied, that whatever was the conſequence, he would go and ſee if he could ſettle a friendſhip and trade; for ſhould he return without effecting that, no one would believe they had been at Calicut. Beſides, he did not, for many reaſons, conceive the danger to be ſo great as they ſuſpected; adding, that the conſequence he carried with him, by virtue of his commiſſion as captain-general, would inſure him ſucceſs. He concluded with directing, in caſe any accident ſhould befal him, to ſail home with the news of the diſcovery.

His officers finding him reſolute, gave up their oppoſition, and appointed twelve of his men to go with him; among the reſt, Diogo Dias his ſecretary, Francis Martin the interpreter, and John de Sala, who was treaſurer of the houſe of the Indies. The general's brother was to remain in charge of the ſhips, with poſitive orders not to permit any one on board during his abſence: and he left orders for Coello to come every day in the boat as near the ſhore as he could.

Theſe preliminaries being ſettled, on the 28th of May De Gama embarked with his twelve attendants, dreſſed in their beſt cloaths; the boats furniſhed with arms, decorated with flags, and their trumpets ſounding all the way to the ſhore: there the cutwal waited for him, attended by two hundred nayres. The general was received very politely, and placed in a litter, which the king had ſent for him: theſe litters are carried by four men, with others to relieve them, and by that means they can travel very faſt; they are open, but are attended by men who carry umbrellas to defend them either from the ſun or rain.

The general being placed in his litter, and the cutwal in another, they proceeded to a town called Capocate; the reſt of the company going on foot, having ſome of the natives to carry the apparel they had brought with them. At Capocate they reſted, and were furniſhed with proviſions, conſiſting of fiſh, rice, and fruits, very different from European fruits, but very good.

After their repaſt, they embarked on a river in two almadias, faſtened cloſe to each other, which they called *enſengada*. The cutwal and his train embarked in others. The ſides of the river were covered by the natives, to ſee the Portugueſe. After paſſing about a league, they ſaw many large ſhips aground, and the captain and cutwal again diſembarking, took to their litters, followed by thouſands of people, men, women,

women, and children. The cutwal ſtopped at a pagoda, telling the general it was a place of great devotion, into which they entered: the general believed what he ſaid, and concluded it to be a Chriſtian church, particularly as he obſerved ſeven ſmall bells hung over the door, and before the ſame a pillar of braſs, as high as the maſt of a ſhip; on the top of which was a cock, likewiſe of braſs. This church was as large as ſome monaſteries, built of ſtone, and covered or vaulted with brick. On entering they were received by certain men, naked from the girdle upwards; they wore cloths which came up under the arm-pits, and were ſupported by ſtrings over the ſhoulder, as the Romiſh prieſts uſed to wear their ſtoles when they went to maſs. Theſe men were called Caffres, and were heathens, who ſerved in theſe temples: they took water with a ſponge out of a font, and threw it on the captain, the cutwal, and the reſt of the company, and then gave them ſome ſanders wood powdered, to throw on their heads, as the Catholics do aſhes. As they walked about the church, they ſaw many images painted on the wall; ſome with teeth projecting an inch out of their mouths; others had four arms, very ill favoured, and ſeemed almoſt like devils: the latter made the Portugueſe ſomewhat doubtful whether it was a Chriſtian church or not. Being come before a chapel, in the middle of the building, they perceived it had a little tower at the top, of free-ſtone, in which was a ſmall door of braſs: within this tower was an image which ſtood rather in the dark, and the Portugueſe being kept at a diſtance, could not diſtinguiſh what it was: but the Malabars calling out Maria, or ſome word like it, the general ſuppoſed it was an image of the Virgin, and fell on his knees, as did the reſt of his company; but Juan de la Sala being doubtful, cried, "If this be the devil, I worſhip God." The general hearing him, could not refrain from ſmiling. The cutwal and his company fell flat on the ground, with their hands extended: afterwards riſing, they ſaid their prayers ſtanding.

At their entrance into Calicut, De Gama and his attendants were conducted to another pagoda. The croud was ſo great to view the Portugueſe, that they could not get on, but were obliged to take refuge in a houſe. Here they were joined by the catwal's brother and many nayres; they proceeded from hence with trumpets and ſackbuts ſounding to the palace; the mob, from reſpect to the cutwal's brother, keeping back. The palace, although built of earth, was very large, and ornamented with a multitude of trees, ſtanding in pleaſant gardens.

The general was met at the entrance of the palace by ſeveral noblemen, and conducted through ſeveral courts, at the gate of each of which were ten porters. At the door of the houſe where the king was, they were met by a little old man, who was chief bramin or high-prieſt; he embraced the general, and conducted them in. Here the preſſing began again, the natives endeavouring to get a ſight of their king, whom they ſeldom ſee, and many of the people were hurt.

The place where the king gave audience was very large, ſurrounded with ſeats one above the other, like a theatre; the floor was covered with green velvet; the hangings were of ſilk of different colours. The king was lying on an eſtrado or ſeat of boards, covered with a cloth of white ſilk and gold, and a rich canopy over him. On his head he had a turban, rich with ſtones and pearls, and jewels in his ears. He wore a jacket of fine cotton; the buttons were pearl, and the holes gold. About his middle he had a white girdle, made of the ſame cotton, which reached down to his knees; his fingers and toes were full of rings, which were of very fine ſtones, ſet in gold; and on his arms and legs many bracelets of the ſame metal. Cloſe to the eſtrado ſtood an

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ewer, which had a high foot of wrought gold: in this was the betel, which the king chews with ſalt and areca, a preſerved apple, about the ſize of a nut. This is eaten throughout the Indies, to ſweeten the breath, dry the ſtomach, and quench the thirſt: when it is ſufficiently chewed, they throw it out of their mouth, and take another. That the king may not ſwallow it, there is a veſſel of gold for him to ſpit in, which ſtands on a gold foot. He has a gold fountain, full of water, to waſh his mouth, when he has finiſhed chewing his betel. This betel is given to him by an old man who ſtands cloſe to the eſtrado; all the others that are preſent cover their mouths with their left hands, leſt their breath ſhould be offenſive to the king. It is thought great diſreſpect to ſpit or ſneeze before him.

When the general arrived at the council-chamber, he made his compliments to the king, after the manner of the country, which is by bowing three times, and lifting up the hands. The king immediately made ſigns to him to draw near, and commanded him to ſit down. Being ſeated, the reſt of his men entered, and made the like obedience. The king alſo commanded them to ſit down facing him: he ordered them water to waſh their hands and refreſh themſelves; for though it was winter they were very hot; after which he commanded figs and other fruit to be brought them to eat, which they willingly accepted. The king was ſo much pleaſed at ſeeing them eat, that he laughed heartily. He took occaſion to talk with the old man who adminiſtered the betel to him. In the mean time the Portugueſe called for water, being thirſty. It was brought to them in a ewer of gold, and they were given to underſtand that they muſt hold the cup above their mouths, for the Malabars look on it as an injury to touch the veſſel with their lips; they therefore held it in the manner deſcribed; but not being accuſtomed to that mode of drinking, part of the liquor ran down ſome of their throats and made them cough, others ſpilt it over them, at which the king ſeemed delighted.

Looking towards the captain-general, he ſpoke to him by an interpreter, deſiring him to ſpeak to thoſe that were with him, and inform them of his pleaſure, likewiſe to report theirs to him. The general was not ſatisfied with this behaviour, for he thought it a diſgrace to him, and anſwered, by the interpreter, that he was the king of Portugal's ambaſſador, who was a great king; and that the Chriſtian princes did not receive their embaſſy by a third perſon, but by themſelves, and before very few people, and thoſe were of great credit; that he had obſerved the ſame form in other countries from whence he came; therefore he would not deliver his embaſſy to any but the king himſelf. The king approved of this, and immediately ordered the general and Francis Martin to be conducted into another chamber, which was equally adorned as the other. The king followed him, accompanied only by his interpreter, the chief bramin, and the old man who always gives the betel. As ſoon as he entered this chamber, he went to his eſtrado, and aſked the general "from what part of the world he came, and what he would have?" De Gama anſwered, "that he was an ambaſſador from a Chriſtian king, of a kingdom called Portugal, beſides many others, who was of great power, both in poſſeſſions and people, but much more in riches, beyond any king in thoſe parts, and hath been ſo for the ſpace of theſe ſixty years; and that his predeceſſors having had information of there being Chriſtian kings and great princes in the Indies, particularly the king of Calicut, they had been induced to ſend their captains to diſcover the ſame, make friendſhip with the king of the country, and take him as a brother, which the king his maſter would now do, and to viſit him by his ambaſſadors;

not that he had any need of their riches, for in his own country he had gold and ſilver, and other things of great value, and more than he had occaſion for. That the captains who had been ſent on theſe diſcoveries had been gone a year or two, conſumed all their victuals, and returned to Portugal, without finding what they ſought for, and ſpent large ſums of money in vain. But the king, don Emanuel, who then reigned, being deſirous to make an end of the enterpriſe, had ſent him thither; and that he might not want proviſions, as the others had done, ordered him three ſhips, laden with ſtores, commanding him not to return to Portugal without diſcovering the king of the Chriſtians, who is lord of Calicut; and if he ſhould return without bringing him an account thereof, he would command his head to be cut off. He had further ordered, when he ſhould arrive at the place where this king was, to deliver him two letters, (which he would preſent the next day, it being then too late): that he ſhould alſo tell him he was his friend and brother, requeſting him to accept of his kindred and friendſhip, as a return for ſending ſo far to ſeek him; and deſired he would ſend his ambaſſador, for the better preſerving the ſame; and that henceforth they would viſit each other by their ambaſſadors, as was the cuſtom with Chriſtian kings."

The king appeared well pleaſed with this meſſage, and told the general he was very welcome: that ſince the king of Portugal would be his friend and brother, he would be the ſame to him, and would ſend his ambaſſador. This the general earneſtly preſſed, ſaying, that he durſt not ſhew himſelf before the king his maſter without him; the king therefore promiſed it ſhould be done. After this, he was deſirous to know the whole eſtate of the king of Portugal; how far the country lay from Calicut, and how long he had been upon that voyage.

As part of the night was nearly paſſed, the king wiſhed him to retire, firſt aſking him whether he would ſleep amongſt the Moors or the Chriſtians. De Gama anſwered, that he would ſleep alone. The king then commanded a Moor, who was his factor, to accompany the general, and ordered that he ſhould have whatever was neceſſary.

The general, on taking his leave, found that the catwal and others, who had accompanied him before, meant to do the ſame: they were obliged to go on foot, and there came ſo much rain, that the ſtreets were in a flood; he was therefore under the neceſſity of commanding ſome of his men to carry him on their backs, not for the water only, but becauſe it would be ſo late before he could arrive at his lodging. Four hours of the night having paſſed before they ſet out, the general was ſo angry, that he aſked the king's factor, "whether he meant to carry him about the city all night?" Who anſwered, "that he could do no otherwiſe, for the city was large and ſcattered." He took him to his own houſe to reſt, and afterwards offered him a horſe; but there being no ſaddle, the general would not accept the offer, ſaying, he would rather go on foot to his lodgings, which he did, when thoſe that accompanied him there left him: previous to his coming his men had brought thither his baggage. When the general had reſted himſelf, he reflected with great joy on the good beginning of his buſineſs, and determined on the next day to ſend a preſent to the king. He knew that the factor and the cutwal muſt examine it, therefore ſent for them to take a view of what he meant to ſend, which was four ſcarlet habits, ſix hats, four branches of coral, a parcel of braſs of ſeven pieces, a cheſt of ſugar, and two of honey. When the factor and cutwal had ſeen theſe parcels, they began to laugh, ſaying, this was nothing of a preſent for the king; that the pooreſt merchant which comes to this port gives him much more than that; and if they muſt needs ſend a preſent, to ſend him

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ſome gold, for the king would not accept any thing elſe. At this anſwer the general was much offended, and ſhewed himſelf ſo by ſaying, that "if he had been a merchant, and had come there to trade, he would have brought gold; but as he was ſent by the king of Portugal on an embaſſy, he had brought none with him: the preſent he deſigned for the king of Calicut was his own goods, and not from the king his maſter, who was not certain he ſhould find the king of Calicut, therefore gave him nothing to preſent him with: but when he returned and informed the king of Portugal that he had found him, he would ſend gold, ſilver, and other rich things." They anſwered, "it might be ſo; but it was the cuſtom of that country, that whatever ſtranger came to ſpeak with the king, he always ſent him a preſent according to his rank." The general replied, "it was right to keep up this cuſtom, and for the preſervation of it, and not for the value of it, he offered this preſent, therefore deſired they would ſuffer him to ſend it to the king, which, if they refuſed, he would put the things on board his ſhip again." They immediately anſwered, "that he might do ſo, for they ſhould not be ſent to the king by their conſent." The general was very angry at this, and declared, ſince they would not permit this preſent to be ſent, he would go himſelf and ſpeak with the king, and then return to his ſhips. His intention was to inform the king what had paſſed concerning the preſent.

They ſeemed to approve of this, but ſaid, as it would detain them ſome time at court, having buſineſs, it was neceſſary they ſhould ſettle it before they went; that they would do it, and return immediately to conduct him to the king, who would not be pleaſed he ſhould go without them as he was a ſtranger, particularly as there were many Moors in the city The general giving credit to what they ſaid, promiſed to wait their return. They did not come back that day; for knowing the Moors to be his enemies, they entered into a conſpiracy with them againſt his fleet, having been informed of what he had done in Mozambique, of taking the ſambuco in Melinda: that they were Chriſtians, and that their coming was to diſcover Calicut. Bontaybo had alſo told the Moors that ſpices were held in great eſteem in Portugal, and that he judged they were come not only to diſcover Calicut, but to ſettle a trade there, and to carry ſpices to their country, where there were merchants of all denominations who could come to Calicut by way of the ſtreights: that having great ſtore of gold and ſilver, the trade once ſettled would add greatly to the king's profit. The Moors liſtened attentively to Bontaybo's ſpeech, and judged as he did, that if the Chriſtians once ſettled a trade in Calicut, it would lower the price of their commodities, and conſequently reduce their profit. They conſulted together on this, and took all means in their power to prevail on the king to make the general priſoner; to take his ſhips, and deſtroy his men, to prevent their return to Portugal with information of Calicut. To effect this, they joined ſome of the king's favourites and went to him, and jointly intreated him not to be deceived by thoſe men: that the general was no ambaſſador, but a pirate that came to rob them: that they were aſſured of it by the factors, who aſſerted, that when they were at Mozambique, the ſcheik went to viſit the general on board his ſhip, and made him preſents; eſtabliſhing a friendſhip with him, and ſent a pilot to conduct him to Calicut, where he ſaid he was going. After this he fired on the town, killed ſome of his ſubjects, and took ſome ſambucos with merchants on board, and treated both the ſcheik and his people like enemies: that from thence he went to Mombaſſa, and under the ſame appearance of friendſhip, ſaid he was bound to Calicut; upon which the king went on board his ſhip and requeſted him to enter the harbour;

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many ſhips laying there, he fled and left one of his anchors behind him. That the pilot which he brought from Mozambique ran away from him, on account of his ill-treatment: that going from thence he met with a ſambuco with Moors on board, which he made priſoners of; that the Moors promiſed to procure him a pilot to take him to Calicut, if he would carry them to Melinda; that the king of Melinda received him well, but the general being conſcious of the injuries he had done, would not land, and made the Moor, who the king had ſent to viſit him, a priſoner; nor would he deliver him up till the king had ſent him a pilot, by whoſe means he reached Calicut: that it might be ſuppoſed if he was an ambaſſador, and came to maintain peace, he would not have committed ſuch depredations, but would have brought the king a preſent. They were, they ſaid, in duty bound to give this account of his behaviour, that the king might uſe his pleaſure with him.

With this relation the king was amazed, and told the Moors he would conſider what to do; but fearing he would not act as they would have him, they acquainted the cutwal, who they knew was in great favour with him, and requeſted him to perſuade the king not to accept the embaſſy: the cutwal went immediately to the king, and adviſed him to do as the Moors requeſted. The king now began to entertain an ill opinion of the general, yet did not declare it; but when the cutwal informed the Moors that the general would have ſent the king a preſent, they, pretending friendſhip, went to the general under pretence of giving him advice, telling him it was the cuſtom for all ſtrangers, who came to the king on buſineſs, to bring a preſent. De Gama ſhewed them what he intended to give, which they ſaid was not a fit preſent for a king. Bontaybo ſaid the ſame, and the general excuſed himſelf by ſaying, he was not certain of reaching Calicut.

De Gama was offended that the cutwal and factor did not return, and expreſſed his reſentment when he ſaw them in the afternoon: they evaded this ſubject, and went with him to court, where the king made him wait three hours, and then would only admit two of his officers with him. The king received them with a ſevere countenance; told him he pretented to belong to a great and rich king, and yet had not brought any preſent.

The general made the ſame apology he had done before, adding, that in caſe he lived to carry back the news of the diſcovery, the king his maſter would ſend him a noble preſent. The ſamorin then demanded, "whether his maſter ſent him to diſcover ſtones or men; if the latter, (adds he) why did he not ſend me a preſent? but, (ſays he) I hear you have an image called Saint Mary in gold." De Gama anſwered, "that the image was not of gold, but of wood gilt, and that he could not part with it, ſince it had preſerved and brought him to that country." The king then aſked for his credentials; one copy of which was in Portugueſe, the other in Arabic. The general aſked for a Chriſtian interpreter, but none being found, he deſired Bontaybo might read them, which he did. The purport thereof was, that as ſoon as it was known to the king of Portugal that the king of Calicut, one of the mightieſt princes of all the Indies was a Chriſtian, he was deſirous to cultivate a trade and friendſhip with him for the conveniency of lading ſpices in his ports, for which, in exchange, the commodities of Portugal would be ſent, or elſe gold and ſilver, in caſe his majeſty choſe the ſame, referring it to the general, his ambaſſador, to make a further report.

The ſamorin, whoſe intereſt it was to encourage merchants, ſeemed well pleaſed with the letter, and putting on a friendly countenance, began to make enquiries concerning

cerning the commodities of Portugal, of which De Gama gave him an account, acquainting him at the ſame time that he had brought ſamples of them all, to ſhew his majeſty, if he would permit him to fetch them from on board, and to leave ſome of his men behind till he returned. The king ſaid, there was no neceſſity for his men to ſtay, deſired he would bring his merchandiſe on ſhore, and he ſhould have the liberty to ſell them to the beſt advantage; he then ordered the cutwal to attend him to his lodging.

The next day, being the laſt of May, the cutwal ſent the general a horſe, which being without furniture, De Gama would not uſe, but requeſted a litter: this was ſent him, and in which he went to Pandarene, his men on foot, and many nayres bore him company. As ſoon as he was gone, the Moors applied to the cutwal with a large offer of money, to ſeize De Gama. The cutwal immediately followed, overtook the general, and inquired, by ſigns, what he ran away for? De Gama anſwered, to get out of the heat. They ſoon after reached the village of Pandarene, where the general ſtopped till his men came up, who did not arrive till the evening, having miſſed their way.

As ſoon as they came, the general aſked the cutwal for a boat to go on board, who endeavoured to perſuade him to ſtay till the morning. De Gama told him, if he did not immediately furniſh him with a boat, he would return to the king, and complain of him. The cutwal anſwered, that if he wanted thirty boats he ſhould have them; but would ſtill adviſe him to ſtay till the morning. He then ſent people out to ſeek for boats, but at the ſame time ſent others to tell the owners to keep out of the way. De Gama being ſuſpicious of ſome bad deſigns, ſent three of his men along the ſhore to ſee if they could find Coello with his boat, and to tell him to be on his guard. The men and the cutwal's people departed about the ſame time; De Gama waited for them till about three hours of the night were paſſed, when he conſented to ſtay on ſhore for that night. The cutwal conducted him to the houſe of a Moor, and then went away, pretending to go in ſearch of De Gama's men, but did not return till morning. When he appeared, the general again demanded boats; but the cutwal and the nayres deſired him to order the ſhip to be brought nearer the place. De Gama now began to fear ſome ill; however, he told them he would not. "Then "(ſays the cutwal) you ſhall not go." At this De Gama was much offended, and anſwered, that if they would not let him go, he would return to Calicut, and complain to the king; but if his majeſty thought fit to detain him, he would ſtay with pleaſure. The cutwal ſeemingly adviſed him to go; yet ſtill kept the door of his apartment guarded by armed nayres.

The cutwal's deſign in deſiring the ſhips to be brought near ſhore, was to have an opportunity to board them; this De Gama and his men ſaw clearly, and therefore refuſed to conſent. The cutwal then deſired him to bring his ſails and rudder on ſhore; a requeſt which made De Gama laugh at him, and threaten to acquaint the king with his behaviour. Some time after the general complained of hunger, and requeſted that his men might be permitted to procure him ſome refreſhment. This was alſo refuſed. The men now began to think their lives in danger. Soon after the three men De Gama had ſent in ſearch of Coello, returned, and informed him they had ſeen him; he was waiting in the boat. The general was much afraid the cutwal ſhould know of this, for fear he ſhould ſend men to ſeize the boats. By ſome means the perſon who brought this intelligence, got back, and informed Coello

in what ſituation the general and his men were; the latter therefore went directly on board. The cutwal ſoon after heard of his being near ſhore, and diſpatched boats after, but could not overtake him. The cutwal once more requeſted the general to order his brother to bring the ſhips nearer ſhore. He replied, that if he were to iſſue ſuch orders, neither his brother or the men would obey him.

At night the Portugueſe were confined in a large yard, paved with brick, and walled round, and the guard was increaſed. The general ſuſpected they deſigned to ſeparate him from his men; however, he appeared unconcerned, and concluded the cutwal's deſign was to extort money from him. The latter, to cover any appearance of an ill deſign, came to ſup with De Gama, and ſeemed ſurpriſed at his patience and conſtancy. The cutwal now began to fear he had gone too far, and the next day told him, that ſince he had promiſed the king to bring his merchandiſe on ſhore, he ſhould command them to be brought, as it was the cuſtom for all ſhips, as ſoon as they arrived at Calicut, to land both their goods and men, and the latter remained on ſhore until the cargo was ſold; but he would favour him; and as ſoon as the goods were on ſhore, would permit him to return on board. The general put little confidence in this promiſe; however, he told him he would ſend for them, provided he would find almadias or pinnaces, for he was confident his brother would not permit the ſhips boats to come on ſhore.

The cutwal agreed to this propoſal, in hopes of getting poſſeſſion of the goods; and De Gama diſpatched two men with a letter to his brother, informing him of his ſituation, and that although he was confined, he was not ill uſed: he directed him to ſend part of the cargo on ſhore; but in caſe he was detained after the goods came, he ſhould conclude he was kept priſoner by direction of the king, in order to gain time for arming his own fleet to ſeize the ſhips; he therefore directed him, in caſe he was not releaſed immediately as the goods were landed, that he ſhould ſail back to Portugal, and inform the king his maſter of what had paſſed, of what he (De Gama) had performed, and of the confidence he entertained that his majeſty could ſend a fleet of ſhips and men to procure his releaſe.

His brother, Paul de Gama, on receiving the letter, ſent the goods, with a meſſage to the general, that if he was not immediately releaſed, he would force them to do it with his ordnance. The goods being landed, the cutwal ſet him free, and De Gama returned on board, leaving Diogo Dias and the ſecretary of the ſhip as factors. When he was once ſafe on board, he determined not to ſend any more goods on ſhore until the others were ſold, nor to return on ſhore again. This was a great diſappointment to the Moors, who now ſaw him out of their reach; they began, therefore, to undervalue the merchandiſe, and hinder the ſale. Mean time the general directed his factor, Dias, to acquaint the king with his reaſons for acting as he had done, and inform him of the injuries he had received both from the cutwal and the Moors; aſſuring him, however, that he and his fleet were ſtill at his command.

The king ſeemed to be much offended, but did not puniſh the cutwal: he ſent, however, ſome merchants of Guzerat to purchaſe the goods, and with them an honeſt nayre, to take care that no injury was done to the factors. The Guzerat merchants being in league with the Moors, did not buy any thing. The latter rejoiced at this, and as they dared not come any more to the factory on account of the nayre, they took every opportunity to inſult the ſeamen when they came on ſhore, by ſpitting on the

the ground, and crying, "Portugal, Portugal." The men, by the general's orders, only laughed at them.

De Gama not being able to diſpoſe of his goods, began to think there were no merchants in the place, and deſired leave of the king to remove them to Calicut, which was granted, and the cutwal was ordered to ſee them removed, at the king's expence. The general, however, ſtill kept his reſolution not to return on ſhore, and Bontaybo, who often viſited him, gave him the ſame advice, as the king was of a fickle diſpoſition, and the Moors in great credit with him. De Gama had ſuſpicions of Bontaybo, becauſe he was a Moor; however, he always received him as a friend, and rewarded him for his advice, and intelligence he brought.

The goods being removed to Calicut, the general gave his men liberty, by turns, to go and ſee the city, and purchaſe what they thought proper: the men were received kindly by the Gentiles, and mutual good offices and exchanges paſſed between them. The natives, on the other hand, went daily on board the ſhips, to ſell proviſions, or out of curioſity, and were kindly entertained. De Gama ordered food to be given them; after which order, the ſhips were never clear of them, until the evening approached, when they were deſired to go on ſhore.

Thus things went on until the beginning of Auguſt, which was the ſeaſon to leave the coaſt. De Gama perceiving that every thing had been friendly for near three months, determined to leave the factor and ſecretary behind him, with ſuch goods as remained. He therefore ſent Dias, the factor, to the king, with a preſent of ſcarfs, ſilks, coral, and other things, with an excuſe, that the preſents were of no great value; and to aſſure him, that if he had any thing more valuable, he would have ſent it. He was alſo directed to acquaint the king with the general's intention to depart, deſiring, in caſe he was diſpoſed to ſend an ambaſſador, that he might be immediately diſpatched; alſo to notify his deſign of leaving a factor and the ſecretary at Calicut, to remain until the arrival of the next fleet from Portugal; requeſting, as a token of reſpect, and as a proof of his having reached the Indies, that he would ſend the king, his maſter, a package of cinnamon, another of cloves, and ſome other ſpices, for which the factor ſhould pay as ſoon as he received money.

The factor, Dias, was four days before he could obtain an audience, and when he did, the king, after looking on what he had brought, turned to him with a frowning countenance, and aſked what he wanted. Dias was much alarmed, but delivered his meſſage, and was going to offer the preſent, but the king would not look at it, and anſwered, that as the general wiſhed to go, he might, but muſt firſt pay him ſix hundred ſharafins as cuſtoms. Dias withdrew, accompanied by many nayres, who, as ſoon as he returned to the factory, placed themſelves as guards at the door, and would not ſuffer any one to go out. After this a proclamation was publiſhed throughout the city, forbidding any one to go on board the fleet, under pain of death. However, Bontaybo ventured on board, and warned the captain not to venture himſelf, or any of his people, on ſhore, as he knew for certain, from ſome Moors, that the king would order their heads to be ſtruck off: that the king's ſeeming kindneſs was all diſſimulation, for the Moors had prepoſſeſſed him, that the Portugueſe were pirates, who came there to ſeize ſuch merchant ſhips as ſhould come to the city, and that they would afterwards return with a fleet and invade the country. De Gama had received the ſame information from the Malabar Gentiles; and at night a negro ſlave, belonging to Diogo Dias, who was a Chriſtian, and ſpake the Portu-

gueſe tongue well, came on board, and told him what anſwer the king had made; what treatment he had given his preſent, that the above proclamation had been made, and that Diogo Dias and the ſecretary were in priſon. Dias had bribed a fiſherman to bring this meſſenger on board, under cover of the night. De Gama now reſolved to ſtay and ſee an end of this buſineſs.

The next day, Auguſt 18th, there came only one boat on board, in which were four boys, who brought ſome valuable ſtones to ſell. De Gama ſuſpected them to be ſpies, but received them well, determining within himſelf to let theſe go, and ſeize ſome other perſons of more conſequence, to hold as a ranſom for his own people. And in order to deceive the ſamorin, he wrote a letter to his factor, couched in ſuch terms, as if he was ignorant of their impriſonment. This had the deſired effect; the boys delivered the letter to the king, who ſent other perſons on board, with inſtructions not to inform De Gama of the impriſonment of his officers, with a view to deceive the Portugueſe, until he ſhould be able to equip a fleet, or until the ſhips from Mecca ſhould arrive and take them.

The Malabars went on board, were well entertained, and ſuffered to depart, as they were not of conſequence enough to detain. But on the Sunday following, ſix principal Malabars, with fifteen attendants, went on board; and believing he had now ſufficient in his power to ſecure the redemption of his officers, De Gama ſeized and detained them all, except two ſeamen, whom he ſent back with a letter, in which he demanded his factor and ſecretaty to be delivered up; offering, on that condition, to releaſe thoſe he had in cuſtody. The king, on the receipt thereof, ordered the factor and ſecretary to be brought to the houſe of his factor, that he might ſend for them from thence, under pretence that he was ignorant of their impriſonment.

The general finding they did not come, commanded his men to weigh anchor, and get under ſail on Wedneſday the 23d of Auguſt. The wind proving contrary, they were under the neceſſity of coming to anchor four leagues from Calicut, and to ride in the open road, where they remained till the Saturday following, in hopes of recovering the priſoners; but not perceiving any chance of that, they went ſo much out to ſea, as to be almoſt out of ſight of land, but were obliged to come again to anchor for want of wind. In the mean time there came a boat on board with Malabars, who informed the general that they were come in ſearch of him, to tell him that Diogo Dias, with the other, were in the king's palace, and that he would the next day ſend them on board. The reaſon they did not bring them then was, that they thought they could not overtake the ſhip. The Malabars not ſeeing any of their own people who were priſoners to the general, ſuppoſed them dead. This meſſage was ſent with a view to detain De Gama till the king could procure ſome ſhips to join the Mecca ſhips, which were hourly expected. The general commanded the Malabars to return, and not come back to him without his men, or letters from them, for if they did, he would ſink them; and if they did not return with an anſwer, he would cut off the heads of thoſe which he had taken. Upon this they departed; and as ſoon as the wind would permit, he made ſail, and running along the coaſt, came to anchor at ſun ſet off Calicut.

The next day the men deſcried ſeven almadias, in one of which was Diogo Dias and the ſecretary; in the reſt were many of the country people. None of them dared to enter the ſhips, but put Diogo Dias and the other into the ſhip's boat, which lay at the ſtern, and then went further off, waiting the general's anſwer. Diogo told him,

him, that as ſoon as the king knew he was gone, he ſent for him from the factor's houſe, and appeared as if he knew nothing of his impriſonment, but aſked him the reaſon why the general took his men and kept them priſoners. When he told him the cauſe, the king ſaid he was right. He alſo enquired whether his factor had demanded any preſent, for it was not long ago ſince he had commanded one to be executed for taking bribes of foreign merchants. At laſt he deſired him to tell the general to ſend him a ſtone, upon which there was a croſs, and the royal arms of Portugal, which he promiſed to ſet up in the country; and alſo to know if he was willing to leave Diogo Dias as factor in Calicut. By the latter he ſent a letter to the king of Portugal, which was written by Diogo Dias, and confirmed and ſigned by the king: this letter he ſent with Alvaro de Braga. The general took the letter, which was written on a leaf of a palm-tree to this purport:

"Vaſco de Gama, a gentleman of your houſhold, came to my country, which "gave me great pleaſure. In my country there is plenty of cinnamon, cloves, pep-"per, and precious ſtones. The things which I am deſirous to have out of your "country, are ſilver, gold, coral, and ſcarlet."

The general knowing the king to be deceitful, did not put any faith in his promiſes, but ſent him back ſuch of the priſoners as were nayres, and kept the reſt till he could regain ſome merchandiſe which had been taken from him. He, however, ſent him the ſtone, and with this anſwer diſpatched the people who brought Diogo Dias on board.

The next day Bontaybo came on board, and told the general, that his coming from Calicut ſo ſuddenly, cauſed the king to command every thing he poſſeſſed to be taken from him, ſaying that he was a Chriſtian, and that he came to Calicut as a ſpy, by the king of Portugal's orders. Bontaybo gave him ſome other information reſpecting the Moors. De Gama was well pleaſed to ſee him, offered to carry him to Portugal, and promiſed he ſhould recover double what he loſt by going, and alſo be well rewarded.

About ten o'clock there came three pinnaces, with men on board, to the general's ſhip, and on the ſeats and benches lay ſome ſcarfs, to appear as if they covered other merchandiſe. Four other boats came after them. The men in the firſt three boats told the general that they had brought all his merchandiſe, and would put it in his boats, and deſired him to let them have the Malabars who were priſoners. The general perceiving they deſigned to deceive him, bid them go back, for he would not take the merchandiſe, but would carry the Malabars to Portugal as witneſſes of his diſcovery, and would ſoon return to Calicut and let them know whether the Chriſtians were pirates. He then commanded ſome pieces of ordnance to be fired, at which they ran away.

De Gama left Calicut, highly pleaſed with his ſucceſs, but not wholly ſatisfied, as he left the king of Calicut at enmity with him; yet was in hopes, by means of the Malabars he had on board, to heal that breach.

On the Thurſday after his departure, as they lay becalmed about a league from Calicut, they obſerved ſixty tonys or veſſels full of ſoldiers, intended by the king of Calicut to take them. On ſeeing them approach, he ordered his ordnance to be fired on them, which, by repeating, was in all probability a means of ſaving him, for they purſued him an hour and an half. A ſudden ſqual of wind and rain drove the general with his fleet to ſea, and gave his enemies an opportunity to run away.

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He now ſteered along the coaſt for Melinda, and met with great calms. He thought it neceſſary, for the benefit of thoſe who might come after him, to write to the king of Calicut, which he did by means of Bontaybo, in the Arabic language, craving pardon for carrying away the Malabars, and excuſed himſelf by ſaying, it was for no other purpoſe than to witneſs the diſcovery he had made: that he was ſorry he had not fixed a factory in Calicut, but was fearful the Moors would kill him, which deterred him from landing; notwithſtanding, he would always be at his command: that the king his maſter would rejoice at his friendſhip, and would ſend a fleet with great ſtore of merchandiſe for the trade which ſhould from henceforth commence in this city, and which would add greatly to the king's profit. This letter was given to one of the Malabars to carry on ſhore, and deliver to the king.

The general then purſued his courſe along the coaſt, and on the Thurſday following fell in with ſome rocks, one of which was inhabited. Some pinnaces with men came on board, who brought fiſh and other victuals to ſell. The general received them courteouſly, gave them ſhirts and other things, which they were glad to accept. He then aſked them if they would permit a croſs, with the royal arms of Portugal, to be erected, in token that the Portugueſe were their friends. This was agreed to, and the place called Santa Maria.

As the night came on, and the wind began to blow off the ſhore, the fleet made ſail and kept along the coaſt until the 19th, when they fell in with a high land, near which lay ſix ſmall iſlands. Here De Gama came to anchor, and ſent on ſhore for water. A young man met them, and aſked if the commander was a Chriſtian; and being anſwered in the affirmative, ſhewed them a ſpring of excellent water, iſſuing from between two rocks, for which they rewarded him with a red night cap. The next morning four others came on board in a boat, and brought ſome goards and cucumbers. They were aſked by the general if there were any cinnamon or pepper in that country, and replied, that there was cinnamon only. Two of the ſhips company were ſent to bring ſome on board, and returned with two green boughs of certain trees, which they thought to be from that tree, and ſaid there was a large grove of it growing wild. At their return they brought with them about twenty natives, with hens, goards, and cows milk, to ſell, and requeſted the general to let ſome of his men go on ſhore, and they ſhould return with a good quantity of dried cinnamon, hogs, and hens. Notwithſtanding this tempting offer, De Gama would not permit his men to land, for fear of treachery.

The next day ſome men going on ſhore to cut wood at ſome diſtance from the ſhips, fell in with two boats which lay near the ſhore. De Gama on hearing this, ſent ſome of his men aloft to look out, who ſaw eight ſhips that were becalmed. On this intelligence he prepared to receive them, and when they came within two leagues of the fleet, he ſtood towards them. The enemy perceiving this, made towards the ſhore. In their flight, the rudder of one of them breaking, the crew took to their boats, and Coello made prize of the veſſel, containing nothing but cocoas and molaſſes, which latter is a kind of ſugar made from the palm or date-trees, and ſome arms, as bows, arrows, ſwords, ſpears, and targets. The other ſeven ran aground, and as the Portugueſe ſhips could not come near them in that ſituation, they purſued in their boats, and drove the people from on board them. The next day ſeven men came on board in an almadia, and told De Gama that thoſe ſhips were of Calicut, and fitted out by the king to take him. This they had learned from the fugitives.

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This information haſtened De Gama's departure, and he ſteered to the Aſandina, or Anchedive iſland, a ſhort diſtance from where he was, and where he was informed he might water. This iſland is ſmall, and not more than a league from the land. There are many woods in it, and two conduits of free-ſtone with excellent water, ariſing from ſprings; one of which is ſix feet deep. The adjacent ſeas are well furniſhed with fiſh. Before the Moors traded to India, the iſland was inhabited by Gentiles, in which were many good buildings, particularly ſome pagodas; but when the former came thither from the Red Sea, they called there for wood and water, and abuſed the inhabitants ſo much, that they were obliged to quit their habitations. Before their departure they deſtroyed their pagoda, leaving only one chapel ſtanding; but their veneration for that was ſo great, that the Gentiles of the continent, ſubject to the king of Narſingas, often repair thither to pay their devotions to three black ſtones which lay in the middle of the chapel.

This iſland, and four others which lay round it, are called Aſandina, which, in the Malabar language, means the five iſlands. Coello went on ſhore, and found this a proper place to careen the ſhips, which the general and captains reſolved to perform. The ſhip Berrio was firſt laid on the ground. While they were employed on her, many people came to ſell them proviſions, and two brigantines made their appearance, with flags flying, drums beating, and trumpets ſounding: they had many men at the oar; five others appeared in ſhore. The Malabars bid De Gama beware of them, as they were rovers, and plundered all they could. De Gama might have taken them, had he permitted them to come cloſe, but as ſoon as they were within gun ſhot, he played his ordnance upon them from the two ſhips which were on float, on which they gave a loud ſhout, crying out, "Tambarane, Tambarane," that is, God, God, and fled. Coello purſued in his boat ſo far, that the general called him back by a ſignal.

The next day, while the general and his men were on ſhore, two boats, called paroas, came in with twelve men on board, who ſeemed of ſome conſequence: they brought a bundle of ſugar-cane as a preſent, and as ſoon as they had delivered the ſame, they aſked leave to go on board to ſee the ſhips. De Gama ſuſpecting they were ſpies, appeared offended at their requeſt; and while they were converſing, two other paroas, with the like number of men, made their appearance, and finding the general angry, they all went away.

The Berrio being ready, the general's ſhip was brought a-ground. One day, a perſon came in a paroa: he was about forty years of age, not a native of the country, as appeared by his dreſs, which was a ſabaco of fine cotton, a turban on his head, which covered a part of his face, and a ſcymetar at his girdle. As ſoon as he landed, he ran to embrace the general and the other captains, as familiarly as if he had known them, telling them he was a Chriſtian, born in Italy, and brought into this country when a child; that he lived with a noble Moor, called Sabayo, who was lord of a certain iſland, called Goa, lying about twelve leagues diſtant, and who had forty thouſand horſemen within the ſaid iſland. He ſaid, that as he lived among the Moors he obſerved their law, but was in his heart a Chriſtian; and that he heard at Sabayo's houſe that ſome ſtrange men had come by ſea to Calicut, whoſe language none underſtood, and whoſe bodies were covered with cloaths. That on hearing this, he knew them to be Franks, (a name by which all Chriſtians are called in that country) was deſirous to ſee them, and obtained leave of Sabayo ſo to do, who had ſent word, that

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if there was any thing in his country of which they ſtood in need, they ſhould have it; and if they would come and dwell there, he would amply provide for them.

De Gama enquired particularly concerning Sabayo's country; but the ſtranger deſiring to be furniſhed with a cheeſe to ſend to his companion, who was on the continent, as a token of his being well received, De Gama began to ſuſpect him, however, he gave the cheeſe, which he ſent to his companion. This perſon was continually talking; his converſation raiſed further ſuſpicion, and Paul de Gama aſked ſome of the natives who he was? they replied, he was a pirate, and that he had attacked many ſhips that had been laid on ſhore there. The general being informed of this, ordered him to be carried on board and whipped, till he confeſſed what his deſign was in coming there, and whether he was a Moor or a Chriſtian. He ſaid, he was a Chriſtian, but denied the charges againſt him. This whipping not bringing him to confeſſion, De Gama puniſhed him in a more cruel manner; he hung him up by the private parts, and hoiſted him up and down by a pulley. This had the deſired effect; he confeſſed himſelf a ſpy, ſent to diſcover how many men the general had with him, and what weapons: that there were many atalayas, or boats, in every creek and bay ready to attack him, but which waited the arrival of forty other veſſels, which were preparing to join them, but could not ſay when theſe veſſels would arrive. The general ordered him into cuſtody, and determined to carry him to Portugal, telling him at the ſame time, he would not treat him as a captive, but carry him to the king his maſter, to give him information of India, for which he would be rewarded.

As De Gama had received this intelligence, he haſtened his departure. He was offered for the ſhip he had taken a thouſand fanons, which he refuſed, and ordered her to be burned. He departed as ſoon as his ſhip was ready on the 5th of October, ſtanding out to ſea. When they were about two hundred leagues from the land, the Moor ſaid, he would now tell the truth, that he did belong to the lord of Goa, who had received information that the Portugueſe were wandering in the Indian ſeas without knowing where they were; that Sabayo had prepared a fleet, and had ſent him to perſuade De Gama to come to Goa, where he deſigned to have attacked him, and have made the Portugueſe priſoners, and as he heard they were brave, to employ them againſt his neighbours. On this frank confeſſion, the general treated him with more kindneſs, and gave him apparel and money. He afterwards became a Chriſtian, and was called Gaſpar de la Gama.

During the paſſage to Melinda, where they were to ſtop to take in an ambaſſador, the fleet met with continual ſtorms and contrary winds during the firſt part of the paſſage; afterwards with calms, attended with exceſſive heat; and when the wind freſhened, it was contrary for them: all together kept them ſo long at ſea, that they were ſhort of water, and the commander was obliged to put them to allowance. Theſe circumſtances combining, the people began to fall ſick, being attacked in the ſame manner they were at the river of Good Signs, their gums, arms, legs, and other parts of their bodies, were ſwelled, by a peſtilent humour, which brought on a laſſitude; and thirty died of this diſorder. The mortality threw the whole crew almoſt into deſpair; they entreated the general to take the advantage of the wind and return to Calicut, or ſome other port of India, and take their chance of what might befal them. De Gama endeavoured to appeaſe their murmurs, by telling them, they would ſoon experience a change of wind; but as they had now been at ſea four months, they did not

not believe him. At this time their numbers were ſo reduced, that they had not ſixteen perſons in each ſhip capable of duty, and ſome of them were infected with the ſame diſeaſe. The diſcontent on board the fleet became ſo general, that, it is ſaid, Paul de Gama and Coello had determined to ſail back.

But on a ſudden the wind changed, a freſh gale ſprung up, and in ſixteen days they made land, on the 2d of February; on ſight whereof, they forgot all their troubles and dangers. They fell in with the land ſo cloſe, that they were obliged to ſtand off until the morning, as no one on board knew what place they had fallen in with. When day appeared, they ſtood in again, and had ſight of a very fine city, walled round, with lofty houſes, and a large palace; all which they could clearly ſee from the ſhip. The city is called Magadoxo, one hundred and thirteen leagues from Melinda. As De Gama knew this city was inhabited by Moors, he ſailed by it, firing his ordnance; and to avoid running paſt Melinda, he lay too in the night.

On Saturday, February 5th, they came off a village of the Moors, named Pate, about one hundred and three leagues from Melinda: from whence came eight boats, called terradas, full of ſoldiers, and made towards the fleet; ſome pieces of ordnance were fired at them, and they ran away. On the Monday following they arrived at Melinda, and immediately received a preſent of freſh proviſions, and a meſſage from the king, expreſſing his joy at their arrival. The general ſent an anſwer, and another preſent, by his interpreters. As many of his men were ſick, whom he was deſirous to get cured, he remained here five days, in which time many of them died. Here he procured leave from the king to ſet up a ſtone mark, in token of friendſhip: and having provided himſelf with proviſions, ſailed from thence on the 17th of February, having on board an ambaſſador from the king of Melinda to the king of Portugal.

As De Gama found he had not men enough ſurviving to govern the whole ſquadron, by the advice of his captains, they determined to burn the Saint Raphael: they made choice of her to be deſtroyed, as her ſeams were all open, owing to her not having been brought on the ground and careened. They determined alſo to do this on the ſhoals of Saint Raphael, where they arrived on the Sunday following. They ſpent five days in taking out her proviſions and ſtores, during which time, they were ſupplied with poultry from a village called Targata. Having effected this, the general taking his brother on board his own ſhip, they proceeded; and on the 20th of February, he came to the iſland of Zenzibar, which lies in five degrees ſouth, not far from the continent. This iſland is very large, and has two others near it, the one called Pomba, and the other Moſya: they are very fertile; have groves of large trees, which produce good fruit. The Moors who inhabit them are ſlight made people, and have few arms, but are very well cloathed in a fine cotton, which they buy at Mombaſſa of the merchants of Cambaya. The women have great ſtore of jewels and gold from Sofala, and ſilver from the iſland of St. Lawrence, where they carry their proviſions, in little boats, to ſell. Each of theſe iſlands has a king, who obſerves the Mahomedan laws, as do the ſubjects.

As ſoon as the king of Zenzibar heard that the general was arrived, he ſent him ſeveral preſents of the produce of the country, requeſting his friendſhip, to which De Gama conſented. He ſailed from thence on the 1ſt of March, and came to anchor before the iſland of St. George, in Mozambique; the next day ſent on ſhore a ſtone mark, to be erected on the iſland, where he heard maſs, and departed without

having any communication with the people of Mozambique. March 1ſt, he anchored at Saint Blas, where he took in water, and a proviſion of fleſh, ſea wolves, and ſolticaroes, ſalted for ſea ſtore. They ſailed, and on the 20th doubled the Cape of Good Hope, the people all healthy and ſtrong. They had a fair wind for twenty days, until they judged themſelves to be only about one hundred leagues from Saint Jago, one of the Cape de Verde iſlands; the wind came contrary, and not being able to get an obſervation, by rainy weather, they ſtood in for the continent, and ſounded in twenty-five fathom, and ſoon after in twenty, but did not ſee land: the pilots judged they had fallen in with the ſhoals of the Rio Grande. As they ſtood for Saint Jago, Nicolas Coello took an opportunity to leave the general in the night, and ſteered for Portugal. He arrived at Caſcais on the 10th of July, and carried the king the joyful news of the diſcovery of the paſſage to India.

A. D. 1499.

De Gama arrived at Saint Jago, and as his brother was in a bad ſtate of health, as his ſhip made but little way, and was very leaky, he hired a caravella to carry him to Portugal, leaving John de Sala as captain to refit the ſhip, and bring her to Portugal. He embarked in the caravella with his brother, whoſe illneſs increaſed ſo much at ſea that they run for the iſland of Tercera, in order to land him, where he died and was buried. De Gama then put to ſea, and arrived at Belem in September, having been out two years and two months, bringing back only fifty-five men of the one hundred and ſeventy that embarked.

De Gama having returned thanks to God for his ſafe arrival, was conducted to Liſbon by ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen ſent by the king to meet him, and attended by a vaſt concourſe of people. The king received him honourably, conferred the honour of knighthood upon him, gave him the royal arms of Portugal, and ſettled a penſion upon him of three hundred reis per annum, out of the revenues of the village of Sinis. He alſo promiſed him the lordſhip of the ſaid village, being the place of his birth; and until he could put him in poſſeſſion of the ſaid lordſhip, he was to be allowed a thouſand crowns a year, which was in due time made good: he had alſo a privilege granted him, that after the trade of India ſhould be ſettled, he ſhould import the value of two hundred ducats in ſpices, free of duty. Coello was made a gentleman of the king's houſhold, and rewarded with good poſſeſſions. The king alſo added to his own titles that of the lord of the conqueſt and navigation of Ethiopia, Arabia, Perſia, and the Indians.

Oſorio has preſerved ſeveral particulars of the voyage which the former hiſtorian has omitted, and differs from them in others. He deſcribes, in pathetic terms, the emotions of the relations and friends of thoſe who embarked in De Gama's fleet.

Many of thoſe who came to ſee them aboard were deeply concerned, and expreſſed their ſorrow, as if they had been come to the funeral of their friends. "Behold (ſaid they) the curſed effects of avarice and ambition! What greater puniſhment could be deviſed for theſe men, if guilty of the blackeſt crimes? To be thrown upon the mercileſs ocean, to encounter all the dangers of ſuch a voyage, and venture their lives in a thouſand ſhapes. Would it not be more eligible to ſuffer death at home, than be buried in the deep at ſuch a diſtance from their native country?" Theſe, and many other things, did their fears ſuggeſt. But De Gama, though he

he ſhed ſome tears at his departure from his friends, was full of hope, and went aboard with great alacrity. He ſailed on the 9th of July, 1497. Thoſe who ſtood on the ſhore, followed the ſhips with their eyes; nor did they move from thence till the fleet was under full ſail, and quite out of ſight."

The diſpute between the Portugueſe and natives at the Bay of Saint Helena he thus relates: "This friendly intercourſe was, however, not of a long ſtanding, being broke off by the indiſcretion of a Portugueſe, who, having contracted a great intimacy with the natives, deſired liberty to go along with ſome of them to their houſes. They conducted him on ſhore with great complaiſance, and in their way killed a ſea-calf, which they intended, as an elegant entertainment for their new gueſt. This diſh, when ſerved up, was ſo much againſt the ſtomach of the ſqueamiſh Portugueſe, that he got up, and wanted to be gone; nor did they oppoſe his abrupt departure, but accompanied him with the greateſt good humour. He doubted, however, whether they attended him by way of honour, or led him as a victim to be ſacrificed; his fear made things appear in the worſt light; therefore, when he came near to the ſhips, he called aloud for help, as if he had been led captive. Our men came immediately to his aſſiſtance, which frightened the Ethiopians, who fled to the woods, where their arms were depoſited: there they concealed themſelves; for now they looked upon the Portugueſe as invaders come to deſtroy them. The arms which they uſed were ſpears headed with ſharp pieces of horn; theſe being whirled round, and thrown with great dexterity, wound as deep as the ſharpeſt javelin. In the mean while, Gama, with ſome of the officers, had come on ſhore, to take the altitude of the ſun with an aſtrolabe. Whilſt they were buſied in this manner, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger, thoſe who had retired to the woods, of a ſudden ſallied out from their lurking places, attacked them with great fury, and wounded ſeveral, amongſt whom was the admiral himſelf, who received a wound in the foot. Our men were obliged to retreat, which they effected ſooner than was expected."

Reſpecting the paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope, he gives the following particulars: "In this part of the voyage De Gama gave the greateſt proofs of his reſolution, which was often put to the moſt ſevere trial. The waves were like mountains in height; the winds boiſterous and piercing cold; the ſtorms frightful in themſelves, were rendered ſtill more ſo by an almoſt continual darkneſs, which prevails in theſe parts at that time of the year. In ſhort, every thing appeared moſt diſmal and horrid, eſpecially to thoſe who had never been in theſe ſeas. They expected every moment to be ſwallowed up in the deep. Now the ſhips ſeemed to be raiſed to the heavens, then to be ſunk to the loweſt abyſs. Being unable to proceed further, they were obliged to tack, and humour the winds, ſo as to keep the way they had already made; and thus to wait the iſſue of the ſtorm. When there happened to be a calm at any time, then the men, half-dead with fear, came round Gama, begging he would not ſuffer himſelf, as well as thoſe committed to his charge, to loſe their lives by ſo horrid a death. They ſaid, they could no longer weather the ſtorm, but muſt certainly be all buried in the waves, if he went any farther, and did not ſteer homewards. The admiral with great firmneſs refuſed their requeſt; for this reaſon, there was a conſpiracy formed againſt him. This he was informed of by his brother Paul, and guarded againſt it with the utmoſt precaution: he put all the pilots in chains, and he himſelf, with ſome others, performed that office. At laſt, however, when he had for a conſiderable time reſolutely withſtood the dangers of the ſtorm,

and a wicked machination, the weather took a turn, and he quickly made the Cape of Good Hope, which all our ſhips doubled on the 20th of November."

To the information received at Mozambique, he adds the following: "They ſaid there was on this coaſt, a country that De Gama had paſſed by, called Zofala, which abounded in gold; and, laſtly, they informed the admiral how far that place was from Calicut. This account added greatly to the ſpirits of our people, who, with uplifted hands, began to return thanks to God, thinking their labours now almoſt at an end.

"This iſland is ſituated in that part of Africa formerly called Ageſimba, in ſixteen degrees ſouth latitude. The inhabitants are black, and the country, on account of its marſhes, is very unwholeſome. Their houſes are made of clay, and thatched with ſtraw; yet, for the convenience of traffic, ſhips come hither from all quarters. The Arabs, at that time, had the moſt power and wealth in this iſland. They uſe ſmall gallies not faſtened with nails, but long round pegs driven through holes made for that purpoſe; they caulk the ſeams with ropes made of palm leaves. The palm trees are of a great height, covered with long prickly leaves; the broad ſpreading boughs afford an agreeable ſhade, and bear nuts of a great ſize, called cocoas.

"The Arabs, at that time, knew the uſe of the compaſs, and had ſea charts and maps, wherein the ſituation of countries were laid down with great accuracy: nor were they without quadrants, with which they took the altitude of the ſun, and the latitude of places. In ſhort, ſo great was their ſkill in theſe arts, that they ſeemed to be very little inferior to the Portugueſe pilots, in knowledge of maritime affairs."

Oſorio gives the following account of De Gama's ſpirited conduct when he quitted the ſhip, to wait on the king of Calicut. "The admiral, in the mean time, gave the command of the ſhips to his brother Paul; to whom, as well as to Nicolas Coello, he left orders, that if he happened to meet with any misfortune when on ſhore, they ſhould give themſelves no concern about his ſafety, but ſail directly homewards, to give an account of their new navigation; ſince it would be highly unreaſonable, that by making a fruitleſs attempt to ſave him, they ſhould run the riſque of being all deſtroyed, and thus loſe the fruits of ſuch vaſt fatigue. He ſaid, that in order to accompliſh the purpoſe for which he was ſent into thoſe parts, he could not avoid having an interview with the king of Calicut; nor did he make the leaſt ſcruple of ſacrificing his life for the ſervice of his king and country."

De Barros ſays, that king Emanuel appointed De Gama to be captain-general of this expedition, not only from the great confidence he had in him, but alſo as he was the ſon of Eſtevam de Gama, who had been nominated to the ſame employ in the time of king John, but died before it was put in execution. That after the arrival of Bartholomew Dias from the diſcovery of the Cape of Good Hope, he had orders to build ſhips for this purpoſe, and to equip them as ſoon as poſſible, building them larger than uſual, to be able to withſtand the ſeas beyond the Cape of Good Hope, of which the ſeamen had formed notions ſimilar to thoſe they entertained of the ſeas beyond Cape Bojador before they had been explored.

When the king delivered De Gama the enſign of ſilk, with a croſs on it, the latter took an oath thereon that he would obey all the inſtructions he received; that he would under that banner run every riſk, and defend it to the laſt drop of his blood; that he would do every thing in his power for the honour of his king and country, and

and be faithful to the truſt repoſed in him. He then received letters from the king to ſuch other kings and princes as he might think neceſſary to deliver; ſuch as Preſter John, the king of Calicut, &c. of whom the king had information.

De Gama coming to Liſbon the beginning of July, prepared every thing for the expedition, without conſidering the proper ſeaſon for ſailing, being totally ignorant of that precaution which future experience hath ſhewn to be neceſſary; all he thought of, was getting to ſea. The number of officers and ſailors who went on this expedition, was one hundred and ſeventy. Barros calls the captain of the tender Gonſalo Numez, and ſays Joam de Coimbra was pilot, and Joam de Sa ſecretary of the Saint Raphael; Pero Eſcolar pilot, and Alvaro de Brava ſecretary of the Berrio; and Pedro d'Alanquer pilot, and Diogo Dias, brother to Bartholomew, ſecretary of the admiral's ſhip.

At the Bay of Saint Helena, De Gama went on ſhore to take an obſervation, which (ſays De Barros) had only of late been practiſed by means of the aſtrolabe, for from the continual motion of the veſſel, they were fearful of depending on their obſervations made at ſea. He adds the following account of the invention of the aſtrolabe: "This aſtrolabe was made of wood, of only three ſpans diameter, which they raiſed on a ſtand of three feet, the better to aſcertain the ſolar line, and fix the latitude. They had alſo ſome of theſe inſtruments made of braſs, but very ſmall. The firſt uſe was made of them by the Portugueſe navigators." He obſerves, "that now the navigators truſt themſelves out at ſea, nothing could be ſo ſerviceable as making theſe obſervations; for while they only reckoned how many miles the veſſels made an hour, after having loſt ſight of land, they found themſelves much deceived by currents and other incidents. But as neceſſity is the mother of invention, and of all arts, king John II. gave it in charge to maſter Rodrigo and maſter Joſepe, a Jew, both his phyſicians, and to one Martin de Boemia, a native of that country, who had ſtudied under Joanne de Monte Regio, a famous aſtronomer, and theſe found out the method of navigating by taking the altitude of the ſun, and formed tables for that purpoſe, and recommended theſe large aſtrolabes to be made uſe of."

De Barros alſo relates the affair at Saint Helena bay ſomewhat different from Caſtagneda and Oſorio. He ſays De Gama returned to his ſhip, but left Coello to take care and guard the men that were employed in cutting wood and catching lobſters, of which there were great plenty. Paul de Gama, not to be idle, ſeeing many young whales about the ſhips, got into his boat and ſtruck one, which had nearly deſtroyed him and his people, but getting into ſhoal water, he ran a-ground, which ſaved them; and the day being near the cloſe, all the boats that were out were returning to the veſſels. Vaſco de Gama at that time looking towards the ſhore, ſaw Fernam Veloſo, who had gone with the blacks, making great haſte to the ſea ſide. He made a ſignal for Coello's boat to return to take him in, but before they did it, two blacks endeavoured to hinder him, and a ſcuffle enſued, in which the blacks were wounded: they ſoon diſcovered more that had hid themſelves; they began their attack on the boat with ſtones and arrows, and Vaſco de Gama coming to their aſſiſtance, was wounded by an arrow in the leg, as were three more. Finding nothing would appeaſe them, he ordered the boats to make the beſt of their way to the ſhips, and give them a ſalute with the guns, to ſhew them the power he had to chaſtiſe them. Veloſo, in this excurſion, ſaw nothing worth relating, for they only walked him about, and

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brought him back again, with a deſign to get more men in their poſſeſſion. On the third day after he left Saint Helena Bay, he paſſed Cape Boa Eſperanea with leſs bad weather than they expected, for they had heard there were always ſtorms to be met with there.

Aguada de St. Blas, or the watering place, he ſays is ſeventy leagues beyond it. They found there blacks with woolley hair, from whom they purchaſed ſheep, but never could buy any of their cows without horns, which they perceived among them very fat and ſleek, on which the women rode. Vaſco de Gama remained three days there, and had much intercourſe with the inhabitants, who ſung, danced, and played upon a kind of ſhepherd's pipe, which was pleaſing; but he was forced to ſail, as ſome diſputes aroſe in the traffic about cattle; however, they followed the ſhip till ſhe again came to anchor, and being very numerous, and rather inclined to hoſtilities, Vaſco de Gama ordered a few guns to be fired, not to hurt, but merely to fright them. Going about two leagues further, he took all the proviſions and men out of the tender, and ſet her on fire. Having left this place three days after, on St. Lucia's day, he was overtaken by a moſt dreadful ſtorm, and for three days was obliged to run under bare poles. Being the firſt ſtorm they experienced in thoſe ſeas, they were ſo frighted, that they could hardly do any thing but pray. They were carried as far as the Flat Iſlands, five leagues beyond De la Cruz, and there the currents had ſuch an effect on them, that what way they gained at one time, they loſt at another. On Chriſtmas-day they paſſed a coaſt, which they called Natal: on twelfth day they entered the river, which ſome call the Copper River, or Cobre, from the traffic they had with the blacks; exchanging copper, bracelets, ivory, and proviſions, with the natives, who were ſo friendly, that Martin Afonſo got leave from the captain to go to one of their towns. Vaſco de Gama called this place Aguada da Boa Paz, or the peaceable watering place. After this, he kept more from the land, and in the night he paſſed the cape which is now called Corrientes; and as he perceived a ſtrong current driving towards the ſhore, as ſoon as he had paſſed it, he kept out to ſea, for fear of being carried into ſome bay, which he might find very difficult to get out of: this made him paſs by Sofala, ſo much celebrated, from whence the Moors get a great deal of gold; but ſeeing, about fifty leagues beyond it, ſome boats with palm ſails enter a large river; he ſteered for it, and found amongſt the inhabitants, a different ſpecies of people from the blacks, which much revived their ſpirits. They ſuppoſed them a mixture of Moors and blacks, as they were tawny*, and could ſpeak ſome words of Arabic, which Fernam Martin, one of the ſailors, underſtood, but the native language was not intelligible; however, they appeared to have ſome communication with the Moors, in the ſame manner as the Jalof blacks have with the Moors of Barbary. The greateſt part had blue cotton cloaths on, and ſome ſilk caps about their heads, of different colours. De Gama learned from them, that towards the riſing of the ſun, there were white people, who navigated in veſſels like theirs, which often appeared off their coaſt. This gave him great ſpirits, and he named this river Rio de Bons Sinaes, that is, the River of Good Signs; and finding the people very friendly, he careened his ſhips, during which time many of his people fell ſick, and ſome died: their complaints were the eriſipelas, and a ſwelling of the gums, to ſuch a degree, that when they cut them, it was like cutting dead fleſh:

* Caſtagneda calls them black.

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they learnt afterwards, it proceeded from their eating ſalt proviſions and decayed biſcuit. They had like to have met with two terrible accidents while there; one was, Vaſco de Gama being in a boat, and having laid hold of the chains on the ſide of his brother's ſhip, to ſpeak to him, the current was ſo ſtrong as to carry the boat from under him and his men, but by timely aſſiſtance they were ſaved: the other was, this veſſel getting on ſhore on a bank, when they were leaving the river: they had given her up for loſt, but fortunately the waters riſing, ſhe was got off.

Proceeding on their voyage, always within ſight of land, in five days he came to an inhabited country, and anchored near ſome iſlands about a league and half from the town, which are now called St. George. Vaſco de Gama placed there a ſtone mark. He ſaw three boats coming towards them, with palm ſails and oars, and as they approached, found the people in them were white, with turbans about their heads, and cloathed with cotton cloth, like the Moors of Africa, ſinging and playing, which gave infinite pleaſure. In one of theſe boats, when cloſe to the veſſels, a perſon, well dreſſed, got up and ſpoke in Arabic; enquired who they were, and what they wanted? Fernam Martins, the linguiſt, anſwered, they were vaſſals to the king of Portugal; and as to their buſineſs, they would let him know as ſoon as they had told them who they were.

The Moor who ſpoke to them was from the kingdom of Fez. Finding they were not Turks, as he firſt thought, he ſeemed much pleaſed, and acquainted them that their city was called Mozambique; that it was governed by a ſcheik, or chief, called Cacoëja; that it was his cuſtom, as ſoon as he ſaw any veſſel come into his port, to ſend to enquire what they wanted. If to trade with him, he was ready to do it: if they were bound on any other voyage, he was ready to ſupply them with every thing they might want. De Gama anſwered, that he came there in his way to India, to tranſact ſome buſineſs by order of the king his maſter, and principally with the king of Calicut; and as he had never before been that voyage, begged he would tell his chief, that he would be much obliged to him if he would let him have a pilot for thoſe ſeas; that he would pay him well. As to trade, he had brought no goods for that purpoſe, only a few things to exchange for proviſions; all the reſt were preſents to be given to kings and princes that might receive them hoſpitably; and as he hoped he was now in a a friendly port, he meant to make the ſcheik a preſent of ſome few things, to ſhew what they had in their country. The Moor offered himſelf to carry any thing he thought proper, deliver any meſſage to the ſcheik, and that he had not a doubt but he might have pilots for his purpoſe, there being many in the town. Accordingly he ſent the preſents of ſweet-meats by him, and alſo gave him a red cap for himſelf.

The Moor ſet off with the preſents for the ſcheik, and ſeemed much pleaſed. The Portugueſe were alſo greatly elated to find that they were now likely to reach India, which they had ſo long anxiouſly ſought. De Gama joined in keeping up the ſpirits of his people, yet had a ſuſpicion of the Moor, who, as he came from Fez, muſt be well acquainted with the name of the Portugueſe, the weight of whoſe arms his countrymen have often felt. The Moor, to cloak his deſign, returned ſoon, and ſaid the ſcheik was highly pleaſed with the preſent, and to find who they were; and in return, had ſent ſome refreſhments, and wiſhed him to come nearer the city. Coello having had the misfortune to beat off his rudder, they anchored off the town, which was low, ſurrounded by the ſea, and all the country flat and ſwampey, which made it very unwholeſome. The inhabitants were Moors, who had come from on board ſhips that had made it a place of reſort in their paſſages to Quiloa and Sofala; for the

the land in itſelf produces little, and the original natives are black, with woolly heads, who chiefly live upon the continent. This place, however, is now much uſed for a place of reſort, and particularly for the Portugueſe, whoſe India ſhips often winter there, although, from the unhealthineſs of the climate, they bury many men there; but it is ſituated ſo as to be of great uſe; for as the land ſtretches out into the ſea, it forms a good land-mark. Here alſo, if the wind comes contrary, they put in and winter.

De Gama, the next day, ſent his ſecretary with the Moor, and a preſent to the ſchiek, which operated ſo well, that many boats came off to the ſhips, brought proviſions, and ſeemed pleaſed with the traffic.

Ten days Vaſco remained there, waiting for a fair wind, made peace with the ſchiek, placed a ſtone mark on the iſland of St. George, and raiſed an altar at the foot of it when maſs was performed.

Among the Moors that came to ſell proviſions, there were three abexiſs from the country of Preſter John, who, although following the errors of the Mooriſh religion, by being brought up amongſt them, were children of Chriſtians, though not according to the Roman church. Theſe ſeeing the angel Gabriel painted on one of the ſhips, fell on their knees, as in their country many of the images of angels ſtill exiſted. De Gama hearing of their being from the land of the celebrated Preſter John, immediately had them brought to him, and by means of Fernam Martins, his linguiſt, aſked them (in Arabic) many queſtions; but he did not underſtand the interpreter, nor he them, except a few words. The Moors finding de Gama take ſo much notice of theſe men, hurried them away, and carried them aſhore, almoſt by force, nor could he ever get ſight of them again. He applied to the ſcheik for the pilots he had promiſed him, who were ſent; and having agreed with them for a certain ſum, they wiſhed to have the money before hand, to leave with their wives and families, which De Gama conſented to, on condition that one of them ſhould always remain on board. Two days elapſing, the ſhips boats went on ſhore for wood and water, which were brought by the natives to the water ſide; and having loaded the boats, as they were coming towards the ſhips, ſeven ſambucos, or veſſels, full of men, came and attacked them with their arrows. The Portugueſe being provided with arms, returned the compliment, and beat them off. No boat or veſſel of theirs appeared after. De Gama finding the peace broken, conſulted his captains, and they determined to make the beſt of their way to India, having only one of the pilots, though the weather was not very favourable, to avoid greater danger. The firſt four days the currents run ſo exceedingly rapid, that they found themſelves driven back again within five leagues of Cape Mozambique; and by the information of the pilot, they would have no winds to carry them on till the new moon; he returned, therefore, to the iſland of St. George, but would have no communication with the inhabitants. After remaining ſeven days, he determined to take more water with him, and the pilot agreed to ſhew them by night where they could eaſily get it; but he carried them from one place to another without ſucceſs; his real intention was to give them the ſlip: they were obliged to ſend their boats, well armed, to get it, and in this expedition a black ſwam away by day. De Gama and he went with force to the town, to demand him and the pilot. The Moors had got together about two thouſand men, and ſheltered themſelves behind ſome wood and earth thrown up. He made ſigns of peace to them. The Moor that had at the firſt carried the meſſages to the ſcheik came on board. De Gama made heavy complaints

complaints of the uſage he had received, and ſaid it was in his power to do them much miſchief; but only deſired he might have back the pilot and the black. This Moor ſaid he would go and ſpeak to the ſcheik; and on his return ſaid, that the ſcheik made heavy complaints; that his people intended no harm when the boats came near to their ſhips; that they were only in jeſt; and that the Portugueſe had killed and wounded their men, and ſunk one of their boats with a valuable cargo, for which he expected reparation; and as to the pilots and black, he knew nothing of them; they were ſtrangers in his country; that having once ſent him them upon the good faith of his being what he had repreſented himſelf, he now found they were vagabonds, and going from port to port, pillaging the natives; and he would have nothing more to do with them. The moment he retired, they begun to throw their arrows at our boats, and came near, forgetting what they had before experienced; but as ſoon as the Portugueſe fired, they all ran behind the iſland, where they had their boats ready to carry them to the continent: however, one of their boats was taken, laden with cloaths, in which was an old Moor and two blacks; the reſt of the crew got away by ſwimming.

The town being thus deſerted, De Gama had it in his power totally to deſtroy it, but he only wanted to recover the pilot he had loſt. On his getting on board, he learnt from the Moor the reaſon for all this behaviour; he informed him that Sofala gold and ſpices were their traffic, and that from thence to Calicut was a month's voyage, as he had heard; and that the two blacks he had taken could tell him where water was to be had in plenty. Accordingly they were ſent in the night for it, and got it with much trouble.

The ſcheik fearing bad conſequences, to make peace with De Gama, ſent him back the negro, and a pilot, in the room of thoſe which had run away. De Gama having thus ſecured what he was moſt in need of, ſailed the following day. This pilot made ſeveral attempts to miſlead the Portugueſe, as related by Caſtagneda. However, they ſafely reached the city of Mombaſſa. This city is almoſt ſurrounded by the water, ſo as to appear an iſland, and is ſo hid, that unleſs the ſhips had ſteered directly for it, they would not have ſeen it.

De Gama miſtruſting the pilot, anchored at a diſtance. Some people came on board from the king, and offered him whatever he wanted, but on condition he brought his ſhips into the harbour. This he conſented to, and requeſted a pilot for that purpoſe, who was ſent him. Notwithſtanding every precaution was taken to keep this man and the Mooriſh pilot from having communication with each other, yet the latter found means to acquaint the former with what had paſſed. With the people who came on board, De Gama ſent two of his men, (as mentioned by Caſtagneda) but De Barros ſays, thoſe who accompanied them took care they ſhould ſee as little as poſſible, and they could only report the king's meſſage.

The third day he prepared to enter the port; many boats came off with people well dreſſed, and players upon inſtruments. De Gama, however, agreed with his captains that not above twelve of the inhabitants ſhould come on board at one time. Great joy was expreſſed on all ſides, at the command being given to looſe the ſails; the Portugueſe thinking they had now an opportunity of being at reſt among civilized people, and the Moors, on the other ſide, thought they would ſoon have them in their power.

In going in, De Gama's veſſel could not bring her main ſail to fill, and falling off, was near running on a ſhoal. Exertions being made to carry out an anchor, the

Moors concluded that the pilot had been diſcovered, and jumped into their boats in the greateſt confuſion, from every ſhip. De Gama ſeeing this, determined to get away as faſt as poſſible, and ſailed the next day. The day after he took a ſambuco with Moors on board, and from them he learned that the king of Melinda was a good man, and would give him pilots to India, and there were three ſhips in the harbour that came from thence. They all ſeparately agreed in the ſame ſtory. De Gama found none of them were pilots; if he had taken one perſon that knew any thing of India, he would have proceeded without further delay, theſe Moors informing him it was not above ſeven hundred leagues diſtant.

On Eaſter-day they came to Melinda, and De Gama ſent one of the Moors and one of his criminals with a meſſage to the king, to inform him who they were, their deſtination, and that they had taken the veſſel to procure a pilot, and hoped he would let him have one. The king ſent two of his people to inform De Gama he ſhould have pilots, and whatever his country afforded; and alſo his friendſhip, in token of which he ſent him a gold ring.

During De Gama's ſtay he was viſited by many inhabitants, and others who were there on buſineſs; among them ſome Moors from Cambaia, in veſſels from that part of the world, and with them ſome religious men, called Banians; people who follow the ſect of Pythagoras, never kill any kind of animal, nor eat any fleſh. Theſe men having entered De Gama's cabin, ſaw an image of the virgin, and obſerving the Portugueſe pay reſpect to it, they alſo in a very particular manner paid their adoration, and the next day brought offerings of ſpices, &c. From this the Portugueſe concluded that Chriſtianity had made its way to India, as among theſe people was one Vamed Malemo Cana, from Guzerat, who offered himſelf as a pilot. This man ſoon made himſelf much eſteemed, and ſhewed De Gama a chart of all the coaſt of India, drawn in their manner with meridians and parallels, very ſmall, without any diviſion of the winds; for by the ſquaring of thoſe meridians and parallels, the coaſt was very certainly laid down, both from north to ſouth, and eaſt and weſt, without the multiplication of the winds, as in common charts. De Gama having ſhewn him his large wooden aſtrolabe, and the others of metal, by which he took the height of the ſun, he was not ſurpriſed at them, as ſome of the pilots in the Red Sea uſed inſtruments of braſs in a triangular form, and quadrants, to take the height of the ſun, and principally of the ſtars, by which they navigated their veſſels: but as to the navigators of Cambaia, and other parts of India, they ſailed by the north and ſouth ſtars, and other ſigns in the eaſtern and weſtern hemiſphere; nor did they take their diſtances by ſuch inſtruments, but by one he brought with him, which was made of three boards. They make uſe of this inſtrument in the ſame manner the Portugueſe do an inſtrument called Balheſtilha. De Gama gained great information from this man.

Having left a ſtone-mark, called Sancto Eſperito, in the town, which he told the inhabitants was as a memorial for the peace ſettled between them, he ſailed the 24th of April, and having croſſed that great gulph of ſeven hundred leagues in twenty-four days, without any hinderance, the firſt land he ſtopt at was below the city of Calicut. Some fiſhermen conducted him to the city, and this being the end of his intended voyage, the king had given him letters to the king of Calicut, and appointed him ambaſſador. This was on the 20th of May, the beginning of the winter in thoſe parts. They found but few ſhips in the port, and the veſſels of Calicut were laid

laid up in the creeks and rivers, covered with palm leaves, as cuſtomary in that country. The inhabitants were ſurpriſed to ſee the Portugueſe at ſuch an unſeaſonable time, and knew they muſt be ſtrangers. As ſoon as De Gama brought his veſſels to anchor, he ſent on ſhore the Mooriſh pilot and a criminal, notifying to the king his arrival, and that he had a particular meſſage to deliver to him, and begged to know when it would be agreeable to him, as he ſhould not go on ſhore till he had his permiſſion. With the pilot came another the king had ſent, a pilot of Camorin, who brought a meſſage from the king, that he was glad to hear of his arrival, and that he had ſent this pilot to carry his veſſels to a ſafe place, on account of the danger of the winter. De Gama was much ſatisfied to have his veſſels placed in ſafety, and told the pilot he was ready to obey him; accordingly his veſſels were carried to a place called Capocate; but during the time they were waiting for the return of the pilot, when firſt they came into port, ſome of the king's officers, collectors of duties, came on board, and alſo a Moor, called Moncaide, who was a broker, and known to their pilot; he could talk Spaniſh, and was of infinite ſervice to De Gama, as he gave him information of every thing, and prevented many dangers: and having given orders for his brother and Coello to take care of the ſhips, on receiving a meſſage from the ſamorin, he went to pay him a viſit. De Barros ſays while he was there, he had every day reaſon to apprehend ſome treachery, and made his brother acquainted with his ſuſpicions, to put him on his guard, for the Moors were not their friends, and were taking every ſtep to ſet the native Indians againſt them. The cutwal, when he found an opportunity, told the ſamorin that by what he could learn, he had great reaſon to think De Gama and his people were pirates; that they made it a cuſtom to commit outrages in foreign parts, as they were not able to live in their own country; and as for their embaſſy, and the letters they brought, theſe were all fictitious, and made by themſelves; that it was not conſiſtent for a king of the Franks to ſend an embaſſy to ſuch a diſtance, out of a pretended friendſhip, when their religion and belief were ſo oppoſite: that what they had told them of the riches of their country muſt be falſe, for the preſents they had made him were ſo paltry, the loweſt merchant could not have done leſs; and that if they intended to have purchaſed ſpices, they would have brought goods ſufficient for that purpoſe, which was not the caſe. Beſides, he was running a riſk of diſpleaſing the Moors, who were eſtabliſhed in the trade of his country, and would find themſelves much hurt, if any people that lived at the end of the world, and under the neceſſity of making a two year's voyage, ſhould meet with any countenance; and would give diſpleaſure to the veſſels from Mecca, Juda, Adam, Ormuz, and other places, from which the whole of the commerce of his kingdom was carried on. He ſaid he informed him of all theſe things, thinking it his duty, having heard the complaints of the Moors already, and that he had better conſult other cutwals. The king, or ſamorin, having heard theſe things, though a prudent man, and had flattered himſelf with conſiderable advantages that he was to reap from theſe new viſitors, and their intended trade, yet he gave way to the remonſtrances that had been made to him, and began to think of taking proper ſteps on the occaſion, which in the end turned to the advantage of the Portugueſe, by hurrying them away before the large ſhips from Mecca arrived; however, the ſamorin determining to be ſatisfied as much as lay in his power, ſent for Vaſco De Gama, and told him the doubts that had ariſen about them: that if they were really people driven out from their own country, he was ready to aſſiſt them all in his power; and

and was proceeding, when De Gama interrupted him, and ſaid it was very natural that ſuch ſuſpicions ſhould ariſe, from ſeeing ſtrangers in every reſpect ſo different from themſelves, and coming by ſeas never till then explored; but from what he had informed him, it was the deſire of purchaſing ſpices, and extending the trade of his country, that brought him there; for men, arms, horſes, gold, ſilver, ſilks, and a thouſand other things, were in ſuch plenty in his country, that they had no neceſſity to go abroad for them, and at ſuch a diſtance as India was; but after having explored ſo many leagues on the coaſt of Africa as his king, and his predeceſſors had done, it was not to be wondered at that he ſhould continue ſearching out new countries, and particularly to ſeek the friendſhip of the king of Calicut, whoſe fame had long reached his ears.

In the ſubſequent circumſtances of this voyage, De Barros agrees almoſt intirely with the other authors.

Ramuſio has preſerved a ſhort account of this voyage, written, as he ſays, by an Italian gentleman, who was at Liſbon when the ſhips arrived. There ſeems to be little authenticity in it, and indeed nothing more than what he might collect by hearſay; we ſhall therefore decline giving any extracts from it; but as every thing which concerns this celebrated voyage is important, we ſhall conclude with Maffei's account of the honours beſtowed on De Gama on his return.

" Don Vaſco de Gama, as ſoon as he arrived at Liſbon, went to ſpend a week in devotion at the hermitage of our lady, built by the infante don Henry, and where he had offered up his prayers to God for the ſucceſs of his voyage at the time of his departure. Thither the king ſent ſeveral perſons of diſtinction to compliment him in his name; after which he made his public entry into Liſbon, with all the pomp and ceremony of a ſovereign prince; illuminations, bonfires, and every other teſtimony of public joy, being expreſſed on his return. Beſides theſe honourable marks of favour, the king granted him more ſolid evidences of his gratitude and eſteem, by augmenting his coat of arms with part of thoſe of Portugal; declared him admiral of the Indies; added to that a perpetual rent charge of one thouſand crowns out of his exchequer, with a permiſſion to inveſt two hundred thouſand crowns in every cargo ſent to the Eaſt Indies, and ſome time after created him count of Videguiera*."

Thus we have attended the Portugueſe navigators to the end of the fifteenth century. There was only one voyage more, that of Cabral, which was commenced in the laſt year of this century; but as the greateſt part of it was performed in the next, we ſhall poſtpone it until we come to treat of the voyages of that period.

* Hiſtoria Indica.

A MAP of the CANARY ISLANDS.

Porto Sancto

Madera Isle

Fonsyal

St Cruz

Marazyla

Saluages

I. Palma

P.t de Barleventa

St Andrew

Los Sauses

Punta Vana

Pt Corda

Tassa Corda

Caso

St Joseph

I. Teneriſe

St Bartholom.

La Rambla

Orotava

Point Nago

La Coronte

Ciudad de la Laguna

Sta Cruz

Los Silos

Pt Tenerife

Peak of Teneriffe

Seradero

Adecha

Villa Ior

Candelaria Convento

Guimar

Arico

Las Galletas

Punta Prieta

I. Ferro

Valle Ermoso

El Golfo

Amiente

I. Gomera

I. Canaria

La Gate

Galdar

Arcusa

Tirachana

Aquimes

Maspalama

La Ciudad de las Palmas

Telde

Gando

Roca del Oueste

I. St Clara

Alegranza

Gratiosa

Roca del Este

I. Lancerota

Lancerota

Porto de Naos

Lobos

Oliva

Toston

Cala de Fustes

I. Fuertaventura

la Villa

Tuneche

Cape Negro

las Playas

Tarahala

Morro Gable

A Reef of Rocks & small Islands

A level Coast which is inaccessible by reason of a heavy Surf which breaks on it continually

La Punta Blanca

PART OF AFRICA

10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100 110 120

English Miles

16.25 Longit. of Teneriſe West from London

BOOK II.

SPANISH VOYAGES,

IN THE

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Voyages to, and conqueſt of the Canary Iſlands. Manners and cuſtoms of the ancient inhabitants.

HAVING thus purſued the Portugueſe navigators until they obtained the object of their deſire, a paſſage by ſea to the Eaſt Indies, we muſt now turn our attention to another ſide, and view the Spaniards, with the ſame intention, ſucceeding even beyond their wiſhes, and diſcovering a new world.

But before we proceed to a detail of theſe important diſcoveries, we muſt firſt take a view of a prior acquiſition of the Spaniards, in which we ſhall behold a brave, but unfortunate people, ſtruggling for many years againſt the exertions of a nation poſſeſſed of diſcipline and reſources.

The Canary Iſlands were the firſt acquiſition to the weſtward made by the Spaniards. Their diſcovery we have already touched upon, book i. chap. iv. The account of their conqueſt, and of the manners and cuſtoms of their ancient inhabitants, we ſhall now extract from the tranſlation of a Spaniſh manuſcript, written in the year 1362, in the iſland of Palma, by John de Abreu de Gallineo, a Franciſcan friar, and native of Andaluſia in Spain, becauſe it ſeems to us the moſt complete account we have. This manuſcript lay a long time in obſcurity in the iſland of Palma, and was ſent as a preſent to the biſhop in the iſland of Canaria. Captain Glaſs, when in thoſe iſlands, procured a copy, and tranſlated it. It contains a ſeries of voyages, made either from Spain to the Canaries, or from one iſland to another, during the time the natives were oppoſing the invaders.

We have already mentioned Betancour's obtaining a grant of them from Henry III. king of Caſtile; one Gadifer de la Sala, a man of conſiderable fortune, having the ſame paſſion for ſeeing foreign countries, ſoon agreed with John de Betancour to go with him in queſt of the Fortunate Iſlands, much talked of at that time in Europe. In order to proſecute their deſign, they ſold ſome of their lands, and mortgaged others, by which they raiſed money ſufficient to equip a ſmall fleet, well provided with ſkilful mariners, pilots, and ſome people as interpreters.

This fleet conſiſted of three ſhips, containing two hundred perſons, excluſive of the ſeamen: among that number were many young gentlemen of Normandy, ſeveral of whom were relations of John de Betancour. On the firſt of May A. D. 1400. they ſet ſail, and proceeded on the voyage, without any thing of conſequence happening to them until they arrived at the iſlands. The firſt they ſaw was Lancerota, which name was then given to it by John de Betancour, probably in honour of ſome perſon of his acquaintance. When he landed his men, the natives gathered together in a body to defend themſelves, imagining that theſe ſtrangers were come to plunder and carry them off, as others had done before: but obſerving the French to be well armed, and keeping together, they were afraid to attack them, but retired into the country, and left them at liberty to encamp in a convenient place; for the natives had nothing to oppoſe them with but ſticks and ſtones, theſe being their only weapons. But finding the French remain ſome days in the ſame place, without following or attempting to moleſt them, they began to take courage; ſome of them ventured into the camp, who were well treated, allowed to take whatever they choſe, and to come in and go out whenever they pleaſed. This removed all their fears, inſomuch, that when the French began to build a fort, the natives chearfully aſſiſted them. This fort was built at the port of Rubicon.

The ready obedience and quiet behaviour of the natives gave great ſatisfaction. They now determined to paſs over to the next iſland, ſeparated from Lancerota by a channel of two leagues in breadth; and leaving an officer and ſome men in the port of Rubicon, they landed at Valtarrahala, in the iſland of Fuertaventura, then called by the French Fortuite. The inhabitants gathered in great numbers to oppoſe them, being men of a more warlike ſpirit than thoſe of Lancerota, ſtronger, and of a larger ſize; which the French perceiving, and conſidering what a handful of people they had to attack ſuch a multitude with, thought proper to reimbark, and ſet ſail, and taking a view of ſome of the iſlands, they returned to Lancerota, where they conſulted what was next to be done; and conſidering how few people they had, it was determined that Gadifer de la Sala ſhould return to France, to bring over ſupplies of men, &c. Accordingly he went, but died a few days after his arrival in France. When this was known to Betancour, he found himſelf deprived of his expected ſucours, and without money or friends in France, which determined him to embark for Spain, where he arrived, and applied to his uncle Rubin de Bracamonte, and other relations there, for aſſiſtance to proſecute his deſign: but his chief patron and interceſſor with the king of Caſtile was the infante don Ferdinando, afterwards king of Arragon, A. D. 1403. by whoſe means he procured a grant of the Canary Iſlands, with the title of king. He went to Seville, and equipped a fleet, well provided with men and neceſſaries, for the conqueſt of theſe iſlands, the king ſupplying him with money to defray the charge of that armament.

Theſe

Theſe two iſlands, Lancerota and Fuertaventura, as well as the others, were divided into two portions, each of which was governed by its own lord or captain, and ſeparated by a wall of looſe ſtones, croſſing the iſland from the ſea. The inhabitants of theſe quarters held their reſpective chiefs in great eſteem; were of a humane, ſocial, and chearful diſpoſition, very fond of ſinging and dancing. Their muſic was vocal, accompanied with a noiſe they made by clapping their hands and beating with their feet. They were very nimble, and took great delight in leaping and jumping, which were their principal diverſions: two men took a ſtaff or pole, which they held by the ends, and lifted as high above their heads as they could reach, keeping it parallel with the ground; and he who could leap over it, was accounted to be very dexterous.

There is a ſepulchre at the foot of a mountain in Lancerota, called the Mountain of Thorns, nineteen Engliſh feet and ten inches in length, where a perſon named Mahan was buried. Duels and combats were frequent among them; to theſe they went armed with ſticks of a yard and an half long, which they called Tezzezes. They had this law or cuſtom, that if a man entered in by the door of his enemy's houſe, and killed him, or did him harm, he was not puniſhed; but if he came upon him unawares and killed him, then the captain or chief, before whom the cauſe was examined, ordered him to be put to death. The manner of executing a criminal was, they placed his head upon a flat ſtone, and with another daſhed out his brains: his children were afterwards held as infamous. They were excellent ſwimmers; and uſed to kill the fiſh on their ſea-coaſts with ſticks. The houſes were built of ſtone, without cement; notwithſtanding which they were ſtrong: the entry was made ſo narrow that but one perſon could go in at a time. They had alſo houſes of worſhip and devotion, which they call Eſeguen; theſe were round, compoſed of two walls, one within the other, with a ſpace between; and were, as well as their dwelling-houſes, built of looſe ſtones, ſtrong, and having a narrow entry. In theſe temples they offered to their god (for they worſhipped only one) milk and butter. They ſacrificed to him on the mountains, pouring out from earthen veſſels, offerings of goats milk, and adoring him at the ſame time by lifting their hands toward the heavens.

The habit of the natives of Lancerota was made of goats ſkins, ſewed together and faſhioned like a cloak, with a hood to it. It reached to the knees. The ſeams were cloſed in a very neat manner with thongs of leather, which were as fine as common thread. They cut and prepared thoſe thongs with ſharp flints or ſtones, inſtead of knives or ſciſſars. Their ſhoes were of goats ſkins, the hairy ſide outward. They wore bonnets made of goats ſkins, having three large feathers ſtuck in the front; the women wore the ſame, with a fillet of leather, dyed red with the bark of ſome ſhrubs.

They had long hair, and wore their beards plaited. The king of the iſland wore a diadem or crown like a biſhop's mitre, made of goats leather, and adorned with ſea ſhells. When they were ſick, which ſeldom happened, they cured themſelves with the herbs which grew in the country; and when they had acute pains, they ſcarified the part affected with ſharp ſtones, or burned it with fire, and then anointed it with goats butter. Our author ſays, that in his time earthen veſſels of this butter were found interred in the ground, having been put there formerly by the women, who it ſeems were the makers, and took that method to preſerve it for medicine. When any one died, they buried him in a cave, ſtretching out the body, and laying

goats ſkins under and above it. Their food was barley meal roaſted, and goats fleſh, boiled and roaſted; alſo butter and milk. They ate their victuals out of veſſels made of clay, and hardened by the heat of the ſun. Their method of obtaining fire, was by taking a ſtick of dry, hard, thorny wood, which they cauſed to turn rapidly round on the point, within a ſoft, dry, ſpongy thiſtle, and ſo ſet it on fire: this method has been uſed there to this day.

When they ſowed their ground with barley, (which was their only grain) they dug or turned it up with goats horns. They threſhed their barley with ſticks, and winnowed it with their hands; then ground it in an hand-mill, made of two ſtones, nearly the ſame ſort of mills now uſed in ſome remote parts of Europe.

The natives of Fuertaventura were cloathed with jackets made of ſheep ſkins, the ſleeves ſhort, and reaching no farther than their elbows. They wore alſo ſhort breeches, that left the knees bare; and ſhort hoſe or ſtockings, that reached little higher than the calf of the leg. On their feet they wore the ſame ſort of ſhoes as the natives of Lancerota. They wore high caps on their heads, made of goat ſkins. The hair of their heads and beards they dreſſed after the faſhion that prevailed among the natives of Lancerota.

In the iſland of Fuertaventura, ſays our author, there lived two women who held a correſpondence with the devil, the one called Tibiatin, and the other Tamonante, who were mother and daughter: the buſineſs of the one was to ſettle and compoſe differences that might ariſe among the chiefs of the iſland, and that of the other to regulate their ceremonies. The natives pretend that theſe women uſed to foretel future events.

There were in this iſland, at the time of the conqueſt, four thouſand fighting men. It is ſaid that when John de Betancour and Gadifer de la Sala came in queſt of theſe iſlands, the then king of Lancerota, who was named Guadarfia, was deſcended from an European, who had been driven by a tempeſt on this iſland.

When Betancour embarked for Spain, he left a garriſon in Lancerota, commanded by William de Betancour, who behaved towards the king and natives in ſuch a licentious and cruel manner, that they were at laſt, for their own defence, obliged to take up arms againſt him. They laid an ambuſh, and killed ſeveral of the French, among whom was William de Betancour; the reſt who ſurvived, made their eſcape into the fort of Rubicon, where they were ſo cloſely blocked up by the natives, that they were reduced by famine to the laſt extremity. In this ſituation were the affairs of Lancerota when John de Betancour arrived there; who, as before related, had left the court of Caſtile, and went to Cadiz, where he procured ſome veſſels, which he fitted out for a ſecond expedition to the Canary Iſlands: the fame of this armament drew to Cadiz many adventurers from different parts, ſo that he ſoon procured his complement of men.

The fleet ſet ſail from Seville, and, after a quick and agreeable paſſage, anchored at the port of Rubicon, where all the troops diſembarked. Upon their landing, the natives made their complaint to John de Betancour againſt the garriſon, and excuſed the violence they had committed, as having been compelled thereto by the tyrannical and cruel uſage received from William de Betancour and his people. John de Betancour enquired into the cauſe of the difference, found that the French had been the aggreſſors, and therefore pardoned king Guadarfia, and promiſed to leave him and the

the natives in the full enjoyment of their lands, houſes, cattle, and liberty. Upon this declaration the natives laid down their arms, and chearfully ſubmitted to his government.

Several prieſts came over in this fleet from Seville, in order to convert the iſlanders: they were greatly reſpected by the natives, many of whom they converted, and baptized in the church which was then built at Rubicon, named the Invocation of St. Marcial. The firſt among the natives who received baptiſm, was king Guadarfia. Betancour allowed him for his ſubſiſtence the houſe and lands of the deceaſed Quonzamas. A ſhort time after, all the natives were baptized. Betancour now made a partition of the lands among the French and Spaniſh adventurers that came over with him.

Every thing being now ſettled on a proper footing in Lancerota, Betancour thought it high time to ſet about the conqueſt of Fuertaventura. As the inhabitants were ſo numerous and valiant, he collected together all his forces, conſiſting of French and Spaniards, beſides many of the natives of Lancerota, whom he armed after the European manner. His new recruits ſerved him with chearfulneſs and fidelity; for the iſlanders found in him a father rather than a conqueror. Embarking his troops on board five ſhips, he ſet ſail, and arrived at Fuertaventura in the month
A. D. 1405. of June, and landed his people in a bay called Valtarrahala. At that time the two kings of the iſland, Ajoſe and Guiſe, were at variance with each other, on account of the paſturage. He who commanded in that part of the iſland where Betancour landed, immediately on his arrival gathered all the forces of his diſtrict together, and advanced to give battle; but the Europeans found means to come to a parley with them, and by the advice of the two women before mentioned, they were prevailed on to lay down their arms, and Ajoſe coming up, Betancour embraced him, and treated him with every mark of friendſhip. By this behaviour he won his confidence, and at length prevailed on him to embrace the Romiſh religion. Guiſe, the king of the other part of the iſland, ſeeing the good treatment which Betancour gave thoſe who ſubmitted to him, and that he deſired only to make converts, ſubmitted to him alſo, having been adviſed to do ſo by Tibiatin and Tamonante. Being moreover aſſured by Betancour, that if he would embrace the Romiſh faith, he ſhould remain in the full enjoyment of his liberty, and in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his lands and effects, he received baptiſm. The examples of the two kings of Fuertaventura had ſuch an effect on the natives, that they all came, ſubmitted to the Europeans, and were ſoon after baptized.

It is a tradition among the inhabitants of Fuertaventura, that the natives believed Tibiatin and Tamonante to have been ſent from heaven to inſtruct them, to foretel future events, and to cauſe them to live in peace and unanimity with each other. It was by the aſſiſtance of thoſe women that the Europeans made ſo eaſy a conqueſt of that large and populous iſland; of which when Betancour had thus taken poſſeſſion, he built two forts, the one at Valtarrahala, where he firſt landed, and another which he named Richiorche; both of which he garriſoned with his own people.

By the intreaty of the Caſtillians, and ſome of his ſeamen who had been in Barbary, Betancour was prevailed on to make a voyage thither, as the coaſt is but eighteen leagues diſtant from the ſouth-eaſt part of Fuertaventura; and being provided with ſufficient ſhipping, &c. he croſſed over to that ſhore, and landed at a place called Medanos,

Medanos, where he took priſoners ſeveral Moors, of both ſexes, to the number of ſeventy, without the loſs of a man on his ſide: the natives of that part of Africa living at that time in a careleſs and defenceleſs manner, not thinking it poſſible for any one to come from the ſea to diſturb or moleſt them. Betancour and his men brought their booty ſafe to Lancerota, and from thence ſent their priſoners to Spain, where they were ſold for ſlaves.

After the enterpriſe on the coaſt of Barbary, Betancour, being deſirous of bringing the iſland of Canaria into ſubjection, ſailed thither with two ſhips, and anchored at a place called Anganagen, where he landed all the forces, and marched up the country in good order, and with great precaution, leſt they ſhould be ſurpriſed. This was a neceſſary meaſure, as appeared afterwards; for the natives, ſeeing ſuch a number of armed men on their iſland, immediately gave the alarm to each other, and aſſembled in great numbers, headed by a king or captain, named Artemis, and fell upon the Europeans with great fury and reſolution, with ſtones and darts, which they threw by hand with amazing dexterity, and with ſuch velocity as to exceed the motion of thoſe thrown from ſlings or bows. Beſides theſe weapons, they had ſticks or poles, whoſe ends were hardened by fire, and ſharpened, which they uſed as ſpears. Betancour and his men defended themſelves with the greateſt courage; but the attack they had to ſuſtain was ſo rude, and the natives preſſed ſo furiouſly on them, that the Europeans were at length obliged to give way, and retreated in good order to the ſea ſhore: but the natives gathering on every ſide, to the number of five thouſand, purſued them ſo cloſely, that Betancour, finding it in vain to attempt the conqueſt of the place with ſuch an handful of men, againſt a multitude of well-armed and valiant inhabitants, reimbarked with his troops, under favour of the night, in the beſt manner he could, leaving the field to his enemies, who, nevertheleſs, bought their victory dear, having their king Artemis, with many others, killed.

From Anganagen the fleet ſailed for the iſland of Palma; but not being able to effect a landing, it was determined to return to Canaria, to try their fortune once more, and retrieve the honour they had loſt: but on their arrival, they found thoſe people aſſembled in vaſt numbers to oppoſe them, which made them ſail back to Fuertaventura. It was on this expedition that Betancour gave the epithet of Grand (or Great) to the iſland of Canaria, which it retains to this day.

He remained ſome time in Fuertaventura, to refreſh his men, and cure them of their wounds. After his unſucceſsful attempt on Canaria, he could not pretend to try his fortune again there, for want of more ſoldiers; but he determined to make an attempt on ſome other iſland. To this end he took with him all the men that could be ſpared from his garriſons of Lancerota and Fuertaventura, and ſailed to the iſland of Gomera, where he landed without oppoſition, which ſurpriſed him greatly, and made him apprehenſive of an ambuſcade; he therefore marched ſlowly up the country, with the greateſt precaution. Soon after he perceived the natives approach in a diſorderly manner, without any ſign of hoſtility, but, on the contrary, with an appearance of mirth and joy; however, they came armed, which greatly perplexed him, and made him ſtill more apprehenſive of danger, till they drew very near to him, when ſome of them accoſted the Europeans in the Spaniſh tongue, which amazed and agreeebly ſurpriſed them. Both parties now began to converſe in a very

very friendly manner, and the Europeans were moſt courteouſly entertained. This behaviour of the Gomerans, the fertility of their iſland, the goodneſs of the climate, and its excellent harbour, induced Betancour to ſpend ſome time in it, in order to refreſh his people. During his ſtay the natives gave a cordial invitation to the newcomers to take up their reſidence among them. This invitation was readily acceded by Betancour, who thereupon made a diviſion of lands among his followers, and determined to fix his reſidence for the remainder of his life in Gomera.

The cauſe of this kind reception which the Europeans met with from the natives, and by what means ſome of the latter ſo well underſtood and ſpoke the Spaniſh language, is thus accounted for: About thirty years before the arrival of Betancour, ſome Spaniſh veſſels came to Gomera, commanded by one don Ferdinando. The natives attacked the Spaniards, but were defeated, and the king's brother loſt his life in the encounter. After this don Ferdinando marched inland; but as ſoon as Amalvige, the king, heard of the invaſion of the iſland by ſtrangers, and of the death of his brother, he gathered the natives together, and gave battle to the Spaniards, who were defeated, and purſued into a place which had only one narrow entry, ſo that they could not retire but by throwing themſelves over the ſteep cliffs that ſurrounded them, the iſlanders having blocked up the paſſage by which they entered with felled trees, and guarded it ſo cloſely, that the Spaniards were compelled to remain there two days without meat or drink. At laſt don Ferdinando found means to come to a parley with Amalvige, in which he ſo effectually wrought on that prince's compaſſionate diſpoſition, that he ordered the paſſage to be cleared, and conducted the ſtrangers to his reſidence, where he entertained them with great hoſpitality, giving them proviſions and whatever elſe he could afford. When don Ferdinando returned to his ſhips, he made ſeveral preſents to Amalvige, conſiſting of ſwords, ſhields, and other warlike accoutrements, which were held in great eſteem by the natives: he then took leave of his benefactor and ſailed away. It is ſaid, that before he departed, Amalvige was converted, and baptized, with many of his people; and when the Spaniards were going away, the king begged of their commander that he would leave ſome perſon to inſtruct them in their new doctrine; upon which he left a prieſt, and promiſed to return ſoon himſelf. The prieſt did not long ſurvive; however, by his good behaviour, in that ſhort ſpace of time, he greatly won the affections of the natives, and baptized many of them. This accounts for Betancour's good reception. Who don Ferdinando was, cannot for a certainty be determined.

Gomera undoubtedly bore that name before the arrival of Betancour, which it ſtill retains. The natives were of a lively diſpoſition, of a middle ſtature, very active, dexterous in attacking and defending, and excellent ſlingers of ſtones and darts, it being the common amuſement with the young people to caſt ſmall ſtones and darts at one another; to avoid which they ſeldom moved their feet, but only waved their bodies; and they uſed to catch in their hands the ſtones and the arrows as they flew. As they grew up to manhood, they threw them out of ſlings. In their combats they uſed ſticks or poles of hard wood, with the ends ſharpened. They have had ſeveral men renowned for valour amongſt them, whoſe fame ſtill exiſts in their ſongs.

The clothing of the Gomerans was a ſort of cloak, made of goat ſkins, which reached down to the calf of the leg; but the women wore a petticoat, and a headdreſs that hung down to their ſhoulders, made of goat ſkins, dyed and curiouſly painted:

painted: the red dye they extracted from the root of a tree which they called Taginaſte, and the blue dye from an herb which they called Paſtil: all between the headdreſs and the petticoat was left bare. When the men had any quarrel which was to be decided by combat, they laid aſide their cloaks, tied a kind of bandage about their waiſts, and bound their foreheads with a ſort of painted turban. Their ſhoes were made of hog ſkins.

When Betancour came to Gomera, he found it divided into four parts, upon the death of king Amalvige; each diviſion governed by a chief or captain. Thoſe chiefs had frequent quarrels among themſelves concerning the limits of their reſpective diſtricts.

Betancour, after ſettling affairs in Gomera, ſailed to the iſland of Hierro or Ferro, and anchored in the harbour. When the natives perceived the ſhips approaching with their white ſails, they remembered the prophecy of a man who had formerly lived among them, named Yoré, and who was reckoned a ſoothſayer or diviner; this man, on his death-bed, called the natives together, and told them that after his death, when his fleſh ſhould be conſumed, and his bones mouldered to duſt, their god Eraoranzan would come to them in white houſes on the water; and adviſed them not to reſiſt or fly from him, but to adore him, becauſe he was to come to do them good. The natives, who placed great faith in his predictions, buried him in a place apart from the reſt of their dead, that his bones might afterwards be diſtinguiſhed from theirs. Now ſeeing the ſhips approach with their white ſails ſwelling on the ſurface of the waves, they firmly believed the prophecy was fulfilled, and went to the cave where Yore was buried, and there found his bones crumbled to duſt; upon which they ran joyfully to the ſhore to receive their god Eraoranzan.

When Betancour anchored, he took great care in landing his men, for fear of being overpowered by the iſlanders, who were crowding to the water ſide; but finding that they were unarmed, and ſhewed no ſigns of hoſtility, he approached them, and was received with every demonſtration of joy and friendſhip: the natives conducted the Europeans to their houſes, and treated them with the beſt of every thing. Betancour having thus got footing in Hierro, gave thanks to God for his ſucceſs, and that no blood had been ſpilt on the occaſion. He ſtaid there ſome days to refreſh his people, and then returned to Fuertaventura, after leaving in Hierro a garriſon, under the command of one Lazaro, a Biſcayner, to whom he gave a ſtrict charge to behave to the natives with indulgence, and to uſe all poſſible means to inſtruct them in the faith.

The name of this iſland, before the arrival of Betancour, was Eſero, which ſignifies, in the language of its ancient inhabitants, Strong: when the Spaniards ſhewed them iron, they called it Eſero; and afterwards, when they began to ſpeak the Caſtillian language, they called iron indifferently by the name of Eſero, or Hierro, which laſt is the Spaniſh word for that metal; ſo that they at laſt tranſlated the real name of the iſland Eſero, into the Spaniſh one Hierro, which it retains to this day. But the Portugueſe and ſome others, following their own dialect, call it Ferro: and ſome will have it, that the natives called it Fer; though there is no proof for this aſſertion.

The natives of Hierro were of a middle ſtature, and melancholy turn of mind; their ſongs on grave ſubjects, and ſet to ſlow plaintive tunes, to which they danced in a ring, joining hands together, and now and then jumping up in pairs ſo equally,

that

that they ſeemed to be united: this manner of dancing is ſtill uſed. They dwelt in large circular incloſures, the walls of dry ſtone, without cement, each incloſure having one narrow entry: on the inſide they placed poles or ſpars againſt the wall, in ſuch a manner that one end reſted on the top of the wall, and the other on the ground, at a conſiderable diſtance from the bottom of it; theſe they covered with branches of trees, fern, &c. Each incloſure contained about twenty families. A parcel of fern, upon which they ſpread goat ſkins, was their bed; and for coverings they uſed goat ſkins dreſſed; the iſland being very mountainous, and conſequently expoſed to the wind and cold.

Before they offered their children the breaſt, they gave them fern-roots roaſted, bruiſed, and mixed with butter; but now they give them inſtead of it, flour and barley-meal, roaſted and mixed with bruiſed cheeſe. Their food was the fleſh of goats, ſheep, and hogs; they had alſo ſome roots which the Spaniards call Batatas. As for grain, they had none: their bread was made of fern-roots; this, with milk and butter, made the chief part of their diet. Their common drink was water.

Their cloaths were made of the ſkins of beaſts; the dreſs worn by the men was a cloak made of three ſheep ſkins ſewed together: in winter they wore the woolly ſide next their bodies, and in ſummer turned it outwards. The women, beſides the cloak, wore a petticoat down to the middle of their legs. In ſewing theſe ſkins they uſed thongs as threads; for needles they uſed ſmall bones ſharpened. They wore nothing on their heads, and their long hair was made up into a number of ſmall plaits. Their ſhoes were made of the raw ſkins of goats or ſheep; ſome of thoſe of hogs.

They lived all under one king, conſequently never had occaſion to go to war, nor had they any warlike weapon: they uſed indeed to carry long poles; but theſe were only to aſſiſt them in travelling the country, which is very rocky, ſo as frequently to oblige them to leap from one ſtone to another by the help of theſe poles. Each man had but one wife; they had no rules in their marriages, except that a man ſhould not marry his mother or ſiſter: indeed they were all, except the king, upon an equality in that reſpect; the only diſtinction among them was in their ſubſtance, which conſiſted in flocks. It was cuſtomary for the man, when he choſe a wife, to make a preſent of cattle to her father, according to his ability, as an acknowledgment. The king received no ſtipulated tribute, but every one made him a preſent according to his wealth or pleaſure. When they made a feaſt, they killed one or two very fat lambs, according to the number of the gueſts, and roaſted them whole; theſe they placed on the ground, ſitting in a circle round them, and never roſe till they had eaten the whole: theſe kind of feaſts are ſtill kept up among their deſcendants. When any one fell ſick, they rubbed the patient's body all over with ſheep's marrow and butter, covering him well up to promote a perſpiration: but if a man happened to be cut or wounded, they burned the part affected, and then anointed it with butter.

They interred their dead in caves; and if the deceaſed was wealthy, they buried him in his cloaths, and put a board at his feet, with the pole which he uſed to travel with at his ſide; then cloſed the cave's mouth with ſtones, to prevent the ravens from devouring him. They inflicted no puniſhments but for the crimes of murder and theft: the murderer was put to death in the ſame manner as he had killed the deceaſed. As to the puniſhment for theft, for the firſt offence they put out one of the eyes, and for the ſecond the other, that he might not ſee to ſteal any more. There was a particular perſon ſet apart to perform the office of executioner on theſe

occaſions. They adored two deities, one of them male, and the other female: the male was named Eraoranzan, worſhipped by the men; the other Moneyba, worſhipped by the women. They had no repreſentations of theſe deities, nor did they ſacrifice to them, but only prayed in their neceſſities. The natives feigned, that when their gods were inclined to do them good, they came to the iſland, and poſted themſelves on two great ſtones or rocks, which are in a place they called Ventayca, but is now named los Antillos de los Antiguos; there they received the petitions, and afterwards returned into heaven. In the winter ſeaſon, when, by a long continuance of dry weather, they were reduced to great neceſſity, and found their prayers were not anſwered, they aſſembled together in Ventayca with their cattle, and there held a faſt for three days and as many nights, weeping and lamenting, their flocks alſo making a noiſe for want of food; if all this did not produce rain, they ſent a man, who was eſteemed by them as a ſaint, to a cave called Atecheita, where he invoked the gods to ſend a mediator; upon which, as they ſaid, an animal like a pig appeared to him, called Aranjaibo, or mediator; the ſaint put the animal under his cloak, and carried it to the natives aſſembled at Ventayca: then they walked in proceſſion, with their flocks, round the two fore-mentioned rocks, lamenting and wailing as they went. When the Hierrians were firſt converted, they invoked Jeſus Chriſt and the virgin Mary by the names of Eraoranzan and Moneyba.

Lazaro, the officer left to command in Hierro, and his ſoldiers, behaved moſt inſolently to the natives, uſing indecent freedoms with their wives and daughters, and even taking them away by force, which cauſed the moſt conſiderable villages to revolt: upon which Lazaro went to the principal of them, to treat with them; but a young man, one of the natives, who probably had been injured by him, leaped upon him, and ſtabbed him in ſeveral places with a knife till he died; and this ſo ſuddenly, that his ſoldiers had not time to aſſiſt him. When this affair was known to Betancour, he ſent another governor, with power to enquire into the cauſe of the revolt, and to puniſh the offenders. When he arrived there, he found that the revolt had been owing entirely to the licentious behaviour of Lazaro and his men; upon which he beheaded two of the officers, and hanged three of the common men, who were the moſt active in the diſturbance. The natives ſeeing how ſtrictly juſtice was adminiſtered under the direction of Betancour, willingly returned to their ſubjection to the Europeans.

The four iſlands, Lancerota, Fuertaventura, Gomera, and Hierro, being now conquered, the natives converted, and order eſtabliſhed among them, Betancour, after taking ſome repoſe, began to think ſeriouſly of retrieving his honour at Canaria; accordingly in November he muſtered all his forces, embarked with them, and ſailed for Canaria: but fearing his ſhips might be deſcried by the natives of that iſland, he avoided approaching the coaſt till evening, and under favour of the night, he anchored in the port of Gando, diſembarked his men ſilently, placed ſome in ambuſh, and prepared for an attack by day break. However, the Canarians having, ſince the firſt invaſion of their iſland, kept a conſtant look-out for an enemy; and ſhips may be ſeen from the tops of the high mountains of Canaria at a great diſtance. He found his ſchemes all fruſtrated; for, the evening before, the natives had diſcovered his fleet, and were prepared to give thoſe diſturbers a warm reception: accordingly, when the Europeans diſembarked

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in the night, they watched all their motions, unperceived by them; and after having formed counter ambuſcades, they gave a great ſhout, as a ſignal for the attack, and fell ſuddenly upon Betancour and his men with ſuch impetuoſity, that they were put to the rout, great numbers being killed and wounded. Had it not been for Betancour's remarkable preſence of mind in rallying his men for a retreat, joined with the courage and diſcipline of his troops, not one of thoſe that had landed could have eſcaped; and, after all, it was with the greateſt difficulty they regained their ſhips. This repulſe obliged Betancour to return back to Lancerota and Fuertaventura, where he remained ſome time inconſolable; but at length began to contrive how to repair his bad fortune. Revolving many ſchemes, he determined to go again to Spain, and ſolicit aſſiſtance from the king of Caſtile, Henry III.

He then ſent for the chiefs of the four iſlands, natives as well as Europeans, to whom he opened his mind, telling them, at the ſame time, that he hoped ſhortly to return with large ſupplies, and promiſed to go to Rome, to requeſt of the pope to ſend over a biſhop to take care of their ſouls. He recommended to them to live in concord during his abſence; and gave them ſome neceſſary inſtructions to the preſerving peace with the natives; acquainting them at the ſame time, that he intended to make his nephew, Maſon de Betancour, governor in his abſence. He then proceeded to make a partition of lands, reſerving to himſelf the fifth part of the produce of the four iſlands; but declared to the Europeans who had aſſiſted him in conquering, that he would deprive them of no part of their preſent poſſeſſions till the expiration of nine years. This exemption he intended as a reward for their fidelity and the hardſhips they had endured. To Maſon de Betancour he made over the third part of his fifth of the produce of the iſlands, and declared him ſole inheritor after his death. He gave him orders to build two churches, one in Lancerota, which is named St. Mary de Betancour; and the other in Fuertaventura, called the church of St. Mary, from which the valley and village ſo called, take their names.

The government being thus ſettled, Betancour gathered all the orchilla, goat ſkins, tallow, and ſlaves, he could procure, embarked them in three ſhips, and ſet ſail, leaving another ſhip in Lancerota to load with orchilla, which he ordered his nephew to ſend to Italy. He arrived ſafe at the port of St. Lucar, and then went to the court of Caſtile, where he was graciouſly received by the guardians to the young prince don John. They were greatly pleaſed to hear from his own mouth an account of the Canary Iſlands, with his adventures there. They promiſed him their aſſiſtance in reducing thoſe which remained unconquered, made him many valuable preſents, and furniſhed him with an equipage and every thing neceſſary for his journey to Rome, at their own expence. After remaining ſome time in that city, he went to Avignon, to wait on pope Benedict XIII. who, at his requeſt, appointed a biſhop for the Canary Iſlands, with the title of biſhop of Rubicon. From Avignon our adventurer went to Normandy, to viſit his relations, and to ſettle ſome differences with his brother, Reynald de Betancour: from thence he went to Granville, where he fell ſick and died, aged ſeventy years, eight of which he had employed in the conqueſt of the Canary Iſlands.

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After Betancour's departure for Europe, his nephew governed the iſlands for ſome time with the approbation of the natives, who obeyed him, as they had done his uncle, whoſe return with a powerful force they daily expected. But when he heard

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of his uncle's death, he changed his conduct, (for he now conſidered himſelf as ſole lord and commander of the iſlands) and began to govern them more abſolutely than either he or his uncle had hitherto done. However, the natives had diſcernment enough to perceive that the great authority which he aſſumed had but a ſhallow foundation, inaſmuch as they had heard of the death of John de Betancour, and that it was uncertain whether the ſuccours expected from Europe would arrive: they took courage therefore to oppoſe him in ſome of his arbitrary proceedings. This alarmed Maſon, and made him ſuſpect the natives had ſome bad deſign againſt him; in conſequence of which he treated them with ſtill greater harſhneſs. In the mean time he made ſeveral deſcents upon the unconquered iſlands, merely to make priſoners, whom he ſent to Spain to be ſold for ſlaves. In all theſe proceedings he was ſtrongly oppoſed by the biſhop, who ſent to his brother, at the court of Caſtile, to complain of his bad conduct, which commiſſion was performed ſo well, that he gave much diſquiet to Maſon, and grievouſly harraſſed him with heavy law-ſuits. At length the affair came to the ears of the infante don Ferdinando and queen Catharine, who were much diſpleaſed to find their new ſubjects of the Canary Iſlands had been ſo maltreated; and therefore empowered the count of Niebla, don Henry de Guzman, to enquire into the affair and redreſs the injured parties; upon which the count fitted out five ſhips to go to the iſlands with ſupplies of every kind, and gave the command of them to Pedro Barba de Campos, one of the twenty-four of Seville.

At that time Hernand Peraza, who was alſo one of the twenty-four of Seville, had ſome claim to the Canary Iſlands. It was his father who obtained a grant from the king of Caſtile, Henry III. of the iſlands, in 1395, in right of which Peraza now put in his claim, but his pretenſions met with no favourable reception at court. However, his ſon-in-law, Guillen Peraza, then alcade mayor of Seville, engaged Pedro Barba de Campos to endeavour to purchaſe the iſlands from Maſon de Betancour: the ſame was likewiſe recommended to him by the queen and count Niebla.

With theſe inſtructions he ſet ſail from St. Lucar, and arrived at Lancerota, but was hindered from landing by Maſon, who drew up all his forces on the ſhore to oppoſe him. Pedro Barba then deſiſted from landing by force, and rather choſe to compromiſe matters amicably, by the intervention of a third perſon. After many meſſages had paſſed between him and Maſon, the latter agreed to return to Spain with Pedro Barba, to clear his conduct with reſpect to the government of the iſlands. Accordingly they ſet ſail, and after a ſhort paſſage arrived at St. Lucar, where Maſon waited on the count of Niebla, and was cleared from his accuſation. He was then prevailed on by the count to ſell the iſlands to him for a certain ſum, reſerving to himſelf the government of them for life. It may be ſuppoſed that his acquittal from the charge laid againſt him, was in a great meaſure owing to his acquieſcence with
A. D. 1418. the propoſed ſale. This ſale was made with the conſent of the king, John II. upon the ſigning of which the count of Niebla fitted out the ſhips, &c. which he thought neceſſary for reducing the unconquered iſlands, and ſent them, under the command of Maſon, to Lancerota. When he arrived there, he made ſeveral attempts to ſubdue the reſt of the iſlands, which all proved unſucceſsful; ſo that he began to repent his having taken upon him ſo painful and unprofitable a charge; and what gave him more reaſon ſo to do, was his being daily on worſe terms with the inhabitants, who were ſupported in their oppoſition to him by the biſhop. Theſe diſagreeable circumſtances determined him to leave thoſe iſlands to go to the iſland of Madeira;

Madeira; accordingly he went and ſettled there, and married his daughter, donna Maria, to Luis Gonzales Dacama, captain-general of the iſland. This lady having no children, his couſins, Henry and Jaſper de Betancour, became heirs to his eſtates in Madeira.

Notwithſtanding Maſon de Betancour had already ſold the Canary Iſlands to the count of Niebla, he ſold them again to the infante, don Henry of Portugal.

Don Henry de Guzman being now become lord of the Canary Iſlands, ſent at different times a number of ſhips, ſoldiers, ammunition, &c. to reduce thoſe yet unconquered. Theſe expeditions coſt him great ſums of money, for which he received no returns; and the iſlanders defended themſelves with ſo much reſolution and bravery, that the conqueſt was in a manner deemed impracticable. At that time he had but little leiſure to attend to the affairs of the Canary Iſlands, being more honourably employed in war againſt the Moors in Granada. This induced him to give the iſlands to Guillen Peraza, at whoſe requeſt he had purchaſed them, and procured a ratification of this from the court. Guillen Peraza went over to Lancerota, from whence he made a viſit to the other iſlands. Having nominated ſome officers, and regulated the government of the iſlands, he returned to Seville, where he died, and was ſucceeded in his poſſeſſions by his nephew, a young man, named Guillen Peraza, who reſolved to go to the Canary Iſlands, to conquer ſuch of them as were not yet ſubdued, and which had hitherto been attacked with ſo little ſucceſs. For this end he fitted out three ſhips at Seville, in which he embarked, with two hundred bowmen, for Lancerota and Fuertaventura, where he arrived, raiſed three hundred men more, then ſailed with all his forces to Gomera, and from thence to the iſland of Palma. Here he landed. Immediately on diſembarking, they marched into the country, which is exceeding high and rocky: the forces from Seville being unaccuſtomed to ſuch rough ways, were greatly incommoded and harraſſed by the natives, who leaped from rock to rock with great eaſe, and galled the Spaniards in ſuch a manner as obliged them to retreat. Peraza rallying his men, received a blow with a ſtone, which killed him on the ſpot. His troops fled, and reimbarked, after having ſuffered a conſiderable loſs: nevertheleſs, they carried off the dead body of the general to Lancerota, where it was interred with great lamentation.

Guillen Peraza had a ſiſter, called donna Ignes Peraza, who married to one Diogo de Herrera, who, in virtue of this marriage, became lord of the Canary Iſlands, in the year 1444. Immediately after the nuptials, he fitted out three ſhips, and embarked with his wife and a great number of gentlemen and ladies at St. Lucar, and ſailed for the iſlands. Theſe ſhips arrived at Lancerota, where Diogo de Herrera and his lady ſtaid ſome time, and then went to viſit the reſt of the conquered iſlands, to inſpect into the adminiſtration of juſtice, and promote the converſion of the natives. They were received with great reſpect by the inhabitants, who entertained them in the beſt manner they were capable of.

Diogo de Herrera was only twenty-ſeven years of age when he undertook this expedition. After he had made the neceſſary regulations in the government, he made ſeveral deſcents on the coaſt of Barbary and the unconquered iſlands; in all which he conſtantly met with the moſt obſtinate reſiſtance in the iſland of Canaria, from whence he was often beaten off with loſs: therefore finding that nothing could be done by force, he reſolved to try what he could do with the natives by pacific meaſures.

A. D. 1461. ſures. To this end he went with ſome ſhips and barks to the port of Iſletas, in Auguſt, taking with him the biſhop of Rubicon, the lieutenant-governor of the iſlands, and many other gentlemen, with ſome perſons who ſpoke the Canary language. When the natives perceived the ſhips, they gave the alarm all over the iſland, and came down in great numbers; the biſhop gave them to underſtand that they came with no hoſtile intention, but, on the contrary, to make peace, and trade with them; which ſo far ſatisfied them, that they permitted the Spaniards to come on ſhore unarmed, where they remained ſome days, giving and receiving preſents. The princes of Telde and Galdar came and paid their reſpects to Diogo, who then took poſſeſſion in form of the iſland, on the 16th of Auguſt. After this ceremony, of which it is probable the natives underſtood not the meaning, Diogo returned with his fleet to Lancerota, highly pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his expedition.

Next year the biſhop, moved with an ardent zeal to gather his ſcattered ſheep of Canaria into the fold of the Romiſh church, went there, accompanied by the captain and governor of the iſland, and three hundred men, and anchored in the port of Gando, where the natives would by no means allow them to diſembark. The biſhop by fair words and ſoft ſpeeches, endeavoured to ſooth them into compliance, but in vain: they told him they would not, on any account, ſuffer armed men to land; that if the Europeans ſtood in need of any thing, they had only to ſpeak, and they would bring them what they wanted; but if they perſiſted in their deſign to land, they were ready to oppoſe them. The Europeans ſeeing the ſtrength and reſolution of the natives, thought it moſt prudent to return to Lancerota.

In the year 1464, Herrera and the biſhop came again to Canaria, where, finding the whole iſland in arms, they did not attempt to land, but ſailed to Teneriffe, where the natives of that place alſo prepared to oppoſe their landing; but when Diogo and the biſhop aſſured them they came only to cultivate their friendſhip, and to trade with them, they were ſoon appeaſed, and readily permitted them to come on ſhore. The biſhop then began to talk to them about their converſion, whilſt Herrera in form took poſſeſſion of the iſland, it is ſaid, by conſent of the natives, but it will appear by what happened afterwards, that they underſtood not the meaning of the ceremony. The Europeans on this occaſion took notice of the great numbers who had aſſembled themſelves to hinder their landing, and ſaw that at that time nothing was to be done by force; they therefore prudently embarked and ſailed for Lancerota. The biſhop carried with him from thence a young man, whom he ſoon after converted, and baptized by the name of Anthony. This youth became a moſt fervent votary and devout worſhipper of the virgin Mary, and was the firſt who gave notice to the Europeans of her image which was in Teneriffe. This Anthony being on a cruize among the iſlands with Herrera, gave him the ſlip at Teneriffe, and made the beſt of his way home, being deſirous to ſee his relations and friends after ſo long a ſeparation. On his arrival, he informed them that the image they had in the iſland repreſented the mother of him who ſuſtained heaven and earth. The natives of Teneriffe (called Guanches) have ever ſince that time paid this image great reſpect and veneration.

At that time there was ſome difference between the courts of Caſtile and Portugal concerning the Canary Iſlands, occaſioned by the ſale of them which Maſon de Betancour had made to the infante of Portugal, don Henry. Don Henry equipped a fleet

fleet of carvels, which carried a thouſand men and one hundred horſe, and gave the command of this armament to Antonio Gonzales, a gentleman of his houſhold, with orders to take poſſeſſion of the iſlands. When he came to Lancerota, Herrera oppoſed his landing, and killed ſome of his men. When don Henry heard of this, he was much diſpleaſed, alledging that his deſign in the expedition was only to convert the natives to the catholic faith without bloodſhed.

The infante don Ferdinando, of Portugal, pretended alſo a right to the Canary Iſlands, by virtue of a gift from the infante don Henry: to ſupport this claim he armed ſome carvels, and ſent them well provided to the iſlands, under the command of Diogo de Silva, who came with his fleet to Lancerota in the year 1466, where he found Herrera ready with his forces to oppoſe his landing. Silva ſeeing it would be a difficult matter to land by force, and that even afterwards the ſucceſs might be doubtful, began to treat with Herrera, who ſuffered him to land peaceably unarmed, and entertained him hoſpitably. In the mean time a veſſel arrived with advice that all differences between the two courts were happily adjuſted and terminated by a peace, and that the infantes had given up their pretenſions to the Canary Iſlands; which news gave great ſatisfaction to both parties. Herrera had then in Lancerota a moſt beautiful daughter, with whom Diogo de Silva became greatly enamoured, and prevailed with her parents to conſent to their marriage, which was ſoon after conſummated; he received from them, as her dowry, a third part of the revenues of Lancerota and Fuertaventura.

Herrera now ſeeing ſo many men in the iſland by the addition of the Portugueſe, thought it a proper time to reduce Canaria. With this view he communicated his intention to his ſon-in-law, Diogo de Silva, who readily came into the propoſal. They accordingly embarked, and arrived with their forces at the port of Gando, where they landed in good order; and being now ſo ſtrong, they thought it no longer neceſſary to obſerve that caution and circumſpection in their march into the country, which they had done in their former deſcents. The natives, as ſoon as they diſcovered the ſhips, gathered together in vaſt numbers, and marched againſt their invaders with great reſolution, not being in the leaſt intimidated by their numbers; and dividing themſelves into ſmall bodies, they attacked the Europeans, and obliged them to retreat. The place where they engaged was ſo very rocky and unequal, that the Europeans could reap but little advantage from the ſuperior diſcipline of their troops. The enemy by this time were well armed, for beſides their own country weapons, they had many others, which they had taken from the Europeans at the different times of their incurſions, and in the management of which they were become tolerably expert. But they annoyed the Europeans moſtly with their ſharp-pointed ſticks or poles, hardened in the fire, and uſed both as darts and lances, which pierced the targets, and even went through the coats of mail; and whenever they drew the foe into a hollow place, they made great havock, by rolling huge ſtones down upon them from the neighbouring precipices. The Europeans continued retreating till they came to a kind of natural fortreſs, near the ſea ſhore, where they made a ſtand, and poſted themſelves in ſuch a manner, that the natives could not attack them but to great diſadvantage. Herrera perceiving the great loſs he had ſuſtained, and conſidering that the whole force of the iſland was collected to oppoſe him, reſolved to ſend a detachment by ſea to another part of the iſland, in order to make a diverſion.

Accord-

Accordingly, in the night he ſent De Silva with two hundred men, in three carvels, together with two officers experienced in theſe deſcents, and who ſpoke the Canary language. The troops arrived at the port of Agumaſtel, and by day-break, being all ſafely landed, formed in the neighbourhood of Galdar, without being diſcovered, and marched forward till they came to a ſteep eminence, covered with trees and buſhes, which they were obliged to paſs. The people of that part of the iſland having at length diſcovered the ſhips at anchor, and ſeeing ſtrangers aſcending the mountain, aſſembled to attack them; but obſerving the route the Europeans were taking, they let them alone till they had gained the top of the aſcent, when the natives immediately ſecured the paſs by which they had gone up, and ſet fire to the buſhes, to prevent their returning by that way to their ſhips. De Silva and his men finding their retreat cut off, deſcended on the other ſide of the mountain into a plain near the village of Galdar, where they found a large place, incloſed by a ſtone wall, into which they retired for ſecurity. As ſoon as the natives perceived this, they gave a great ſhout, as they were uſed to do when they gained a victory, and immediately ſurrounded the place ſo cloſely, that the Europeans had no way to eſcape. They had continued two days and two nights ſhut up in this place, without any thing to eat or drink; and the number of the natives ſtill increaſing, they found themſelves quite deſtitute of all human reſource, and therefore abandoned themſelves to deſpair.

There was a woman among the inhabitants of Galdar, a relation of the guanarteme of that place, named Maria Laſirga. She had been a captive ſome time in Lancerota, but was ſent back to her parents in Canaria, in exchange for an European priſoner. This woman ſpake the two languages well, and being moved with compaſſion at the approaching fate of the Europeans, ſhe came to the place in which they were incloſed, and ſeeing the two officers that accompanied De Silva in this expedition, ſhe recollected them again, having been often at their houſes in Lancerota. She declared that the natives intended to put them all to death that night; and that there was not the leaſt proſpect of their eſcaping but by ſurrendering at diſcretion to the guanarteme, her uncle, whoſe generous temper (ſhe ſaid) ſhe knew ſo well, that it was very certain he would releaſe, and let them all return to their ſhips. Moreover, ſhe earneſtly intreated them not to hold out any longer. The Europeans, ſenſible of their impending fate, agreed to the propoſal, and employed her to manage the buſineſs of reconciliation: demanding only of the guanarteme to give his word to ſpare their lives. When Maria had delivered this meſſage to her uncle, the guanarteme of Galdar, he determined at all events to ſave them; and being reſpected by the Canarians, ſo wrought upon them all, that they agreed to ſpare the lives of the Europeans. The matter thus ſettled, the guanarteme went to De Silva, and gave his word that neither himſelf nor the reſt of the natives would do him or his followers any harm; upon which they delivered up their arms. The guanarteme then embraced De Silva, ſhewed him many tokens of friendſhip and compaſſion, conducted him to the village of Galdar, where he reſided, and gave him and his troops both meat and drink, of which they ſtood in great need; and after they had refreſhed themſelves, the guanarteme and chiefs of the village, together with a number of the natives, conducted them to their ſhips. On their march they came to a very high and ſteep precipice, with a path ſo narrow that only one perſon at a time could deſcend: here Diogo de Silva and his men ſuſpected that the natives had betrayed,

and

and intended to throw them down headlong from the precipice; accordingly they intimated their ſuſpicion to the Canarians, and accuſed them of a breach of faith. The natives, when they underſtood this, were extremely affronted: the guanarteme, however, made no reply to this accuſation, but deſired De Silva to take hold of the ſkirt of his garment, and he would lead him down; he likewiſe ordered his men in the ſame manner to aſſiſt the Europeans: thus they all deſcended ſafe to the bottom, from whence was a road to the ſhore near where the ſhips lay at anchor. The guanarteme and his people then gave them leave to embark, but complained much of their being ſuſpected. De Silva was at a loſs how to expreſs his gratitude for this humane and generous behaviour; and when he went on board, made him a preſent of a gilt ſword and a ſcarlet cloak, and to each of the gayres a fine muſquet: he then took his leave. De Silva and his detachment returned to Herrera at Gando, to whom they related the whole of what had befel them; at which he was greatly aſtoniſhed, and could not conceive whence theſe barbarians had acquired ſuch noble ſentiments of valour and generoſity. However, this did not prevent him from attacking them a ſecond time; but, upon being joined again by Diogo de Silva and his corps, marched forward with the whole of his forces, to give battle to the iſlanders. The Canarians, on their ſide, far from being backward to engage, met them with great intrepidity, and a bloody battle enſued, in which the natives were worſted, and obliged to retreat. Many were killed and wounded on both ſides; but the Europeans took ſome priſoners, among whom was a valiant chief, named Mananidra, whom De Silva remembered, and mindful of what he owed him, he went immediately to Herrera, and earneſtly intreated him to give this man his liberty, who at length granted his requeſt. De Silva then ſent him away, loaded with many valuable preſents.

The Portugueſe ſeeing no proſpect of ſpeedily reducing the iſland, were greatly chagrined and diſcontented, and begged of their chief, De Silva, to allow them to return to Portugal. When Herrera was made acquainted with this murmuring among the troops, he thought it moſt expedient to make peace with the guanarteme of Galdar, and return to Lancerota, where he delivered his daughter, donna Maria, to her huſband, together with a great number of ſlaves of both ſexes, that had been taken in ſundry expeditions againſt the iſlands; with whom De Silva embarked, together with his troops, and returned to Liſbon, where he and his lady were moſt graciouſly received by king Alonzo. From this marriage are deſcended the preſent counts of Pontalegre in Portugal.

Although Herrera had the reduction of Canaria greatly at heart, yet he laid aſide all thoughts of accompliſhing it by dint of arms; for, beſides the departure of the Portugueſe, his own vaſſals and the natives of the conquered iſlands were heartily tired of ſo many unſucceſsful attempts, and deſirous of reſting from the fatigues of war, in order to enjoy tranquillity at home with their families. Theſe things conſidered, made Herrera think proper to go another way to work, which would require time and patience. For this purpoſe, accompanied by the biſhop, he went with ſome ſhips to Gando, which he imagined to be the fitteſt place for his deſign. The iſlanders diſcovered his ſhips, from the mountains, while they were yet at a conſiderable diſtance from the land, and by means of their ſignals, inſtantly alarmed the whole iſland; when the main body marched to Gando, to wait the arrival of the Europeans: but ſeeing them approach peaceably and without arms, they held a conference with

them. The guanartemes and faycags, or prieſts, were preſent at this interview, which ended in eſtabliſhing a firm peace and a mutual intercourſe of trade between the two parties. The biſhop and Herrera, under pretence of having a place of worſhip for ſuch of their people as ſhould come to trade in the iſland, obtained leave of the natives to build a fort at Gando. By this treaty Herrera was to have all the orchilla weed which the iſland produced, on paying the people's labour who gathered it: and, to remove all cauſe of diſtruſt from the natives, he gave them twelve hoſtages for the due performance of the treaty. The priſoners on both ſides were by this peace to be ſet at liberty. The Europeans now began with all diligence to erect the fort, in which they received great aſſiſtance from the Canarians, who ſupplied them with plenty of timber from the mountains, and otherwiſe laboured for them, ſo that in a ſhort time the fort was compleated. It was ſpacious, and well ſituated, being built on a high rock, cloſe to the harbour. Herrera ſtaid there ſome few days after it was finiſhed; and, before his departure, took care to furniſh it with a ſufficient quantity of ammunition and proviſions, leaving a good garriſon, commanded by one Pedro Chemida, with orders that, notwithſtanding the treaty of peace, if a fair opportunity ſhould offer of making himſelf maſter of the iſland, he ſhould by no means neglect it: at the ſame time adviſing him, if poſſible, to divide the natives, by fomenting quarrels and ſtirring up jealouſies among them, ſo as to form a party in favour of the Europeans. After giving theſe inſtructions, he departed for Lancerota, in company with the biſhop, highly pleaſed with the ſucceſs of his project, of which he hoped ſoon to reap the moſt agreeable fruits.

Notwithſtanding the peace which had been ſo lately concluded, Chemida ſought a proper opportunity to make himſelf maſter of the iſland, and purpoſely did ſeveral things which he knew would be offenſive to the natives, who thereupon complained to him of not taking proper care to obſerve the ſeveral articles of the treaty which they had made with Herrera, and accuſed him of privately ſeizing and concealing certain noble Canarians with a deſign to ſend them away from the iſland; but finding that Chemida gave no ear to their complaints, nor ſhewed the leaſt inclination to redreſs their grievances, they departed, and reſolved to watch an opportunity of being avenged on their oppreſſors. It happened ſoon after, that ſome of the Spaniards going careleſsly out of the fort, the Canarians fell upon them, and killed five. Upon this Chemida complained to the chiefs of the iſland; who, in their turn, refuſing to give him any ſatisfaction, he therefore reſolved to do himſelf juſtice by force. This kindled the flames of war anew between the two nations, to the no ſmall effuſion of blood. The Canarians now perceived their error, in having allowed the Spaniards to build this fort, which bid defiance to their united forces.

Soon after, as ſome of the garriſon were out on one of theſe marauding parties, the natives deſignedly drove ſome cattle in their way, as it were by accident, and thus drew them by degrees to a conſiderable diſtance from the fort, into an ambuſh, while another party of the natives was poſted in ſuch a manner as to cut off their retreat to the fort. On a ſignal concerted between them, thoſe in ambuſh ſuddenly fell upon Chemida's men, and killed a great number; the reſt, who upon this fled towards the fort, fell into the hands of the other party, who killed ſome of them, and took the others priſoners. The captain Mananidra, who had the command of this enterpriſe, ſtripped the Europeans, both living and dead, of their cloaths, which he made one half

half of his men put on, and placed the other half in ambuſh very near the fort; he then ordered ſome of the Canarians, in their own proper habits, to chace thoſe dreſſed like Spaniards towards the fort. Chemida, and his men who remained there, ſeeing this purſuit, and believing their party was worſted, ſallied out to the relief of their ſuppoſed countrymen, leaving the gates open; when the party who were in ambuſh perceiving this, ruſhed into the fort, while the diſguiſed Canarians fell upon the Spaniards, and made them priſoners. After this manner was the fort of Gando taken; and leſt another garriſon ſhould be ſent from Lancerota, they burnt the wood of the fort, and raſed the walls thereof to the ground; but as to the priſoners, they treated them with gentleneſs and humanity. A ſmall fiſhing bark at that time happened to be in the port, which ſailed immediately and gave notice of the loſs of the fort to Herrera, who was extremely grieved; but the biſhop was afflicted beyond meaſure; for being now old, he loſt all hopes of bringing the natives to the profeſſion of the Romiſh faith.

The taking of the fort of Gando manifeſtly ſhews what kind of people the Canarians were, and that they wanted neither courage or conduct. In the courſe of the long war between them and the Europeans, they gave many ſignal inſtances of their warlike diſpoſition; it is hard to determine whether they were more ſubtle in contriving ſtratagems, or courageous in the time of action. Among other contrivances they had to ſurpriſe the enemy, the following merits notice: they trained a great number of ſea-gulls, which they kept in and about the villages near the ſea ſhore; and when they ſaw any barks approaching, they laid an ambuſh near one of thoſe villages. The Europeans having experienced the ſubtlety of theſe people, never went on ſhore to carry off captives, or to plunder, but they firſt carefully looked about them, and examined every corner where they imagined there might be people concealed, and never went far from their boats. Once a number of Spaniards from Lancerota landed, and ſeeing no body near the ſhore, they ventured to go a ſmall diſtance in land, where was a large village; upon the ſight of which they were going to retreat, but obſerving ſea-gulls flying about the houſes, they concluded it to be uninhabited, ſo they went boldly up to it, when on a ſudden the natives ruſhed from their hiding places, ſurrounded and made them all priſoners.

The Europeans in the iſlands became every day more and more diſcontented and diſſatisfied with Herrera, who obliged them to go upon thoſe hazardous enterpriſes to ſo little purpoſe; but when they heard of the captivity of Chemida with his garriſon, they loſt all patience. Many of them went to the iſland of Madeira, in order to get a paſſage from thence to Spain, to lay their grievances before thoſe who had power to redreſs them. The Canarians, after having made Chemida and his garriſon priſoners, treated them extremely well, and regaled them with the beſt they had. Pedro was ſo well acquainted with their diſpoſition, and managed them ſo artfully, as to perſuade them that they had been the aggreſſors in the war, and had done wrong in raſing the tower of Gando, inſomuch that they called a meeting of the guanartemes, faycags, and principal people; at which it was agreed to ſend ten ambaſſadors to Lancerota, to make their excuſes to Herrera. Theſe envoys embarked in a Lancerota veſſel, and carried with them Chemida, his garriſon, and the twelve hoſtages. When they arrived there, they waited on Herrera, aſked pardon for what they had done, and preſented the priſoners and hoſtages. They were graciouſly received, kindly

entertained, and all paſt offences were forgiven. A new treaty was then made, by which all the orchilla in the iſland appertained to Herrera, who on his part was to reſtore all the Canarians that were then in Lancerota and Fuertaventura. When the vaſſals of Herrera, who went to Madeira, heard of this peace, (which was concluded on the 11th of January, 1476) and of the return of the captives from Canaria, they wanted to return to their allegiance to their lord, and enter again upon their former poſſeſſions; but Herrera would not ſo much as permit them to come upon the iſland of Lancerota. Upon which they went to Caſtile, and laid their complaints before their majeſties, Ferdinando and Iſabella, who gave orders to enquire into the affair, and that Herrera ſhould be ſent for, to anſwer the charges laid againſt him. He appeared at court, where he made a good defence: but their majeſties, who had in view to add the three unconquered iſlands to the crown of Spain, pretended that Herrera was not able to make himſelf maſter of them by his own power, and that it was abſolutely neceſſary they ſhould be conquered, in order to bring the natives over to the Chriſtian faith. Herrera was obliged to comply, and received in lieu of all his right to Canaria, Teneriffe, and Palma, five millions of maravedis, with the title of count of Gomera for his eldeſt ſon.

A. D. 1476.

After the ceſſion of the three iſlands to the crown, Herrera returned to Lancerota, and determined to go over to Barbary, to ſuccour the caſtle of Mar Pequeno, which he had built on that coaſt, oppoſite the iſland of Lancerota, and which was then beſieged by the ſheriff, with an army of ten thouſand foot and three thouſand horſe. He accordingly embarked ſeven hundred men, with the utmoſt expedition, on board five ſhips, and ſoon after arrived before the caſtle; which when the ſheriff underſtood, he raiſed the ſiege, and Herrera returned to Lancerota.

Some time after, a Moor, of about thirty years of age, called Helegrut, came to the caſtle of Mar Pequeno, deſiring to be made a Chriſtian. This man told the governor, Chriſtopher Tenorio, that if Herrera would return to Barbary with his forces, he would ſhew him where he might make a valuable prize. Upon this the governor ſent him over to Lancerota, where he was kindly received and entertained by Herrera, who, according to his deſire, cauſed him to be baptized by the name of Juan Camacho. This man perſuaded Herrera to return with a conſiderable force to Mar Pequeno; from whence he ſet out and marched towards Tagaoſt, till he came to a place where was an adouar, or company of Moors dwelling in tents, whom he approached unperceived; and then giving the cry of "St. Iago!" (or St. James) ſuddenly attacked them, and took one hundred and fifty-eight priſoners, men, women and children included, with whom he returned to the caſtle. Juan Camacho ſerved as his guide in this expedition, as he did in all thoſe which he afterwards undertook to the coaſt of Barbary, being no leſs in number than forty-ſix. In theſe he ſeldom failed of ſucceſs, never returning without a conſiderable number of priſoners.

Our author ſays he knew this Moor, and had often heard him relate his adventures. He died at laſt peaceably in his bed, at Lancerota, in the year 1591, aged one hundred and forty-ſix years. He walked perfectly upright, and could ſee clearly till the time he was taken ſick and died. Two years before his death, he married a Mooriſh girl, of twenty years of age, by whom he had a ſon, at leaſt it was generally ſuppoſed to be his.

In

In the foregoing account we find that John de Betancour named this iſland Gran Canaria, adding the epithet Grand to its former name Canaria. He did not this on account of its ſize, for it is not the largeſt of the Canary Iſlands, but becauſe of the ſtrength, courage, and number of its inhabitants, who baffled all his attempts to ſubdue them. But how it came by the name Canaria, is not eaſy to determine.

Our author gives two opinions concerning the name Canaria. The firſt, that in Canaria there are a great many thorny buſhes, which bear fruit of a red colour, called in Latin, Uva Canina, i. e. Dog's Grape. Thoſe who diſcovered this iſland in the time of the Romans, ſeeing ſuch a number of thoſe buſhes, might from them name the iſland Canaria.

The ſecond opinion is, that it is named Canaria, becauſe it abounds with an herb, called in Latin, Canaria, (but in the Caſtillian language, Triguera) which the dogs eat in the ſpring, to cauſe themſelves to vomit or purge.

When the Europeans came firſt to Gran Canaria, that iſland was ſuppoſed to contain no leſs than fourteen thouſand fighting men; but a great ſickneſs or plague prevailing amongſt them ſome time after, it ſwept away two-thirds of the inhabitants. They were of a dark complexion, well proportioned, and of a good ſtature; active, warlike, chearful, good-natured, and ſtrictly faithful to their promiſes, inſomuch that they conſidered a lye as the greateſt of crimes. They were very fond of hazardous enterpriſes, ſuch as climbing to the top of ſteep precipices, to pitch poles of ſo great a weight, that one of them was a ſufficient burden for a man of common ſtrength to carry on level ground.

The Canarians had nobility among them, who were diſtinguiſhed from the vulgar by the peculiar cut of their hair and beards. It was not ſufficient to entitle a man to nobility, that he was the offspring of noble or rich parents; but he was to be formally declared noble by the faycag, a perſon of great rank, and next in dignity to the guanarteme, whoſe buſineſs it was to decide differences among the natives, and regulate the ceremonies of their religion: in ſhort, he was a prieſt, and acted alſo as a judge in civil affairs.

In their wars, they held it as baſe and mean to moleſt or injure the women and children of the enemy, conſidering them as weak and helpleſs, therefore improper objects of their reſentment: neither did they throw down or damage the houſes of worſhip. The weapons uſed by the Canarians in war, were clubs, and ſharp-pointed poles, hardened by fire. But after the Europeans began to invade their iſland, they made targets, in imitation of theirs; and ſwords of Te-a, or pitch-pine, the edges of which were hardened by fire, and tempered in ſuch a manner that they cut like ſteel.

Beſides theſe, they had many other weapons, taken at different times from the Europeans, and which they carefully preſerved, and made good uſe of in the day of battle. But their chief ſtrength lay in the before-mentioned wooden ſpears, and ſtones, which they threw with a great force and dexterity.

They had public places ſet apart for fighting duels, in which were eminences or ſtages, raiſed for the combatants to fight on. When a challenge was given and accepted, the parties went to the council of the iſland, called in the Canarian language Sabor, (which conſiſted of twelve members, called Gayres) for a licence to fight, which was eaſily obtained. Then they went to the faycag to have this licence confirmed;

firmed; which being done, they gathered together all their relations and friends, to be ſpectators of their gallantry and behaviour. The company then repaired to the public place, or theatre, where the combatants mounted upon two ſtones, placed at the oppoſite ſides of it, each ſtone being flat at top, and about half a yard in diameter. On theſe they ſtood faſt, without moving their feet, till each had thrown three round ſtones at his antagoniſt. Though they were good markſmen, yet they generally avoided thoſe miſſive weapons by the agile writhing of their bodies. Then arming themſelves with ſharp flints in their left hands, and cudgels or clubs in their right, they drew near and fell on, beating and cutting each other till they were tired; when the parties, by conſent, retired with their friends, to eat and drink, but ſoon after returned to the ſcene of action, and renewed the engagement, cudgelled and cut each other with great dexterity as before, until the gayres called out "Gama! gama!" (i. e. Enough! enough! or Give over!) when they immediately left off, and ever after remained good friends.

If during the time of the combat, one of the parties happened to break his cudgel, then the other immediately deſiſted from ſtriking, and ſo the diſpute ended, and the parties were reconciled, neither of them being declared victor. Thoſe duels were generally fought on public feſtivals, rejoicings, or ſuch like occaſions, which drew together a great concourſe of people, when the combatants had an opportunity to diſplay their dexterity, ſtrength, and valour. Theſe ſpectacles made a great impreſſion on the minds of the youth, exciting in them a ſpirit of emulation to excel in gallant feats. If either of the combatants happened to be deeply wounded, they beat a ruſh till it become like tow, and dipping it in melted goats butter, applied it to the wound, as hot as the patient could bear it: the older the butter was, the ſooner it effected a cure.

None of the Canarians had more than one wife, and the wife one huſband, contrary to what ſome miſinformed authors affirm. When the parents were inclined to marry their daughter, they ſet her apart thirty days, during which they fed her with large quantities of milk and goffio, in order to fatten her; for they imagined lean women were leſs capable of conceiving children than thoſe who were fat. It has alſo been ſaid, that the night before the bride was preſented to her huſband, ſhe was delivered to the guanarteme, who, if he did not chuſe to lie with her himſelf, gave her to the faycag, or to ſome other noble perſon of his intimate acquaintance, to enjoy her: but the preſent natives deny that ſuch a cuſtom ever exiſted among their anceſtors. They were very careful in the education of their children, and never failed to chaſtiſe them when they did amiſs. It was alſo cuſtomary to propoſe two of the youths as examples for the reſt, the one of virtue, the other of vice.

The Canarians had among them religious women, called Magadas, a number of whom lived together in one houſe, which were held ſacred; and criminals who fled to any of them, were protected from the officers of juſtice. The magadas were diſtinguiſhed from other women by their long white garments, which ſwept the ground as they walked. The convents or houſes in which they dwelt were called Tamoganteen Acoran, i. e. houſes of God; but houſes of worſhip were called by the Canarians Almogaren, i. e. temples, or holy houſes: they were daily ſprinkled with the milk of goats, from whom they did not take the kids, and which were ſet apart for giving milk for that purpoſe. They held that this Acoran dwelt on high, and governed every thing

thing on earth. They adored him by putting their hands together, and lifting them towards heaven.

In the iſland there are two rocks, one in the diſtrict of Galdar, named Tirmac; the other Telde, called Vinicaya. To theſe rocks they went in proceſſion in times of public calamity, accompanied by the religious women called Magadas, carrying branches of palm-trees, and veſſels filled with milk and butter, which they poured on the rocks, dancing round them, and ſinging mournful ſongs like dirges, or what the Spaniards call Endechas; from thence they went to the ſea ſide, and all at once, and with one accord, ſtruck the water forcibly with their rods, ſhouting together at the ſame time with a very loud voice. Their diviſion of time was not by day, weeks, and years, as with us, but they reckoned by moons.

The habit of the Canarians was a tight coat, with a hood to it like that of a Capuchin friar; it reached down to the knees, and was girded about the waiſt with a leather ſtrap or girdle. This garment was made of a ſort of ruſh, which they beat till it was quite ſoft, like flax, and then divided the filaments and wove them together. Over this they wore cloaks of goat ſkins, with the hairy ſide outwards in ſummer, and inwards in winter. They alſo made caps made of the ſkins of goats, taken off almoſt entire, which they placed in ſuch a manner on their heads that they had a goat's beard hanging under each ear, which they ſometimes tied under the chin. All theſe garments were neatly ſewed and painted, and in every other reſpect much more curious than thoſe of the natives in the other iſlands. Some wore bonnets of ſkins, adorned with feathers. Their ſhoes were made of raw hides, like thoſe of Lancerota and Fuertaventura.

They had public houſes or rooms, in which they aſſembled to dance and ſing. The Canarian dance is ſtill in uſe in theſe iſlands, and is called Canario: its ſtep is quick and ſhort. Their ſongs were either dirges or amorous ſonnets, ſet to grave and plaintive tunes.

The Canarians were remarkable for their good government, regularity, and ſtrict adminiſtration of juſtice. When a man committed a crime deſerving of death, they apprehended him and put him in priſon, where he was tried, and immediately upon conviction they led him to the place of execution, which was the ſame where they uſed to feaſt, wreſtle and fight duels. Here the delinquent was ſtretched on the ground, and his head placed on a flat ſtone; then the executioner, who was a man ſet apart for that office, taking up a large heavy ſtone, and lifting it as high as he could, ſuddenly let it fall on the criminal's head. But for crimes that were not worthy of death, they uſed the *lex talionis*, eye for eye, tooth for tooth, &c.

None of the Canarians exerciſed the trade of a butcher, except the dregs of the people. This employment was accounted ſo ignominious, that they would not ſo much as allow one of that profeſſion to enter into any of their houſes, or touch any thing belonging to them. It was made unlawful for the butchers even to keep company with any but thoſe of their own profeſſion; and when they wanted any thing of another perſon, they were obliged to carry a ſtaff with them, and point at what they wanted, ſtanding at a conſiderable diſtance. As a recompence for this abject ſtate, the natives were obliged to ſupply the butchers with every thing they had occaſion for. It was not lawful for any Canarian, except the butchers, to kill cattle: when any perſon wanted his beaſt, &c. to be killed, he was obliged to lead it to the public ſhambles, but

was

was not allowed to enter himſelf; and this prohibition extended even to the women and children.

The houſes in Gran Canaria were built of ſtone, without cement, but ſo neat and regular that they made a neat appearance. At the top they laid wooden beams or rafters, very cloſe to each other, and covered them with earth. The walls of theſe houſes were very low, and the floors ſunk lower than the level of the ground on which they ſtood, being ſo contrived for the advantage of warmth in the winter ſeaſon. Their beds and bedding were goat ſkins dreſſed in the hair, after a moſt curious manner. Their other furniture conſiſted of baſkets, and mats of palm-leaves and ruſhes, made extremely neat. There were among them people whoſe ſole occupation was to build houſes and manufacture mats, &c. The women in general were employed in painting and dying; and in the proper ſeaſon they very carefully gathered the flowers, ſhrubs, &c. from which they extracted the ſeveral colours. The threads they uſed for ſewing and other purpoſes were made of the ſpringy nerves or tendons of the loins of ſheep, goats, or ſwine, with which they were ſupplied by the butchers. Theſe they firſt anointed with butter, and afterwards prepared by fire, in ſuch a manner, that they could ſplit them into fine threads at their pleaſure. Their needles were made of bone, and their fiſh-hooks of horn. All their veſſels uſed in cookery were made of clay, hardened by the ſun, which they called Ganigos. Their wealth conſiſted chiefly in goat, and ſome ſheep; they had alſo hogs. Their common food was barley-meal roaſted, and eat with milk or goats fleſh. When they made a feaſt, they dreſſed this latter with hog's lard or butter. Their barley they ground with a hand-mill. The following is the manner in which they ploughed their lands: about twenty people aſſembled together, each having a wooden inſtrument (not unlike a hoe) with a ſpur or tooth at the end of it, on which they fixed a goat's horn; with this they broke the ground, and afterwards took care, if the rain came not in its proper ſeaſon, to moiſten it with water, which they brought by canals from the rivulets. The women gathered in the corn, of which they reaped only the ears: theſe they threſhed with ſticks, or beat with their feet, and then winnowed it in their hands.

Their only fruits were vicacorras, mocanes, and wild dates; and ſome time before their conqueſt of the iſland, they had figs. Their poor lived by the ſea-coaſt, chiefly on fiſh, which they catched in the night-time, by making a blaze on the water with torches of pitch-pine. In the day-time, whenever they diſcovered a ſhoal of ſardinas, a ſmall fiſh reſembling herrings and pilchards, a great number of men, women, and children, waded into the ſea, and ſwimming beyond the ſhoal, chaſed the fiſh towards the ſhore; then with a net, made of a tough kind of ruſh, they incloſed and drew them to land, and there made an equal diviſion of their prize: in doing this, every woman of the company who had young children, received a ſhare for each; or if ſhe happened to be with child, ſhe received a ſhare for the child in her womb.

When any of their nobles died, they brought out their corps and placed in the ſun, took out the bowels and entrails, which they waſhed, and then buried in the earth: the body they dried, and ſwathed round with bandages of goat ſkins, and then fixed it upright in a cave, cloathed with the ſame garments which the deceaſed wore when alive. But if no proper cave was at hand, they carried the dead body to one of thoſe ſtony places now called Mal Paices, where, levelling the ground and fixing the ſmall looſe ſtones, they made a coffin of very large ones, placed ſo as not to touch the body; then they took another large ſtone, two yards in length, wrought into a round

round form, and with this they closed the coffin, and afterwards filled up the nich between the top of the round stone and the outer part of the sides of the coffin with small stones, in so neat a manner, that every one who beholds them must be surprised at the ingenuity of this people. Some of their dead bodies were put into chests, and afterwards deposited in a kind of stone sepulchres. There were certain persons among them whose profession it was, and who were set apart for the purpose of preparing the dead bodies for burial, and making up the tombs.

The lower class of people were buried in the Mal Paices, in holes covered with dry stones; and excepting those bodies which were placed upright in the caves, all others were laid with their heads towards the north.

The natives of Gran Canaria were more polished and civilized than those of the other islands. At the time of the conquest of the island, they were governed by two princes; but before they were ruled by captains, or heads of tribes, who presided over small circles, like parishes; each tribe was confined to its own district, and not allowed to graze its flocks on the grounds of another tribe.

It has been already observed, that don Luis de la Cerda intended to go in quest of the Fortunate Islands; for that purpose he had fitted out some ships in the ports of the kingdom of Arragon; but his death, which happened just as things were got ready for that expedition, put a stop to the voyage. Nevertheless, it seems that some of those ships, or others from Catalonia or Majorca, sailed in quest of the islands at that very time; but of which we have no other account than from the relation of the natives, and what may be collected from their old songs, in which some account of those Majorcans is given.

Ferdinando and Isabella, after paying to Herrera five millions of maravedis, in lieu of all his claims to the islands of Gran Canaria, Teneriffe, and Palma, issued orders for fitting out a fleet of ships, to make the conquest of them. This order was immediately obeyed, so that in a short time nine hundred foot and thirty horse, well armed, and provided with every necessary for such an enterprise, were raised, and the command of them given to one don Juan Rejon, a native of the kingdom of Arragon, an experienced soldier, and who had for his lieutenant Alonzo Jaizme. They were accompanied in the expedition by don Juan Bermudas, dean of Rubicon, a person well versed in the affairs of the Canary Islands.

A.D. 1477. On the 23d of May, the whole armament embarked on board the fleet prepared for their reception, at the port of St. Mary's in Andalusia, and sailed for Gran Canaria. Their design was to have landed at Gando, in order to rebuild the fort lately destroyed there by the natives; but passing near the port of Isletes, and judging it to be a more convenient anchoring place, they dropped anchor there on the 22d of June. In the morning early all the troops disembarked, in good order, and without opposition. On their landing they pitched a canopy or tent, under which they erected an altar, where the dean, Juan Bermudas, performed mass in the presence of all the troops. Immediately after mass the whole army began their march towards Gando, with design to encamp there; but they had not proceeded far, when they were accosted by a woman in the Canarian dress, who asked them, in the Castillian language, whither they were going? They replied, "To Gando." She then told them, that Gando was at a great distance,

the road very bad, and interrupted by precipices, which rendered it extremely dangerous; but that at a ſmall diſtance from the place where they then were, was a commodious plain, with a rivulet of good water, plenty of fire wood, with palms and fig-trees, from whence they might have eaſy acceſs to all the principal places on the iſland. When the commander and officers had heard the woman, and well weighed the reaſons, they determined to march to the place ſhe had pointed out, and accordingly putting themſelves under her conduct, ſhe brought them to the ſpot where now ſtands the city of Palmas. There they pitched their tents; but looking afterwards for their guide, ſhe was not to be found, which filled them all with amazement. Juan Rejon, who was a devout worſhipper of St. Anna, imagined it was no other than her. They fixed their camp there, and fortified it with a ſtone wall, within which they erected a large magazine for the ammunition, ſtores, and proviſions, which they had brought from Spain.

When the natives found the Spaniards had effected their landing, were building houſes, and by their conduct ſeemed determined to ſettle themſelves on the iſland, they called to mind the injuries they had ſuſtained by permitting the caſtle of Gando to be built amongſt them; and therefore thought it would be moſt prudent, in their preſent ſituation, to lay aſide all differences amongſt themſelves, and, uniting their forces, endeavour to expel the invaders from the iſland. To effect this, they raiſed two thouſand well-armed men, and marched towards the port. When Juan Rejon ſaw the enemy approaching, in order to give a plauſible colour to his proceedings, he ſent to acquaint them, that he was come, in the name of their majeſties of Caſtile, Ferdinando and Iſabella, to invite them to leave their heathen worſhip, and to embrace Chriſtianity. The natives, either unwilling to abandon the religion of their anceſtors, or flushed with their former repeated ſucceſſes againſt Betancour and Herrera, told the meſſenger, that they would give Juan Rejon an anſwer the next day early in the morning. The general readily comprehended their meaning, and accordingly prepared for battle, expecting to be ſoon attacked. Early in the morning he perceived their forces coming down upon him, in order of battle; upon which he marched out of his camp to meet them, and the fight was begun on both ſides. The Canarians made the firſt onſet with all the fury of men whoſe liberty was at ſtake. They were received with no leſs vigour by Juan Rejon and his men, who endeavoured to break the enemy's ranks; but the latter made a moſt obſtinate reſiſtance, fighting like lions. The battle continued three hours, without any apparent advantage on either ſide: at length Juan Rejon finding his army beginning to give way in that part where they were attacked by the intrepid Adargoma, he flew thither to ſupport and encourage his troops; where ſingling out Adargoma, he charged him furiouſly, and wounded him ſo deſperately in the thigh with his lance, that he lay on the ground for dead. The Canarians, inſtead of being diſcouraged at the fall of their champion, were fired with freſh rage, falling on like incenſed tygers: but this ardor of the Canarians was not long before it ſpent itſelf, and was ſucceeded by a ſenſible abatement of vigour; and they ſoon after retired, but in good order, leaving behind them Adargoma priſoner, and three hundred men killed on the field of battle, beſides many wounded. Of the Spaniards, only ſeven were killed and twenty-ſix wounded. This great inequality of loſs muſt have been owing to the difference of weapons uſed in the engagement, for about that time the Spaniards had learned the uſe of fire-arms; and,

and, moreover, the Canarians were much terrified at the ſight of the horſes, which on this occaſion made their firſt appearance in Gran Canaria. After this battle, which was called the battle of Guiniguada, the natives never attempted to engage the Spaniards again on level ground, but contented themſelves with harraſſing them in their marches up the country, eſpecially in the mountainous part, in which the Spaniards by little and little had ſhut them up. In the mean time the Spaniards ſet about erecting a fort for their ſecurity. Thoſe who were not employed in this work, were ſent out in parties to bring in cattle and priſoners, and ſo harraſſed the poor fiſhermen, whoſe way of living obliged them to be near the ſea ſide, that many of them came into the camp through mere neceſſity, and embraced the Roman catholic faith; and being baptized, they received paſſports from the dean, to protect them from being moleſted in their buſineſs by his ſoldiers. The Spaniſh officers now looked upon the iſland as good as reduced.

At this time affairs were in a very unſettled ſituation between the courts of Caſtile and Portugal. The latter underſtanding the Spaniards were attempting the conqueſt of Gran Canaria, armed ſeventeen carvels, or large barks, well provided with ſoldiers, proviſions, ammunition, and every thing neceſſary for a voyage, and ſent them to Gran Canaria, where they arrived and anchored at the weſt ſide of the iſland, at a place called Agaete, in the diſtrict of the guanarteme of Galdar. The natives imagining that they were part of the forces of Guiniguada, gathered together, in order to give them battle; but the Portugueſe, by means of interpreters they had brought with them, quickly undeceived the Canarians, and gave them to underſtand, that they were come to aſſiſt them againſt their invaders, with whom they were at war. When the natives were convinced of the truth of this, it gave them great joy; upon which they received the Portugueſe chearfully, and it was ſoon concluded between them, that the former ſhould go and attack the Spaniards by ſea, while the Canarians attacked them by land. When theſe ſhips appeared near the port, Juan Rejon, and the officers, knowing that peace was not firmly eſtabliſhed between the two crowns, ſuſpected on what errand they were come, and drew out their troops from Guiniguada, leaving a ſmall number only to guard that poſt, and marched to the port, which is but a ſhort league diſtant from it. There they placed two hundred men in ambuſh, behind certain hillocks of black earth, which had been formed by the eruption of ſome former volcanos. When the carvels anchored in the harbour, there happened to be a ſurf breaking on the ſhore, which is not common in that place. Now as the Portugueſe had not boats enough to land above two hundred men at once, and did not know the force of the Spaniards, they boldly landed, with drums beating, trumpets ſounding, and colours flying, but the ſurf breaking uncommonly high, drove ſome of their boats on ſhore while they were attempting to land their men. This prevented their going immediately back to the ſhips for more troops; and inſtead of inſtantly launching theſe boats that were thrown on ſhore by the ſurf, they began to run inland, in purſuit of the ſmall number of Spaniards they ſaw drawn up to oppoſe them, in order to attack and make them priſoners. Juan Rejon perceiving how things went, reſolved to avail himſelf of their bad conduct, and to attack the Portugueſe before they could receive a reinforcement from the ſhips: with this view he ordered the two hundred men in ambuſh to fall upon them in concert with the others, which they did with ſuch impetuoſity, that they preſently drove the hand-

ful of Portugueſe back to their boats in the greateſt confuſion; but in the hurry of launching, and crouding into them, they were overſet, forced back on the beach by the ſurf, and ſtaved to pieces; ſo that very few of thoſe men who landed had the good fortune to eſcape. The Portugueſe on board the carvels ſeeing all that paſſed, without being able to give the leaſt aſſiſtance to their comrades, on account of the violence of the ſurf, which continued to increaſe more and more, and being apprehenſive of a ſtorm ariſing, weighed anchor, and ſtood out to ſea. In the mean time the Canarians had poſſeſſed themſelves of ſome eminences that commanded a view of the city of Palmas and the port of Iſletes, where obſerving every thing to be quiet in the Spaniſh camp, the ſea ſhore of the port covered with people, and ſome ſhips at anchor, with others under ſail; they concluded that the Portugueſe were juſt landing, and therefore waited to ſee them begin the attack upon the camp, knowing nothing of what had paſſed that morning. But perceiving no appearance of any diſturbance, they ſent a ſpy to diſcover the ſituation of affairs, who being obſerved by one of the Spaniſh troopers, was purſued, taken priſoner, and brought to Juan Rejon, to whom he diſcovered the treaty between the natives and the Portugueſe. The general was ſo incenſed at the news, that he determined to place no more confidence in the Canarians, and began to harraſs them more than ever by continual inroads into the country, in which he frequently brought away whole flocks of ſheep and goats, and made a number of captives. As to the Portugueſe, they ſtill hovered about the iſland, waiting for an opportunity to land, and try their fortune a ſecond time; but the ſea continuing much agitated for many days, they deſpaired of ſucceſs, and having loſt almoſt all their boats, as before mentioned, they abandoned their deſign of making a ſecond landing, and returned home. The Spaniards being now more at leiſure, finiſhed their caſtle, and the fortifications of their camp. But not having received any ſupply of proviſions from Europe ſince their firſt landing on the iſland, which was now upwards of eight months, they were obliged twice a week to ſend a party of horſe and about two hundred foot into the country, in ſearch of proviſions, at a conſiderable diſtance from the camp; for, as has been obſerved, the natives, after the battle of Guiniguada, durſt not continue in the plains, but withdrew with their effects to the mountains, where the Spaniards could not attack them but at a great diſadvantage: and what little proviſions they got in theſe incurſions, together with ſome biſcuit brought to them by a Flemiſh veſſel, that had come to the iſlands to purchaſe orchilla-weed, was all they had to live upon for a conſiderable time. The ſoldiers gathered the weed upon the rocks, in places where they durſt venture to ſearch for it, and then diſpoſed of it to the Flemings.

Juan Rejon being now avenged of his enemies, began to turn his thoughts towards compleating the conqueſt of the iſland, and with that view determined to make an inroad into the diſtrict of Tamaraſeyte. On his march towards that place, from the mountains he diſcovered a ſhip ſtanding in for the iſland, which induced him to return back to the city of Palmas. This ſhip came with a new governor and captain-general of the forces; for the king, don Ferdinando, being informed of the diſcord among the officers employed in that buſineſs, thought proper to ſend Pedro de Vera to Canaria, as a perſon in whom he could confide, and whom he judged to be poſſeſſed of every qualification neceſſary in a civil or military officer.

Juan

Juan Rejon having obtained a commiſſion to make the conqueſt of the iſlands of Teneriffe and Palma, ſailed from Cadiz with four ſhips, having on board three hundred men, and twenty horſes; his wife and two of his young ſons accompanying him in this voyage. He put into Gran Canaria, to procure refreſhments, and viſit his old acquaintance: however, he did not land there, but proceeded on his voyage to Palma. On his voyage, he was obliged, by ſtreſs of weather, to put into Gomera, where he and his family, with eight men, landed to refreſh themſelves after their fatigues. The Gomerans brought them what refreſhments the iſland afforded; but immediately diſpatched advice of their arrival to Hernand Peraza, who thereupon ſent ſome of his people to bring Juan Rejon before him; who refuſing to obey his orders, they attempted to compel him by force, when a ſcuffle enſued, in which he was killed. Hernand Peraza immediately publiſhed a manifeſto, to clear himſelf of having any hand in his death; and affirmed that he had only ſent people to bring him before him to give an account of his motives for landing on the iſland without his licence. He then made a viſit to donna Elvira, to clear himſelf before her of the murder of her huſband, whom he cauſed to be interred in the moſt honourable place of the great chapel, and treated his widow and children with great tenderneſs and reſpect. Donna Elvira, however, ſeized the firſt opportunity to write to her brother, don Alonzo Jaimes, in Gran Canaria, an account of all that had paſſed, intreating him to come with all ſpeed and take her out of the ſight of her huſband's murderer. He accordingly came, and reproached Hernand Peraza with baſely aſſaſſinating his brother, threatening him with his reſentment. But Peraza, with many imprecations on himſelf, aſſerted his innocence. From Gomera don Alonzo ſet ſail, with his ſiſter, for Gran Canaria, where ſhe would not land; but was viſited aboard by the governor and other officers of the city, who furniſhed her with ſuch refreſhments as the iſland afforded. She then departed for Spain, accompanied by her brother, don Alonzo Jaimes. All the people who came with Juan Rejon for the conqueſt of Palma, with the proviſions, were landed, and remained at Gran Canaria.

We muſt now turn to the iſland of Palma: it is not poſitively known how it firſt received its name; probably, from the Europeans, at the time of their diſcovering it, for the natives called it Benahoare, which, in their language, ſignifies My Country. When the Europeans firſt landed on this iſland, it produced no ſort of corn, or eatable roots, excepting the roots of fern, of which the natives made meal, (as the inhabitants of this and ſome other of the Canary Iſlands do to this day) and alſo of the ſeed of a tree or ſhrub called Amagante. Both theſe ſorts of meal they ate mixed with milk or broth. Their other ſorts of food were fleſh of goats, ſheep, and hogs, which they ate either roaſted or boiled. The ſkins of the two firſt ſerved them for cloathing, and of the latter they made ſhoes. The weapon they uſed in war was a ſtaff or pole, ſharpened at the point, and hardened by fire, which they called Moca.

The iſland was divided into twelve diſtricts, each of which was governed by its own lord or captain. But their police was not ſo good as that of any of the other iſlands, for he was eſteemed the clevereſt fellow, who could ſteal with ſuch addreſs as not to be diſcovered: if any one happened to be detected in this practice, no other puniſhment was inflicted on him than being obliged to reſtore the thing ſtolen. If a man received an inſult from any of his own diſtrict, he thought it mean to complain of the injury to his captain, but avenged his own cauſe, by gathering together his friends.

friends and relations, and retaliating the affront; after which they all removed, and took up their reſidence in another diſtrict. Their manner of worſhip was as follows: in each diſtrict there was a great pillar or pyramid of looſe ſtones, piled up as high as poſſible, and ſo as not to fall down. There the natives aſſembled on certain occaſions, ſinging and dancing around the pyramid: there alſo they wreſtled and performed other feats of agility. In one of the diſtricts, inſtead of a pyramid of looſe ſtones, there was a natural one, being a narrow long rock, upwards of an hundred fathoms high, where the natives worſhipped their god Idafe, whoſe name the rock itſelf ſtill retains. They were in continual apprehenſion of its tumbling down; and therefore, whenever they killed a ſheep or goat, they roaſted a piece of it, which they ſent by two perſons as a preſent to the rock. As they went along, he who carried the offering ſang theſe words, "Y Iguida, y Iguan, Idafe;" which, in their language, ſignifies, "It will "fall, Idafe." Upon which the other anſwered in the ſame tone, "Guegerte, y "guantaro," i. e. "Give to it, and it will not fall:" and then threw down the meat, and both went away; when it was quickly devoured by the ravens which hovered about the rock.

The natives held the ſun and moon in great veneration, keeping an exact account of time, in order to know when it would be new or full moon, or other days of devotion. Beſides the fore-mentioned worſhip, they acknowledged one God in the heavens, greater than all, called Abora, whom they adored. Our author aſſerts, that the devil ſometimes appeared to the natives in the ſhape of a ſhock dog, whom they called Irvene. They were extremely alarmed in time of ſickneſs; ſo that when any one was taken ill, he ſent for his friends and relations, and ſaid to them, "Vacaguare," i. e. "I want to die." Upon which they carried the ſick perſon to a cave, where they laid him down upon a bed of goats ſkin, put a pitcher of milk by him, and then, cloſing the mouth of the cave, left him to expire by himſelf. They buried their dead in caves, and always ſpread the ſkins of goats under them, ſaying, that it was not proper that a dead body ſhould touch the ground.

This is the only certain account that has been preſerved of the cuſtoms of the ancient inhabitants of Palma.

We have already related in what manner the Spaniards were baffled in their attempt on Palma, under the command of Guillen Peraza, who was himſelf killed in that unfortunate expedition. After his death, his vaſſals in the iſland of Hierro made ſeveral deſcents on Palma, to rob and plunder the natives of their cattle, and alſo for making priſoners to ſell for ſlaves. In one of theſe expeditions, they took priſoners a man and a woman, the latter of whom was ſiſter to one of the chiefs of the iſland, named Garehagua. When ſhe found they were about to carry her on board their ſhip, ſhe made ſuch a ſtout reſiſtance, that the perſon whoſe priſoner ſhe was, found himſelf obliged to have recourſe to his arms to defend himſelf, and to prevent her from getting away, ſo that in the ſcuffle he killed her. Not long after, the natives having made peace with the Spaniards of Hierro, a reciprocal trade was carried on between them; and it ſo happened, that among other Spaniards that came to trade at Palma, under ſanction of the treaty, was the perſon who killed the woman. One day, as he was talking with Garehagua, he related the adventure, not knowing that the woman was his ſiſter: but when Garehagua heard the ſtory, and from the perſon's own mouth, he replied, "Your ill fortune has brought you into my hands, that I

"ſhould

"ſhould avenge my ſiſter's death;" and ſo ſaying, ſtabbed him inſtantly in the belly with a ſtick pointed with goat's horn, and killed him on the ſpot, before any one could come to his aſſiſtance. This tranſaction put an end to the truce, and both parties began the war afreſh.

In another deſcent of the Hierrons upon this iſland, they met with a beautiful woman, of a gigantic ſize, named Guayanfanta, who fought with great courage and reſolution. This fair warrior finding herſelf ſurrounded on all ſides by the enemy, ſo that no way was left for her to eſcape, ſuddenly caught up a Spaniard under her arm, and ran with him towards an high and ſteep precipice, with a deſign to caſt herſelf and her enemy headlong down together; which ſhe would certainly have effected, had it not been for another Spaniard, who coming behind her, gave her a wound in the back part of her leg, which brought her to the ground. From this and the foregoing ſtory, a tradition has prevailed, that the men of Palma were ſo effeminate and faint-hearted, that the war was carried on wholly by the women.

Moſt of theſe incurſions upon Palma were made by order of Hernand Peraza, ſon of Diogo de Herrera, and were in general attended with loſs to the invaders.

Juan Rejon ſailed from Spain with a fleet, in order to make the conqueſt of Palma; but this expedition was fruſtrated by his death, which happened in the iſland of Gomera, after which his troops ſailed to Gran Canaria, and joined Pedro de Vera. After the conqueſt of that iſland, when Pedro de Vera came to make a diſtribution of the lands, he particularly favoured captain Alonzo Ferdinando de Lugo, who commanded the garriſon of the tower of Gaete, to whom he allotted for his portion all the fertile well-watered lands about that place, which abound in all kinds of fruit-trees, and has moreover the advantage of a ſmall but convenient harbour, ſtored with variety of fiſh. But Alonzo, not content with his lot, and preferring an active military life to one of eaſe and retirement, ſold his fine eſtate, and went over to Spain, where he obtained from their majeſties a grant of the conqueſt of Palma and Teneriffe. He afterwards went to Seville, to provide himſelf with ſhips, men, ammunition, &c. neceſſary for the undertaking. It is related of this captain, that the great expence attending theſe preparations having not only exhauſted the ready caſh he had procured from the court, but alſo moſt of his private fortune; and that the king could not ſpare him any farther ſupply: chagrined at this diſappointment, he was one day walking in a penſive manner in the great church at Seville, when he was accoſted by a venerable old man, who entered into converſation with him, and, after ſome talk, perſuaded him by no means to give over the intended expedition, for that God would certainly be with him, and aſſiſt him in the proſecution thereof. He then put his hand behind the cloth of an altar, and took out a bag, containing a great quantity of doubloons, which he gave to him, ſaying, "When they are gone, you "ſhall receive more." Alonzo de Lugo, after having put up the money, looked about for the old man, but he was gone, and he never ſaw him afterwards; from all which he concluded, that it was certainly the apoſtle St. Peter, of whom he was a devout worſhipper. With this money, and the ſum he procured from ſome merchants of Seville, (more probably indeed the whole) he compleated the equipment of his fleet, and ſailed for Palma, where he arrived the 29th of Sep-
A. D. 1490. tember, and landed at the port of Taſſacorta, on the weſt ſide of the iſland, in the diſtrict of one Mayantigo. There he fixed his camp, which he took care to fortify ſtrongly, that in caſe of a repulſe or ſurpriſe, he might have

have a place of refuge for his men, his proviſion and ammunition, without truſting to the ſhipping, which by bad weather might be obliged to put out to ſea, as the ports in Palma are open roads, where ſhips are expoſed to almoſt all winds. He alſo built a chapel, which he dedicated to St. Michael. After this he advanced farther into the iſland, and reduced all the ſouth-weſt part of it; which he effected not by force of arms, but by preſents and promiſes; for, before his arrival at Palma, the natives of that quarter of the iſland were on good terms with the Spaniards of Hierro.

From thence he went to the north-eaſt ſide of the iſland, which is entirely ſeparated from the other by mountains of ſuch a prodigious height, that they reach far above the clouds. Here he met with more reſiſtance, becauſe the natives were enraged againſt the people of Hierro, for the injuries they had done them. When he came to the diſtrict in which Guarehagua commanded, he found the inhabitants in arms; nor would they be perſuaded to ſubmit until he attacked them, in doing which ſome were killed, and many taken priſoners: theſe he treated with great kindneſs, in order that their countrymen, ſeeing his humanity, might be induced to lay down their arms. This conduct had the deſired effect, the natives no longer oppoſing the Spaniards in their progreſs, except at a place called, in the language of the iſland, Acer, (i. e. place of ſtrength) but by the Spaniards, La Caldera.

Before he went againſt it, he thought proper to return to the camp, to refreſh his troops, who were extremely fatigued by reaſon of the ruggedneſs of the roads, and exceſſive height of the mountains. After remaining in the camp ſome days, he marched towards the Caldera, which is a hill ſhaped in form of a cauldron; the outſide very high and ſteep, having two rugged ſteep paſſages leading to it; on the inſide it deſcends gradually, and is covered with pines, palms, laurels, retamas, and other trees; the bottom is a plain of about thirty acres, but the extent of the ſummit is about two leagues. Within the Cauldron ſpring many rills of water, which, uniting together, run down in a rivulet near one of the paſſes before mentioned. By this water-courſe Alonzo de Lugo, after attempting the other paſſage in vain, endeavoured to penetrate into the Cauldron, where a great number of the natives were aſſembled to oppoſe him, commanded by one of their chiefs, called Tanauſe. In this enterpriſe he was greatly aſſiſted by the natives who had ſubmitted; for when he could not proceed on his way, they carried him the length of two bow-ſhots on their ſhoulders. Had the enemy oppoſed him there, they might eaſily have deſtroyed his forces; but being poſted higher, Alonzo had an opportunity of attacking them on more equal terms, which he did with great bravery, but could not force the paſſage; for the natives were ſo advantageouſly poſted, and that place being their laſt reſource, defended it ſo obſtinately, that Alonzo de Lugo was obliged to retreat, and encamp at ſome diſtance from the place of action. The ſame evening the natives ſent their old people, women, and children, for more ſecurity, to the top of the mountain, where they took up their lodgings in the caves among the rocks; but the night proving intenſely cold, they were all frozen to death; in memory of which event the natives named that place Ayſouagan, i. e. the place of freezing.

Alonzo de Lugo finding how little the experience and valour of his ſoldiers availed him in ſuch a place, ſent one of the converted natives, named Juan Palma, to Tanauſe, to perſuade him to embrace the Romiſh faith, and ſubmit to the crown of Spain, promiſing him and his companions the full enjoyment of their liberties and effects.

effects. Tanauſe returned for anſwer, that if Alonzo would go back to the foot of the mountain, he would come next day and make his ſubmiſſion. This Alonzo agreed to; but ſuſpecting it was only a ſtratagem to diſlodge him from the place he was in, he left an ambuſh to cut off their retreat in caſe they followed him down, and afterwards wanted to return to the ſtrong hold. Tanauſe not coming ſo ſoon as he had promiſed, the Spaniards were marching back to their former ſtation, when they met him on his way: the natives ſeeing the Spaniards under arms and in order of battle, were apprehenſive of ſome treacherous deſign, and would have returned; but Tanauſe aſſured them, they had nothing to fear. But he was miſtaken; for Alonzo, not being aſſured of their intentions, and fearing they might eſcape back into the Cauldron, fell upon them, and a very bloody ſkirmiſh enſued, which ended in the death or captivity of all the natives. Among the priſoners was Tanauſe himſelf, who complained bitterly againſt Alonzo for his breach of promiſe. The battle was fought on the 3d of May, ſeven months after Alonzo de Lugo's landing on the iſland at Taſſacorte. That day is celebrated annually in Palma, as a great feſtival, in commemoration of the reduction of the whole iſland to the obedience of their catholic majeſties. Immediately after the battle, Alonzo diſpatched a veſſel to Spain, to carry the agreeable tidings of the conqueſt to their majeſties, and at the ſame time ſent over ſome of the chiefs of the iſland, among whom was Tanauſe; but he took his being ſent out of Palma ſo much to heart, together with Alonzo's breach of promiſe, that he obſtinately refuſed all manner of nouriſhment, and ſtarved himſelf to death; a thing not unuſual among the natives of Palma, who were very impatient under any affliction of body or mind.

A.D. 1491.

After the conqueſt of the iſland of Palma, De Lugo ſailed to Teneriffe, taking with him all the troops that could be well ſpared. After his departure, certain of the natives, to the number of three hundred, from ſome motive of diſcontent, aſſembled in a body, and committed ſeveral acts of hoſtility on the Spaniards and the natives under their government; which when Alonzo de Lugo came to hear, he ſent over one Diogo Rodriguez Talavera, a perſon well known to the natives of Palma, and perfectly acquainted with their manners, cuſtoms, and language, with orders to reduce them again to obedience. He accordingly landed in Palma, having only thirty ſoldiers under his command; with whom, the Spaniards already in the iſland, and ſome of the natives in whom he could confide, he went in ſearch of the rebels, defeated them in ſeveral encounters, and at laſt entirely diſperſed them, though not without ſome bloodſhed, and the loſs of many of his men; after which, to ſtrike a terror into the reſt of the natives, he cauſed the chiefs and ringleaders of the rebellion to be put to death. This ſeverity had the deſired effect; for ever ſince the inhabitants have continued faithful and obedient ſubjects to the crown of Spain.

The iſland of Teneriffe, or the White Mountain, ſo called by the natives of Palma; Thener, in their language, ſignifying a mountain, and Ife, white: the pike, or ſummit of Teneriffe, being always covered with ſnow. This name has been continued to it by the Spaniards ever ſince; but the natives called it Chineche, and themſelves Vincheni: how the Spaniards came to give them the name of Guanches, is not known.

The inhabitants of this iſland were in general of a middle ſtature: thoſe who dwelt on the north ſide of the iſland were much fairer, and had hair of a lighter colour than

thoſe in the ſouthern parts. A man, in their language, was called Coran, and a woman, Chamato. A few years before the conqueſt of Teneriffe, there was a prince called Betzenuria, who governed the whole iſland: he had nine ſons, who, upon the death of their father, divided the government equally amongſt them; by which means the iſland became divided into nine kingdoms, eight of which did homage to Tmobat, the elder brother, who was the moſt powerful, being poſſeſſed of the richeſt and moſt fertile part of the iſland, being that tract which ſtretches between Orotava and the brow of the hill above the port of Santa Cruz, in which he could raiſe ſeven thouſand fighting men. One of the brothers, named Acaymo, was king of Aguimar; another, called Atguarona, of Abona; and a third, Arvitocaſpe, of Adehe: the names of the other four are loſt, but they reigned in Tegheſt, Icoden, Centejo, and Daute. The royal dignity was, in their language, called Quebechi, and was elective. In the ſummer the king reſided in the mountains, but in the winter near the ſea ſide. When he changed his place of reſidence, or travelled, the elders of his tribe aſſembled, and carried before him a ſcepter and a lance, with a kind of flag upon it, to give notice of the king's approach to all who might be travelling upon the road, that they might pay him the cuſtomary homage, which was by proſtrating themſelves before him on the ground, wiping off the duſt from his feet with the corners of their garments, and kiſſing them.

The king was always obliged to marry a perſon who was his equal; but if ſuch a one could not be found, he took his own ſiſter to wife, not being permitted to debaſe his family by a mixture of plebeian blood.

The natives acknowledged a God, whom they called by the names Achguarergenan, Achoran, and Achaman, which ſignify, in their language, the Suſtainer of the heavens and the earth. They alſo gave him the titles of Achuhuiaban, Aahuhucana, and Aguayarerar, i. e. the Great, the Sublime, and the Suſtainer of all.

When they were in great diſtreſs, occaſioned by want of rain, &c. they aſſembled in certain places ſet apart for that purpoſe, with their children and flocks, where they ſat in a circle on the ground, weeping and making a mournful noiſe, their flocks bleating at the ſame time for want of food, for both men and beaſts, on theſe occaſions, were debarred all kind of ſuſtenance. No man was allowed more than one wife, and they married without any regard to kindred, except that of a mother or ſiſter. They could put away their wives when they pleaſed; but the children of thoſe women who were repudiated were reckoned illegitimate, and could not inherit their father's effects. They had a cuſtom among them, that when a man by chance met a woman alone on the road, or in a ſolitary place, he was not to look at, or ſpeak to her, unleſs ſhe firſt ſpoke to, or demanded ought of him; but to turn out of the way: and if he made uſe of any indecent expreſſion, or behaved in an unbecoming manner, he was ſeverely puniſhed. When their children were born, they were waſhed all over with water, by women ſet apart for that office, who were virgins, and never allowed to marry.

The men wore cloaks of goats ſkins, dreſſed and ſoftened in butter; thoſe of the women were longer, and reached down to their feet, with petticoats of the ſame ſtuff underneath. Both ſexes frequently anointed their bodies with ſheep's oil, being particularly lean, and their ſkins very dry. Their language differed entirely from thoſe of the other iſlands, and was very guttural. They had no iron or other metal among them; and inſtead of inſtruments made of theſe, they uſed a black hard ſtone, ſharp-

ſharpened and made fit for killing ſheep, cutting and working timber, &c. Theſe they called Tavonas.

They had often diſputes among themſelves about their flocks and paſtures, which frequently ended in wars. Their offenſive weapons were darts, made of the pitch-pine, ſharpened and hardened in the fire like thoſe uſed in Gran Canaria. They had alſo a weapon like a ſpear, very ſharp, which they called Anepa; and ſo dexterous were they at throwing theſe, that they ſcarce ever miſſed their mark. When an enemy approached, they alarmed the country by making a ſmoak, or by whiſtling, which was repeated from one to another. This latter method is ſtill in uſe amongſt them, and may be heard at an almoſt incredible diſtance. The inhabitants of Teneriffe were divided into three claſſes, the nobles, the gentlemen, and peaſants, the firſt was called Achimenſey, i. e. of or belonging to the king's houſe or family, the word for king being in their language Menſey, but in ſpeaking to him they call him Quevehiera, which ſignifies Your Highneſs: the ſecond rank, namely, the gentry or yeomen, were called Cilhiciquico; and the third, Achicarnay. They believed that God created them of earth and water, and that he made as many women as men, giving them cattle, and every thing neceſſary for their ſubſiſtence; but that afterwards, they appearing to him to be too few, he created more; but to theſe laſt he gave nothing; and when they aſked him for flocks of ſheep and goats, he told them to go and ſerve the other, who would in return give them ſuſtenance; from theſe, ſay they, are deſcended the Achicarnay, or ſervants.

They had a cuſtom, that in the cave or houſe where the huſband and wife ſlept, no other perſon was allowed to ſleep. They did not lie together, but had ſeparate beds in the ſame houſe or cave: theſe beds were made of herbs or graſs, covered with goats ſkins neatly dreſſed and ſewed together, with blankets or coverings of the ſame ſtuff.

There were among them artificers who dreſſed goats ſkins, and made their garments; potters, who made earthen veſſels; and carpenters, who wrought in wood: theſe were paid for their labour in fleſh, barley, or roots. The natives of Teneriffe were very neat and cleanly; they waſhed their hands and faces whenever they aroſe from ſleep, or when they ſat down to eat, and after they had eaten. Their food was the fleſh of goats and ſheep, boiled or roaſted; and this they ate alone, and not like the Europeans, with the addition of bread or roots. They alſo ate barley-meal, roaſted and dreſſed with butter and milk; this diſh they called Ahorer. After eating, they did not drink for the ſpace of half an hour, as they imagined that drinking cold water immediately after eating warm victuals, ſpoiled and hurt their teeth. They had no other cattle but ſheep and goats. Their grain was wheat and barley. They had little dogs, which they called Cancha.

The men prepared the ground for ſeed, by hoeing it with wooden hoes, and the women ſowed the ſeed. Their ſeed-time was in the month of Auguſt, which they called Veneſmer. They had beans and peas, or vetches, all which they called Hacichei. Milk they called Ahof; butter, Oche; and melaſſes, Chacerquen, which they made of mocanes, called in their language Yoja. The method of making it was this: when the mocanes were ripe, they expoſed them three or four days to the ſun; then bruiſed or maſhed them, and boiled them in a quantity of water till it was almoſt all evaporated; then they ſtrained the remainder through a ſort of ſieve made of ruſhes, and preſerved it as a medicine in fluxes and pleuriſies, which were common in the iſland.

When they were troubled with acute pains, they drew blood from the part affected with lancets made of Tavonas, or ſharp ſtones.

Their wars, as has been obſerved before, were generally about the boundaries of their lands and paſture. The women attended them on thoſe occaſions, with proviſions, &c. and in caſe any of the men were killed, they carried off the dead, and interred them in caves. When any perſon died, they preſerved the body in this manner: firſt, they carried it to a cave, and ſtretched it on a flat ſtone, where they opened it, and took out the bowels; then twice a day they waſhed the porous parts of the body, viz. the arm-pits, behind the ears, the groin, between the fingers, and the neck, with cold water: after waſhing it ſufficiently, they anointed thoſe parts with ſheep's butter, and ſprinkled them with a powder made of the duſt of decayed pine-trees, and a ſort of bruſh-wood, which the Spaniards call Breſſos, together with the powder of pumice-ſtone; then they let the body remain till it was perfectly dry, when the relations of the deceaſed came and ſwaddled it in ſheep or goat ſkins dreſſed: girding all tight with long leather thongs, they put it in the cave which had been ſet apart by the deceaſed for his burying-place, without any covering. The king could be buried only in the cave of his anceſtors, in which the bodies were ſo diſpoſed as to be known again. There were particular perſons ſet apart for this office of embalming, each ſex performing it for thoſe of their own. During the proceſs they watched the bodies very ſtrictly, to prevent the ravens from devouring them, the wife or huſband of the deceaſed bringing them victuals, and waiting on them during the time of their watching.

Their manner of holding their courts of judicature was, they fixed on ſome large plain in the iſland, in the middle of which they placed a large and high ſquare ſtone, and on each ſide thereof ſeveral others of inferior ſize and height. On the day appointed for holding the court, the king (who was always preſent on theſe occaſions) was ſeated on the high ſtone, and the principal elders of the diſtrict on the leſſer ones, according to their ſeniority; and in this manner they heard and decided cauſes. When any one was ſentenced to corporal puniſhment, he was laid flat on the ground, the king delivering the ſtaff or ſcepter, which he always carried with him, into the hands of ſome perſon, ordering him to give the offender ſuch a number of blows therewith as he thought his crime merited, and then commanded him to be taken from his preſence. For murder, the king took away the criminal's cattle and effects, and gave them to the relations of the deceaſed, and baniſhed the murderer from that diſtrict; but at the ſame time took him under his protection, ſo that the friends and relations of the deceaſed might not do him any hurt. They never puniſhed any perſon with death, ſaying, that it belonged to God alone to take away that life which he gave.

The natives of this iſland did not worſhip idols, nor had any images of the Deity. Beſides the names they gave to God already mentioned, they called him Guararirari, (i. e. Poſſeſſor of the world) Atguaychafunatuman, (i. e. Poſſeſſor of heaven) Atuman in their language ſignifying heaven. After the conqueſt, they called the virgin Mary, Atmaycequayarirari, the mother of him who poſſeſſes the world.

They had a cuſtom among them, that when one perſon went to the houſe of another, he did not attempt to enter in, but ſat on a ſtone at the door, and either whiſtled or ſang till ſome one came out and deſired him to walk in. Whoever obſerved not this ceremony, but entered into another perſon's houſe without being invited, was liable to puniſhment, as they reckoned it a very great affront.

They

They had a wonderful facility in counting the number of their ſheep and goats when iſſuing tumultuouſly out of a fold, without ſo much as moving their lips, or pointing to them with their fingers.

The armament from the iſland of Palma, commanded by Alonzo de Lugo, arrived at the port of Anaſo on the 3d day of May, which day, among
A.D. 1493. thoſe who profeſs the Romiſh religion, is the feſtival of the Holy Croſs, and on this account Alonzo de Lugo named the port Santa Cruz, which name it ſtill retains.

Diſembarking his troops, he marched up the high and ſteep mountain above the port, on the top of which commences the plain, now called the Laguna, and where the city of that name ſtands.

Proceeding forwards, he came to a plain, where is now the hermitage called De Gracia; there he encamped, and was waited on by Acaymo, king of Guimar, and the kings of Anaga, Adehe, and Abona, with whom he entered into a league. They informed him of the ſtrength of Ventomo, king of Taora, who was then at war with all the kings of the iſland: having received this intelligence, he marched towards him. The king of Taora met him with only three hundred choſen men, and demanded what he wanted of him? Alonzo de Lugo told him, he came only to court his friendſhip, to requeſt him to embrace Chriſtianity, and become a vaſſal to the king of Spain, who would heap many favours on him.

To this the king of Taora replied, that as to his propoſal of peace and friendſhip, he accepted it moſt willingly; but as to embracing Chriſtianity, he did not know what he meant by that. In anſwer to his becoming a vaſſal to the king of Spain, he ſaid, he knew him not, neither would he, who was free born, ſubject himſelf to any man; but as he had all his life-time been free, ſo he intended to die. Having thus anſwered Alonzo's propoſals, he left him, and went to his own diſtrict. Alonzo de Lugo deſpiſing Ventomo's anſwer, marched forward, and encamped at a place called Aguere, from whence he made inroads into the country, imagining from what had been told him of the king of Taora, that if he once conquered that chief, the reſt of the iſland muſt ſubmit at once. So paſſing by the diſtricts of Anago, Tacoronte, and Tegueſte, without meeting with any reſiſtance, he came to Orotava, then called by the natives Aracifapale, where he made a great booty of cattle; with which he was returning back, when Bentomo aſſembled his three hundred men, and gave the command of them to his brother, with orders to harraſs the Spaniards in their retreat in the narrow and difficult paſſes, that they might be detained until ſuch time as he could draw together the reſt of his forces to attack them. Accordingly, as the Spaniards were paſſing a narrow defile, ſurrounded with high cliffs or mountains, the three hundred Guanches, who lay in ambuſh, gave a great ſhout and whiſtle, and then fell on them with ſuch fury that they put them entirely to the rout, for the Spaniards could make no uſe of their cavalry in that place, on which they much depended, nor avail themſelves of the ſuperiority of their numbers; ſo that there was no remedy but in a precipitate flight. The Guanches purſued them cloſely, making great ſlaughter of the fugitives. The king's brother having ſat down upon a ſtone by the way-ſide to reſt himſelf, being much fatigued, Ventomo came up to him with the forces he had gathered together, and ſeeing his brother ſitting there by himſelf, he reprimanded him ſeverely; but the other replied with great coolneſs, "I have

"done

" done my part in vanquiſhing the enemy; now the butchers are doing theirs in " killing them." In this battle the greateſt part of Alonzo's army periſhed; and as the place where it was fought lay near Centejo, it was called La Matanſa de Centejo, i. e. the ſlaughter of Centejo, which name it ſtill retains. In this action the Spaniards loſt ſix hundred men, and Alonzo de Lugo himſelf narrowly eſcaped: in the battle he was knocked off his horſe by a blow with a ſtone on his mouth, which beat out ſome of his teeth; and as he lay on the ground he was ſurrounded by ſome Guanches, who killed his horſe, but he himſelf was bravely defended by Pedro Benitez, ſurnamed the One-eyed, who reſcued him out of their hands, and gave him another horſe, which he mounted, and eſcaped with ſome of his troops to the port, where the ſhips received them on board, and immediately diſpatched their boats to go along the coaſt in queſt of the reſt who had eſcaped from the battle: they found ninety together, who, by ſwimming, had ſaved themſelves on a rock in the ſea, whom they took off and brought to the ſhips. Some days after they had collected together their ſcattered troops, and refreſhed them, they landed in the ſame port, but were attacked and beaten by the natives, ſo that they were obliged again to embark with ſome loſs. Quite diſpirited by theſe misfortunes, Alonzo knew not what courſe to take; for he could not pretend to land again, having loſt in the two battles upwards of ſeven hundred men. At length he returned with the remains of his troops to Gran Canaria, where he and his men were hoſpitably received by his old friends, who gave him all the aſſiſtance in their power. From hence he ſent to ſome merchants at Seville, who had aſſiſted him with money in his expedition to Palma, requeſting another ſupply, which they granted. With this money he levied troops in Gran Canaria; at the ſame time the duke of Medina Sidonia ſent ſix carvels, having on board ſix hundred and fifty men and forty horſes, commanded by Bartolomeo Eſtupinan. Ignes Peraza, widow of Diogo de Herrera, alſo ſent him a reinforcement of troops from Lancerota.

Alonzo de Lugo now found himſelf at the head of a thouſand foot and ſeventy horſe, all completely armed. With theſe forces he embarked in the ſix carvels and and other veſſels. Juan Melian de Betancour, ſon-in-law to don Alonzo Jaimes de Sotomajor, went as Alferez, or ſtandard-bearer, to the expedition, carrying the ſtandard of Gran Canaria. The fleet arrived at Santa Cruz, where the greater part of the forces landed, and marched directly to the plain of Laguna, where they had a ſlight ſkirmiſh with the Guanches, near the hermitage of Gracia. From thence proceeding forward to Taora, in two diviſions, they came near the army of the Guanches, being the united forces of the iſland, with whom they had many encounters. But the natives, ſeeing the number and good order of the Spaniards, the precautions they took in avoiding ambuſcades and difficult paſſes, and conſidering the ſmall ſucceſs they had had in their frequent ſkirmiſhes with them, and alſo, that notwithſtanding the great blow they gave them at Centejo, they returned in ſo ſhort a time, and with ſo formidable an army; they began to think ſeriouſly of treating with them. Accordingly aſſembling all the chief men of the iſland, they ſent to Alonzo de Lugo to beg a truce, in order to have a conference with him, which he immediately granted. They accordingly came, and were received with great civility, and nobly entertained. They then demanded of him what motives had induced the Spaniards to invade the iſland in that hoſtile manner, diſturbing the repoſe of the inhabitants, plundering them

them of their cattle, and carrying the people into captivity, without having received any provocation from them; and desired also to know on what pretensions he continued to make war upon them? To all which Alonzo de Lugo replied, that he had no other design than to make them become Christians, and serve God in a right manner; which if they would consent to, he would suffer them to remain in the quiet and peaceable possession of their lands, cattle, and other effects. The Guanches, after taking this proposal into consideration, came to Alonzo de Lugo, and told him they were willing to become Christians: whereupon all the Guanches then present were immediately baptized; and for several days after, others came in from all parts of the island, until such time as all the inhabitants of the island had received baptism. This sudden revolution gave great joy to Alonzo de Lugo, who now saw the whole island reduced without bloodshed, for which he gave God thanks, and founded a hermitage on the spot where the treaty with the Guanches was concluded, and called it Nuestra Senora de la Victoria, i. e. Our Lady of Victory: it is situated in the road between Orotavia and the city of Laguna.

Having quieted the natives, and settled the government on a regular plan, he went through the island in quest of a proper place for building a city. At length he made choice of a spot in the plain of Laguna, where he laid the foundation A. D. 1495. of a city on the 25th day of July, being St. Christopher's day, and therefore called it St. Christobal de la Laguna. When he landed at Santa Cruz, he left some people there to erect a fort, for the security of his troops, where, in case of any disaster befalling them, such as that they met with at Matanza de Centejo, they might have a place of refuge to fly to. This town of Santa Cruz is now become the largest of any in the Canary Islands.

After the reduction of Teneriffe, most of the officers and soldiers returned to Spain. To those who chose to remain in the island, Alonzo gave lands for their maintenance; and sent advice to Castile, to their majesties, Ferdinando and Isabella, of what he had done, who were highly pleased with the news of the conquest of all the Canary Islands, which had cost them so much blood and treasure, but were now, with the kingdom of Granada, annexed to the crown of Castile: so that the Italians, French, and other Europeans, could no longer upbraid the Spaniards with going into foreign climes in search of countries to conquer, while they could not expel the Moors from their own.

King Ferdinando appointed Alonzo de Lugo governor of the islands of Teneriffe and Palma, with the title of lieutenant-governor of the Canary Islands; and invested him with power to distribute lands amongst those who had assisted in the conquest, and others who might settle on the island. His majesty likewise granted them, for their encouragement, many privileges and exemptions.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Account of the Spaniſh hiſtorians. Particulars of the Life of Columbus: motives which induced him to proceed on diſcoveries to the weſtward: offers himſelf to the Spaniſh Court: treats with other princes: agrees with Ferdinand and Iſabella: ſails from Spain: occurrences of the voyage: diſcovers ſeveral iſlands: arrives at Cuba. Alonzo Pinzon leaves the admiral. Columbus continues his diſcoveries: loſes his ſhip: reſolves to ſettle a colony: ſails for Spain: puts in at Liſbon: arrives in Spain: honours conferred upon him.

THE accounts of the early Spaniſh voyages, like thoſe of the firſt Portugueſe, have few of them been publiſhed ſeparately: to different hiſtorians we are indebted for collecting memorials from which they have compoſed their hiſtories. The authors on this ſubject are many; but Antonio Herrera, hiſtoriographer to his Catholic majeſty, has given the world the moſt perfect and authentic account that has yet been publiſhed, under the title of *Hiſtoria General de los Hechos de los Caſtellanos en las Iſlas y Terra Firma del Mar Oceano.*

This excellent hiſtory was compiled by command of the king of Spain, and Herrera was furniſhed with the beſt materials the crown could afford, both printed and manuſcript. He informs us, that he has followed the original papers of the Royal Chamber and Archives, and the books, regiſters, relations, and other papers of the Royal and Supreme Council of the Indies; omitting ſeveral things delivered by others in print, which were not verified by authentic writings; but that he had, at the ſame time, conſulted all the printed books, and taken as much from them as could be verified.

A hiſtory thus formed may excuſe the neceſſity of conſulting any other; yet as ſome of them are confeſſedly of great repute, and as we ſhall occaſionally make extracts from them, we ſhall take a ſlight review of them, and of their reſpective degrees of merit.

Peter Martyr, of Angleria, was a Milaneſe, and takes to himſelf the double title of apoſtolic notary, and counſellor to king Ferdinand, in whoſe ſervice he was at the time of the diſcovery of the new world, the hiſtory of which he has written in thirty books, addreſſed to different perſonages. The opportunities this author had, plead ſtrongly in favour of his work; yet ſome writers cenſure him as imperfect, and little to be depended on.

Columbus, the ſon of the admiral, wrote his father's life, including his voyages, and, making allowance for filial prejudices, certainly deſerves credit.

Hernandes de Oviedo y Valdez publiſhed, in 1535, his *Hiſtoria General y Natural de las Indias.* He held an office, which carried him to the continent of America; and, on his return, finding the relation of thoſe things very imperfect reſpecting many things with which he was well acquainted, he compoſed A Summary of the Natural Hiſtory of the Indies, which he publiſhed in one volume, and contains every thing relating to the firſt diſcovery. He is ranked among the firſt of the Spaniſh writers.

From theſe authors we ſhall occaſionally take extracts; but our principal guide will be Herrera, who, as his tranſlator juſtly obſerves, compriſes them all, and has ſtrictly adhered to the truth, without favour or affection.

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The diſcovery of America was reſerved for the immortal Columbus. As every thing which reſpects ſo celebrated a character is acceptable, we ſhall ſelect a few anecdotes of him, before he embarked in this great undertaking.

The place of his birth has never yet been decided; ſome ſay it was at Nerni, or at Cugureo, a little village near Genoa; others at Savone, or Plaiſance, in Lombardy. His ſon Ferdinand tells us, that there were in his time ſome very conſiderable perſons of his family at the latter place; and that ſome tombs were to be ſeen there, with the names and arms of the Columbi upon them.

The admiral's parents having loſt their property during the wars of Lombardy, were conſtrained to follow the ſea. Ferdinand viſiting two brothers of the name of Columbus, at Cugureo, both very rich, the younger of whom was one hundred years old, he was ſhewn one of his father's letters, where it was mentioned, that both him and his father followed that profeſſion.

Columbus was a man of a middling ſtature, long viſaged, aqualine noſe, and ſparkling eyes. In his youth he had fair hair, but which turned at the age of thirty; he ate and drank little; his manners were ſimple; he was pious, and courteous to ſtrangers and to his domeſtics; his parents ſent him to Pavia, where he cloſely applied himſelf to coſmography, aſtronomy, and geography, three ſciences in which he particularly excelled. When he was perfect maſter of what was neceſſary, he went to ſea, and made ſeveral voyages to different parts.

Meeting with a perſon of his name and family, called Columbus the younger, well known for his exploits againſt the infidels, our Columbus joined his company, and ſailed along with him. Receiving intelligence that four Venetian galleys were returning from Flanders, they went in queſt, and fell in with them between Liſbon and Cape St. Vincent, where they came to action. It laſted from morning until night; in the beginning of which a Venetian galley caught fire, and communicated it to the galley in which Chriſtopher Columbus was. As it could not be extinguiſhed, the people on board threw themſelves into the ſea; Chriſtopher caught hold of an oar in the water, and by that means got on ſhore on the coaſt of Portugal.

He went to Liſbon, where he was aſſured of meeting with ſome Genoeſe, his acquaintance; there he was well received, and being a well-made man, a young lady of a good family, named Filippe Mognez, who was in the convent to which he went to maſs, ſaw him, conceived an affection, made him acquainted with it, and married him. This lady, was daughter to Pedro Mognez Pereſtello, who had been ſome time dead. After the marriage, he and his wife lived with her mother.

One day the good old lady, in converſation with him, remarked, that he had a ſtrong inclination to the ſea; that her huſband had been a great ſeaman, and had ſailed in company with two other captains, his friends, to diſcover new countries, and that they had diſcovered the iſlands of Porto Santo and Madeira.

Columbus was highly pleaſed with this information, and begged her to ſhew him the relation of her huſband's voyages, which ſhe did. He read and drew much information from it, and often converſed with ſeveral able ſeamen, who informed him of the courſe which the Portugueſe ſteered for Mina and other parts of Africa; and afterwards reaſoning with himſelf, concluded, that ſince the Portugueſe had penetrated ſo far to the ſouth, the ſame might be done to the weſt, and new diſcoveries made that way. It will be here proper to enter further into the reaſons which determined him in his opinion, which we ſhall give in the words of Herrera.

The generallty of mankind were far from imagining there could exiſt any ſuch regions as thoſe we now call the Weſt Indies; ſuch ideas were looked on as extravagant. It was generally believed the land terminated at the Canary iſlands, and that all to the weſtward thereof was ſea. Although ſome of the ancients gave hints there were ſuch countries, yet they had not left any that Colon, or Columbus, as we call him, who was the firſt diſcoverer of the Weſt Indies, could make uſe of.

Columbus had many reaſons to believe there were other countries: he was a great coſmographer, much experienced in navigation; conſidered, that the heavens being circular, and moving round the earth, that the earth and water, compacted together, formed a globe or ball of two elements, and that the parts known were not the whole earth, but that there was ſtill much undiſcovered, in the ſpace of three hundred and ſixty degrees, which forms the whole circumference; for although many doubted whether there were land and ſea towards the poles, yet he concluded it was neceſſary that the earth ſhould bear the ſame proportion at the Antarctic pole, as it does at the Arctic.

He alſo concluded, that as the Portugueſe ſailed to the ſouthward, it was practicable to ſail to the weſtward, and that of courſe there muſt be land that way. The more to confirm his opinion, he noted all the tokens ſailors had obſerved, which any way favoured his opinion; and at length became poſitive, that to the weſtward of the iſlands of Cape Verde and the Canaries, there were many countries, and that it was practicable to navigate that ſea, and to diſcover them, becauſe the world being round, all its parts muſt of neceſſity be ſo; that the earth is ſo fixed, that it can never fail; and that the ſea, though contained in the bays of it, preſerves its rotundity, without overrunning, with reſpect to its centre of gravity.

The admiral, therefore, being furniſhed with many philoſophical reaſons, authorities of writers, and intimations of ſailors, being ſenſible, that it is natural for all the water and the earth to form the globe, and that it may be round from eaſt to weſt, ſo that men might travel on it, till the feet of ſome come to be oppoſite to the feet of others, whereſoever they happen to be diametrically againſt each other; then conſidering that a great part of the globe had been already ſailed over, and that there remained no more to diſcover than the ſpace from the moſt eaſtern ports of India, of which Ptolemy had knowledge, till holding on ſtill to the eaſtward, they could return through the weſtern part to the Azore and Cape Verde iſlands, the moſt weſtern land then diſcovered; and that the ſpace there was between the end eaſtward, and the iſlands of Cape Verde, could not be above the third part of the greateſt circle of the globe, ſince they had already proceeded to the eaſtward as far as five hours of the ſun, he concluded, that ſince Marinus, in his Coſmography, had writ of as much as amounted to fifteen hours, or that part of the globe to the eaſtward, and was not yet come to the eaſtern extremity, it followed of courſe, that the ſaid extremity muſt be further on, and of conſequence the more it extended to the eaſtward, the nearer it muſt approach to the iſlands of Cape Verde, in our weſtern way; and that if the ſaid interval were greater, it might eaſily be ſailed in a few days; and if there were land, it would be the ſooner diſcovered to the weſtward, as being nearer to the ſaid iſlands. In this opinion he was confirmed by Martin de Bohemia, a Portugueſe, his friend, native of the iſland of Fayal, and an able coſmographer.

God (ſays Herrera) ſeveral ways prompted don Chriſtopher Columbus to undertake ſo great an enterpriſe; and beſides the reaſons already mentioned, he had the following.

following. He went upon very probable experience; for diſcourſing with ſome men uſed to navigate the Weſtern Ocean, and particularly to the iſlands Azores, Martin Vicente affirmed to him, that being once four hundred and fifty leagues to the weſtward of Cape St. Vincent, he took up a piece of wood, artificially wrought; and, as far as could be gueſſed, not with iron; for which reaſon, and becauſe the wind had been many days together weſterly, he imagined that ſtick came from ſome iſland.

Peter Correa, who was married to a ſiſter of don Chriſtopher's wife, aſſured him, that in the iſland of Porto Santo, he had ſeen another piece of wood, brought by the ſame winds, and wrought in the ſame manner; and that he alſo ſaw ſome very large canes, every joint whereof would hold three azumbres, that is, near five Engliſh quarts of liquid meaſure. Don Chriſtopher ſaid, he had heard the ſame aſſerted by the king of Portugal, in diſcourſing on theſe affairs; and that he had ſuch canes, and ordered them to be ſhewn him, which he ſuppoſed to have been brought on the ſea by the force of the wind, ſince it was not known that there were any ſuch in all our parts of Europe; and he was confirmed in this belief, by Ptolemy's ſaying (in the firſt book, chap. xvii. of his Coſmography) that there are ſuch canes in India. He was alſo aſſured by inhabitants of the iſlands Azores, that when the wind blew hard at weſt and north-weſt, the ſea brought ſome pine trees, and left them on the coaſt of Gracioſa and Fayal, there being none in any part of thoſe iſlands. The ſea caſt upon the iſland of Flores two dead bodies of men, who ſeemed to have very broad faces, and different features from the Chriſtians. Another time there were found two canoes, or almadias, with a covering to take off, which it is likely had been driven by the wind as they were paſſing from one iſland to another, and becauſe they never ſink, had driven to the Azores.

Antony Leme, married in the iſland of Madeira, affirmed, that having ſailed in his caravel a conſiderable ſpace to the weſtward, he fancied he had ſeen three iſlands near to the place where he then was; and many people in the iſlands of Gomera, Hierra, and the Azores aſſerted, that they every year ſaw ſome iſlands to the weſtward. This, don Chriſtopher ſaid, might be underſtood of the iſland Pliny mentions, book II. cap. xcvii. of his Natural Hiſtory, where he ſays, that in the northern parts, the ſea tore off ſome trees from the land, which had ſuch great roots, that it carried them like floats on the water, and at a diſtance they looked like iſlands.

An inhabitant of the iſland of Madeira, in the year 1484, aſked leave of the king of Portugal to go to diſcover ſome land he ſwore he ſaw every year, and always after the ſame manner, therein agreeing with the inhabitants of the iſlands Azores; and hence it was, that in the ancient ſea-charts, ſome iſlands were repreſented about thoſe ſeas, particularly thoſe they called Antilla, which they placed ſomewhat above two hundred leagues to the weſtward of the Canaries and the Azores, and that the Portugueſe ſuppoſed to be the Iſland of the Seven Cities, the fame and deſire whereof has occaſioned many, out of covetouſneſs, to ſpend much money to no purpoſe.

It is reported, that the Portugueſe ſay, this Iſland of the Seven Cities was peopled by them at the time when Spain was over-run by the Moors, in the reign of king Roderic; for that ſeven biſhops flying from that perſecution, embarked, with a great number of people, and arrived in that iſland, where each of them built his town; that the people might not think of returning, they ſet fire to the ſhips; and that in the days of don Henry, infante of Portugal, a ſhip ſailing from that kingdom was driven upon this iſland by a ſtorm, and the natives carried the ſailors to the church, to ſee whether they were Chriſtians, and performed the Romiſh ceremonies; and perceiving

they were ſuch, deſired them to ſtay there till their ſovereign came; but that the ſeamen fearing leſt they ſhould burn their ſhip to detain them, returned with much joy to Portugal, well aſſured they ſhould be well rewarded by the infante, who reproved them for coming away without a better account, and ordered them to return thither; but that the maſter and ſeamen durſt not perform it, and departing the kingdom, never came back.

They farther add, that the cook's boy of the Portugueſe ſhip, took up ſome earth or ſand for their cook-room, and found that much of it was gold. Several ſailed from Portugal in queſt of this province, among whom was one James de Tiene, whoſe pilot, James Velazquez, an inhabitant of Palos, affirmed to Columbus, that they loſt themſelves off the iſland Fayal, and ſailed one hundred and fifty leagues with a S. W. wind, and at their return deſcried the iſland of Flores, being guided by many birds they ſaw fly that way, which they knew were not ſea fowl. He afterwards ſaid, they had ſailed ſo far N. W. that Cape Clear, in Ireland, bore eaſt from them, where they found the weſt winds blew very hard, and the ſea was very ſmooth, which they ſuppoſed to be occaſioned by ſome land that was thereabout, which ſheltered them to the weſtward, and that they did not proceed to diſcover it, becauſe, it being then Auguſt, they were afraid of the approaching winter. This happened forty years before Columbus diſcovered the Weſt Indies. Another ſailor, at the port of St. Mary, ſaid, that ſailing to Ireland, he had ſeen that land, which the reſt of the ſhip's company imagined to be Tartary, that it bore away to the weſtward, and has ſince appeared to be the coaſt called Bacallaos, in the north of America; but that they could not come at it by reaſon of the violent winds. Peter de Velaſco, a Galician, affirmed, that ſailing for Ireland, he ran ſo far to the northward, that he ſaw land to the weſtward of that iſland. Vincent Diaz, a Portugueſe pilot, of the town of Tavira, coming from Guinea, ſaid, that about the iſland of Madeira he fancied he ſaw an iſland, which ſeemed to be true land; that he diſcovered the ſecret to a Genoeſe merchant, his friend, whom he perſuaded to fit out a ſhip for the diſcovery, and having obtained leave of the king of Portugal, orders were ſent to Francis de Cazana, the merchant's brother, to fit out a ſhip at Seville, and put it under the command of Vincent Diaz, but that he making a jeſt of that affair, would not do it; and the pilot returning to the iſland Tercera, with the aſſiſtance of Luke de Cazana, fitted out a ſhip, and ſailed two or three times above one hundred leagues, but never found any thing. To this was added the ſearch of Gaſpar, and Michael de Cortereal, ſons to the commander that diſcovered the iſland Tercera, who were loſt in queſt of this land. All theſe were motives to excite don Chriſtopher Columbus in earneſt to embrace the enterpriſe, for when the divine Providence decrees to do any thing, it well knows how to fit the time and chuſe the perſons, and giving the inclination, furniſhes the helps, offers the opportunities, and removes the obſtacles, that the effects may take place.

Enough being ſaid in relation to the inducements Columbus had to be perſuaded that there were new lands, it will be proper to ſay ſomething of the opinion, which long prevailed among many, that there were no Antipodes, which the admiral was againſt, though that controverſy is now ended, by means of the Spaniſh nation, which has diſcovered the Indies, lands of the Antipodes, navigating the great ocean, againſt the opinion of the ancients, who affirmed it was impoſſible to navigate the ſame,

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croſſing the torrid zone, which, if it had reached their knowledge, would have been great cauſe of admiration.

Though ſome of the ancients owned that there were Antipodes, yet wanting the light God gave Columbus, and the Spaniards who performed that great enterpriſe, they denied there was a paſſage from our world to thoſe Antipodes, becauſe the torrid zone and the ocean lay between, which deterred them; but now philoſophy has been improved, by the voyage performed in the ſhip Victory, which returned from the Molucco iſlands, under the command of captain John Sebaſtian del Cano, a native of Guetaria, in the province of Guipuſcoa, having ſailed round the world, touching at both Antipodes, croſſing both the tropics and the equinoctial, clearing up this doubt, to all the nations in the world; and captain Ferdinand de Magallaens, by the Engliſh called Magellan, and John Sebaſtian del Cano, are celebrated as men worthy of eternal fame, the firſt for having ſailed to thoſe parts, and the latter for his return from thence.

Columbus, from the above circumſtances, being very poſitive in the notion he had long conceived, that there were new lands undiſcovered, reſolved to make the ſame public; but being ſenſible that ſuch an enterpriſe was only fit for great princes, he firſt propoſed it to the republic of Genoa, which looked upon it as a dream; and after that to king John of Portugal, who, though he gave him a favourable hearing, being then taken up with the diſcovery of the coaſt of Africa, did not think fit to undertake ſo many things at once; yet he referred it to don Diogo Ortiz, biſhop of Ceuta, who was a Caſtilian, born at Calzadilla, in the maſterſhip of Santiago, and to maſter Rodrigo and maſter Juſepe, Jewiſh phyſicians, to whom he gave credit in affairs of diſcoveries and coſmography; and though they affirmed they looked upon it as a fabulous notion, having heard don Chriſtopher Columbus, and underſtood the motives he had, and what courſe he deſigned to ſteer, yet did not altogether reject the project, but adviſed him to ſend a caravel, upon pretence of ſailing for Cape Verde, to endeavour, by the courſe don Chriſtopher propoſed, to diſcover the ſecret; but that veſſel having been many days out at ſea, and in great ſtorms, returned without finding any thing, making a jeſt of Columbus's project, who was not ignorant of this attempt.

This action very much troubled Columbus, and he took ſuch an averſion to Portugal, that being free from his wife, who was dead, he reſolved to go away into Spain, and for fear of being ſerved as he had been in Portugal, he reſolved to ſend his brother, don Bartholomew Columbus, at the ſame time into England, where Henry VII. then reigned. He was long on his paſſage, having been taken by pirates, and ſtaid there to be acquainted with the humours of the court, and the method of managing affairs. Don Chriſtopher mean time deſigning to propoſe that affair to
A. D. 1484. their catholic majeſties, Ferdinand and Elizabeth, privately made his way out of Portugal by ſea, towards Andaluſia, being ſatisfied that the king was convinced that his project was well grounded, and that thoſe who went in the caravel had not performed what he expected of them, and therefore deſigned to attempt that affair again. He arrived at Palos de Moguer, whence he went away to the court, which was then at Cordova, leaving his ſon in the monaſtery of Rabida, half a league from Palos, under the charge of father John Perez de Marchena, guardian of that houſe, a man ſomewhat verſed in coſmography, and learned in human literature.

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He began to propoſe his affair at Cordova, where the moſt encouragement he found was in Alonſo de Quintanilla, comptroller of the revenue of Caſtile, a very diſcreet man, who delighted in great undertakings, and who, looking upon Columbus as a man of worth, gave him his maintenance, without which he could not have ſubſiſted ſo long in that tedious ſuit, which was ſo much preſſed, that their catholic majeſties giving ſome attention to the affair, referred it to father Ferdinand de Talavera, of the order of St. Jerome, prior of Prado, and the queen's confeſſor, who was afterwards the firſt archbiſhop of Granada. He held an aſſembly of coſmographers, who debated about it; but there being few then of that profeſſion in Caſtile, and thoſe none of the beſt; and beſides, that Columbus would not altogether explain himſelf, leſt he ſhould be ſerved as he had been in Portugal, they came to a reſolution not anſwerable to what he expected; ſome alledging, that ſince during ſo many ages as had paſſed from the creation of the world, men ſo well verſed in marine affairs had known nothing of thoſe countries which Columbus perſuaded them muſt be found, it was not to be imagined, that he could know more than all of them. Others, adhering more to coſmographical reaſons, urged, that the world was ſo large, that there would be no coming to the utmoſt extent of the eaſt in three years ſail, whether Columbus ſaid he intended his voyage; and in confirmation thereof they alledged, that Seneca, by way of diſpute, ſaid, that many diſcreet men did not agree upon the queſtion, whether the ocean was infinite, and doubted whether it could be ſailed; and ſuppoſing it to be navigable, whether there was any country inhabited on the other ſide, and whether it was poſſible to go to it: they added, that no part of this inferior ſphere was inhabited, except only a ſmall compaſs, which was left in our hemiſphere above the water, and that all the reſt was ſea; and that notwithſtanding it were ſo, that it were poſſible to arrive at the extreme part of the eaſt, it would be alſo granted, that from Spain they might go to the extreme part of the weſt.

There were ſtill others who affirmed, that if Columbus ſhould ſail away directly weſtward, he would not be able to return to Spain, by reaſon of the roundneſs of the globe; becauſe whoſoever ſhould go beyond the hemiſphere known by Ptolomy, would fall down ſo low that it would be impoſſible ever to return, by reaſon it would be like climbing up a hill; and though Columbus fully anſwered theſe arguments, they could not comprehend him; for which reaſon thoſe of the aſſembly judged the enterpriſe to be vain and impracticable, and that it was not becoming the grandeur of ſuch mighty princes to attend to ſo imperfect an account.

After much delay, their catholic majeſties ordered this anſwer to be given to Columbus; that being engaged in ſeveral wars, and particularly in the conqueſt of Granada, they could not enter upon freſh expences; but when that was over, they would cauſe farther enquiry to be made into his propoſals; and ſo they diſmiſſed him. Thoſe who look upon it as an invention that Columbus learnt this ſecret of a Portugueſe pilot, who in a ſtorm diſcovered thoſe countries, alledge to this purpoſe, that if Columbus had been ſo ſure of it, he would not have expoſed it to be controverted, nor have waited to be ſo put off by their catholic majeſties, but would by ſome other means have made out his affirmative.

Having received the anſwer above, Columbus went away to Seville, very melancholy and diſcontented, after having been five years at court to no effect. He cauſed the affair to be propoſed to the duke de Medina Sidonia, and ſome ſay, to the duke de Medina Celi, at the ſame time; they alſo rejecting him, he writ to the king of France,

France, deſigning to go over into England, to look for his brother, of whom he had heard nothing for a long time, in caſe the French would not employ him. With this deſign he went to the monaſtery for his ſon don Diego, or James, in order to leave him at Cordova; and communicating his deſign to father John Perez de Marchena, God having reſerved this diſcovery for the crown of Caſtile and Leon, and Columbus going unwillingly to treat with other princes, becauſe by reaſon of the long time he had lived in Spain, he looked upon himſelf as a Spaniard, he put off his journey, at the requeſt of father John Perez, who, to be the better informed of the grounds Columbus went upon, ſent for Garci Hernandez, a phyſician, and they three conferred together upon what Columbus propoſed, which gave Garci Hernandez, as being a philoſopher, much ſatisfaction; on this father John Perez, who was known to the queen, having ſometimes confeſſed her, writ to her, and ſhe ordered him to come to the court, which was then in the town of Santa Fe, at the ſiege of Granada, and to leave Columbus at Palos, giving him hopes of ſucceſs in his buſineſs. Father John Perez having been with the queen, ſhe ordered 20,000 maravedies in florins, to be ſent Columbus, by James Prieto, an inhabitant of Palos, for him to go to court, where, being come, the affair began to be again canvaſſed. But the prior of Prado, and others who followed them, being of a contrary opinion, and Columbus demanding very high terms, and among the reſt to have the title of admiral and vice-roy, they thought he demanded too much if the enterpriſe ſucceeded, and looked upon it as a diſcredit if it did not, whereupon the treaty entirely ceaſed, and Columbus reſolving to go away to Cordova, in order to proceed from thence to France, determined not to go to Portugal upon any account.

Alonſo de Quaintanilla and Lewis de Santangel, a clerk of the revenue of the crown of Aragon, were much concerned to think that this enterpriſe ſhould be diſappointed. Now, at the requeſt of father John Perez, and Alonſo de Quaintanilla, the cardinal don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza heard Columbus, and looking upon him as a ſenſible man, he had an eſteem for him. Beſides, the adverſe party objecting, that as Columbus ventured nothing himſelf in the diſcovery, and made himſelf admiral of a fleet of their catholic majeſties, he would not mind being diſappointed in his enterpriſe, the cardinal offered, in anſwer to them, to lay down the eighth part of the expence, provided he ſhould be paid, and have his quota of the return that ſhould be made; but nothing yet came of it. In January 1692, he ſet out from Santa Fe for Cordova, in great anguiſh, the city of Granada being then in the poſſeſſion of their catholic majeſties. The ſame day Lewis de Santangel told the queen, he wondered that ſhe, who had never wanted a ſpirit for the greateſt undertakings, ſhould now fail where ſo little could be loſt, and ſo much might be gained; for in caſe the affair ſucceeded, and fell into the hands of another prince, as Columbus affirmed it was like to do, in caſe Spain would not accept of it, ſhe might judge how prejudicial it would be to her crown; and ſince Columbus appeared to be a diſcreet man, and demanded no reward but out of what he ſhould find, and was willing to defray a part of the charge, venturing his own perſon alſo, the thing ought not to be looked upon as altogether ſo impracticable as the coſmographers ſaid, nor be reckoned a folly to have attempted ſuch a mighty enterpriſe, though it ſhould prove unſucceſsful, inaſmuch as it became great and generous monarchs, to be acquainted with the wonders and ſecrets of the world, by which other princes have gained everlaſting renown; beſides that Columbus demanded only a million of

maravedies

maravedies to fit himſelf out; and therefore he entreated her not to ſuffer the apprehenſion of ſo ſmall an expence to diſappoint ſo great an enterpriſe.

The queen finding herſelf importuned on the ſame account by Alonſo de Quaintanilla, who was in much credit with her, thanked them for their advice, and ſaid, ſhe accepted of it, provided they would ſtay till ſhe could a little recover after the expences of the war, however, if they thought fit it ſhould be immediately put in execution, ſhe would conſent, that they ſhould borrow what money was requiſite, upon ſome of her jewels. Quaintanilla, and Santangel kiſſed her hands, for that ſhe had, at their requeſt, reſolved to do what ſhe had refuſed ſo many others, and Lewis de Santangel offered to lend as much as was neceſſary. Upon this reſolution, the queen ordered an alguazil of the court to go poſt after Columbus, to tell him from her, that ſhe commanded him to return, and to bring him back. The alguazil overtook him two leagues from Granada, at the bridge of Pinos, and though much concerned for the ſmall reſpect that had been ſhewn him, he returned to Santa Fe, where he was well received, and the ſecretary, John Coloma, was ordered to draw up the conditions, and diſpatches, after he had ſpent eight years in inculcating the enterprize, and enduring many croſſes and hardſhips.

A. D. 1492. When Columbus and the ſecretary Coloma had conferred together about the terms he had at firſt demanded, they agreed upon the following conditions, on the 17th of April.

" Firſt, their highneſſes, as ſovereigns of the ocean, conſtitute don Chriſtopher " Columbus their admiral in all thoſe iſlands, and continents, that by his induſtry " ſhall be diſcovered, or conquered in the ſaid ocean, during his own life; and after " his death, to his heirs and ſucceſſors, one by one for ever, with all the pre-eminen- " cies and prerogatives to that office appertaining, and in the ſame manner as don " Alonſo Henriquez, their great admiral of Caſtile, and his predeceſſors in the ſaid " office, had enjoyed the ſame within their diſtricts.

" Item, their highneſſes appoint the ſaid don Chriſtopher Columbus their viceroy, " and governor general, of all the iſlands and continents, which (as has been ſaid) " he ſhall diſcover or conquer in the ſaid ocean, and that he chuſe three perſons " for the government of each of them, for each office; and that their highneſſes " take and make choice of one of them, as ſhall be moſt for their ſervice, and ſo " the lands will be the better governed, which our Lord ſhall permit him to diſ- " cover, or conquer, for the ſervice of their highneſſes.

" Item, that all, and whatſoever commodities, whether pearls, precious ſtones, " gold, ſilver, ſpice, or other things whatſoever; or merchandiſe of any kind, name, " or manner whatſoever they may be, that ſhall be bought, exchanged, found, won, " or had within the limits of the ſaid admiralſhip, their highneſſes from this time " grant to the ſaid don Chriſtopher, and it is their will, that he have and enjoy the " tenth part of it for himſelf, deducting the charges that ſhall be made towards the " ſame; ſo that of what ſhall remain clear and free, he have and take the tenth part " for himſelf, and diſpoſe of it at his own will, the other nine parts remaining for " their highneſſes.

" Item, in caſe that on account of the ſaid merchandiſe, which he ſhall bring " from the ſaid iſlands, or lands, which ſhall (as has been ſaid) be diſcovered or " conquered, or of thoſe that ſhall be taken in exchange of them of other merchants, " any law ſuit ſhould happen to ariſe, in the place where the ſaid commerce and

" trade

" trade ſhall be made, and carried on, if by reaſon of his ſaid office of admiral it " ſhall belong to him to take cognizance of ſuch controverſy, it may pleaſe their " highneſſes, that he, or his deputy, and no other judge ſhall try the ſaid cauſe, if " it appertains to the ſaid office of admiral, as the ſame has been enjoyed by the " admiral don Alonſo Henriquez, or his predeceſſors in their diſtricts, and according " to juſtice.

" Item, that all the ſhips which ſhall be fitted out for the ſaid trade, and com- " merce, whenſoever, and as often as they ſhall be fitted, ſhall be liable to the ſaid " don Chriſtopher Columbus, if he ſhall think fit, to lay out the eighth part of " what ſhall be expended, in fitting them out, and that he accordingly have, and " receive the eighth part of the profits of ſuch ſhips."

The aforeſaid articles were granted in the town of Santa Fé, in the plain of Granada, with which diſpatch, and the aforeſaid money, Columbus ſet out from Granada on the 12th of May, and leaving his ſons at their ſtudies in Cordova, he went away to the town of Palos to undertake his voyage, few at court expecting that he would perform what he had promiſed. Their catholic majeſties ſtrictly enjoined him, not to touch at Guinea, nor come within an hundred leagues of the Portugueſe conqueſts. They gave him their letters patents to all kings and princes in the world, for them to give him a favourable and honourable reception, as their officer and commander. He repaired to Palos, becauſe there were able ſeamen in that place, and he had many friends there, and on account of his friendſhip with the guardian, father John Perez de Marchena, who helped him very much in the diſpatch of his affairs, perſuading the ſailors, who were very backward to engage in an unknown voyage. He carried with him orders for that town to furniſh him with two caravels, which it was obliged to find for the ſervice of the crown during three months every year. He fitted out another ſhip to be admiral, and called it St. Mary; the ſecond was called Pinta, of which Martin Alonſo Pinzon was captain, and his brother Francis Martinez Pinzon, maſter. The third was named Nina, carrying ſquare ſails, whoſe captain and maſter was Vincent Yaez Pinzon, who was of great help in this affair, and laid down half a million of maravedies for the eighth part of the expence. He made uſe of the Pinzons, becauſe they were prime men in that town, wealthy, and ſkilful mariners, and the ſeamen ſeeing them approve of the voyage, were willing to undertake it.

The ſhips being provided for a year, having on board ninety men, moſt of them natives of Palos, and among them ſome friends of Columbus, and ſome of the king's ſervants, they ſet ſail on Friday the third of Auguſt in the aforeſaid year, half an hour before ſun riſing, and got over the bar of Saltes, ſo the river of Palos is called, directing their courſe for the Canary iſlands, after they had all, following the example of Columbus, made their confeſſion, and received the holy communion. As they held on their voyage, on the fourth of Auguſt, the rudder of the caravel Pinta, which Martin Alonſo Pinzon commanded, broke looſe, as was ſuſpected, by the contrivance of Gomez Raſcon, and Chriſtopher Quintero, mariners, to whom the caravel belonged, becauſe they went the voyage againſt their will, and they had alſo endeavoured to diſappoint it before their departure. It was hereupon neceſſary to lie by, and the admiral drew near to the caravel, (though he could give it no aſſiſtance) it being uſual for admirals ſo to encourage others. But Martin Alonſo Pinzon being an able ſailor, the rudder was faſtened with cables, in ſuch manner, that

they were able to ſail till the Tueſday following, when it again broke looſe, by reaſon of the high wind, and they were all forced to lie to.

This miſchance happening to the caravel Pinta at their firſt ſetting out, would have diſmayed any ſuperſtitious perſon, eſpecially conſidering how diſobedient Martin Alonſo proved to Columbus. Having repaired the rudder in the beſt manner they could, on the 11th of Auguſt, by break of day, they diſcovered the Canaries, and not being able in two days to put into Grand Canaria, becauſe the wind was contrary, Columbus ordered Martin Alonſo to procure ſome other veſſel, as ſoon as he could get aſhore, and he, with the other two, made for the iſland Gomera, to endeavour to do the ſame; but finding none, he returned to Grand Canaria, and reſolved to make a new rudder for the caravel Pinta, and to change the ſails of the caravel Nina, which were ſquare, into thoſe called trig ſails, that ſhe might follow the other ſhips more ſteadily, and with leſs danger. The fifth of Septemper in the afternoon, he ſailed, and arriving at the iſland Gomera, ſpent four days there, taking in fleſh, water, and fuel, with the utmoſt diligence; becauſe, being informed that three Portugueſe caravels were hovering about thoſe iſlands to ſeize him, he feared ſome trouble, therefore ſailed to the weſtward, making little way by reaſon of the want of wind, and calm. But the next day they loſt ſight of land; many ſighed and wept, believing they ſhould never ſee it again; but Columbus encouraged and comforted them with great hopes of wealth, and good fortune. That day they run eighteen leagues; but the admiral deſignedly reckoned only fifteen, thinking it convenient to ſhorten their run, that the men might fear the leſs. On the 11th of September, being 150 leagues from the iſland Ferro, they ſaw a piece of a maſt, which ſeemed to have been carried away by the current. In the ſame latitude, ſomewhat farther on, the currents ſet ſtrong to the northward; and 50 leagues farther weſtward, on the 14th of September, Columbus, about night-fall obſerved, that the needle varied to the north-weſt about half a point, and that at break of day it did the like ſomewhat above half a point, by which he perceived, that the needle did not point directly at the ſtar called the north, but at another fixed and inviſible point.

This variation had not till then been obſerved by any perſon, which was much admired, and more the third day after, when he had advanced 100 leagues farther, holding the ſame courſe, becauſe the needles then at night-fall varied to the north-weſt as before, and in the morning again pointed upon the very ſtar. Saturday the 15th of September, being near 300 leagues to the weſtward of the iſland Ferro, a flame of fire was ſeen to fall into the ſea, in the night, four or five leagues from the ſhips, towards the ſouth-weſt; the weather being calm, and the ſea ſmooth, the currents ſtill ſetting to the north-eaſt, the crew of the caravel Nina ſaid, they had the day before ſeen a bird called a waterwagtail, which they admired, that being the firſt, and a bird which they ſay never flies above 15 or 20 leagues from land. The next day, being Sunday, they were more ſurpriſed to ſee ſpots of green and yellow weeds on the ſurface of the water, which ſeemed to have been waſhed away from ſome iſland, or rocks, and they ſaw much more on Monday, which made them conclude that they were near land; and they were confirmed in it, becauſe they ſaw a little locuſt, or graſhopper alive upon the weeds. Others fancied they might be rocks, or lands under water, and beginning to be afraid, murmured againſt the voyage. It was alſo obſerved, that the ſea water was not half ſo ſalt as that they had paſſed; that night they ſaw many tunny fiſhes, following the ſhips ſo cloſe, that the men in

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the Nina caravel killed one of them with an harpoon iron, and in the morning they found the air very temperate, which was extremely agreeable, the weather being as it is in Andaluſia in April. Being three hundred and ſeventy leagues to the weſtward of the iſland Ferro, they ſaw another waterwagtail; and on Tueſday the 18th of September, Martin Alonſo Pinzon, who had ſailed a-head with the Pinta caravel, which was a very good ſailor, lay by for the admiral, and told him he had ſeen a multitude of birds making to the weſtward, which made him believe he ſhould ſee land that night, and find it to the northward, fifteen leagues from where he then was: nay, he fancied he had ſeen it; but the admiral judging it was not ſo, would not loſe time to go in queſt of it, becauſe he did not think himſelf to be in the place where he ſhould diſcover it. That night the wind freſhened, after they had ſailed eleven days without handing their ſails, ſtill ſailing right before the wind to the weſtward, the admiral continually noting down every thing that happened, obſerving what winds blew, what his courſe was, what fiſhes and birds were ſeen, and all other tokens, making obſervations, and ſounding very frequently.

The men being all unacquainted with that voyage, and ſeeing no hopes of any comfort, nothing appearing but ſky and water for ſo many days, all of them carefully obſerved every token they ſaw, being then farther from land than any men had ever been before. The 19th of September, a ſea-gul went to the admiral's ſhip, and others came near in the afternoon, which put them in hopes that ſome land was near, believing that thoſe birds went not far from it. With this hope, the weather being calm, they ſounded with two hundred fathoms of line, and though they found no ground, they perceived that the currents ran to the ſouth-weſt. Thurſday the 20th, two hours before noon, they ſaw two other gulls near the admiral, and ſome time after they took a black bird, with a white ſpot on his head, and feet like a duck; they alſo killed a ſmall fiſh, and ſaw abundance of weeds, like what they had ſeen before, and the ſhips making way through them, they ceaſed to be afraid. The next morning at break of day three other little land birds came on board the admiral ſinging, and at ſun riſing they flew away, which was ſome comfort to the men, as believing that the other ſea fowls might eaſily go farther from the land, but that the little birds could not come from ſo great a diſtance. Some time after, they ſaw another gull coming from the weſt-north-weſt; and the next day in the afternoon they ſaw another waterwagtail, and a gull, and ſpied more weeds to the northward, which was ſome ſatisfaction to them, believing the land was near.

The weeds at the ſame time perplexed them, ſome ſpots of them being ſo thick that they hindered the ſhip's way, and therefore they kept as clear of them as they could. The next day they ſaw a whale, and the 22d of September they ſpied ſome birds, and thoſe three days the wind was at ſouth-weſt; and though it was contrary, the admiral ſaid it was good, becauſe the men muttering, and refuſing to obey, and alledging among other things, that ſince they had ſo long run before the wind, it would be hard for them to return to Spain, by reaſon, that though it had ſometimes proved contrary, it had held but a ſhort time, and was not ſteady. And though the admiral anſwered, that it was occaſioned by their being near land, and urged ſome reaſons for it, he ſtood in need of God's ſpecial aſſiſtance; for the diſcontents increaſed, the men grew mutinous, and by degrees paid him no reſpect, reflecting on the king for having given orders for that voyage, and almoſt all of them agreed not to proceed on it. The

admiral

admiral managed dexterouſly, ſometimes encouraging the men, and aſſuring them of the ſhortneſs and good ſucceſs of their voyage; at other times threatening them with the king's authority. But it pleaſed God, that on the twenty-third the wind came up at weſt-north-weſt, the ſea indifferent rough, as they all wiſhed; and three hours before noon a turtle-dove flew over the admiral; in the afternoon a gull, and other white birds; and among the weeds they found little graſhoppers. The next day came a gull and ſome turtle-doves from the weſtward, and ſome ſmall fiſhes, which they ſtruck with harpoon irons, becauſe they would not take the bait.

As the aforeſaid tokens proved of no effect, the men's fear increaſed, and they took occaſion to murmur, gathering in parcels aboard the ſhips, ſaying, that the admiral in a mad humour had thought to make himſelf great, at the expence of their lives; and though they had done their duty, and ſailed farther from land than ever any men had done before, they ought not to contribute to their own deſtruction, ſtill proceeding without any reaſon, till their proviſions failed them, which, though they were ever ſo ſparing, would not ſuffice to carry them back, no more than the ſhips, which were already very crazy; ſo that no body would think they had done amiſs; and that ſo many having oppoſed the admiral's project, the more credit would be given to them. Nay, there wanted not ſome who ſaid, that to put an end to all debates, the beſt way would be ſlily to throw him into the ſea, and ſay he had unfortunately fallen in, as he was attentively gazing on the ſtars; and ſince no body would go about to enquire into the truth of it, that was the beſt means for them to return, and ſave themſelves. Thus the mutinous temper went on from day to day, and the evil deſigns of the men, which very much perplexed Columbus; but ſometimes giving good words, and at other times putting them in mind of the puniſhment they would incur, if they obſtructed the voyage, he curbed their inſolence with fear; and as a confirmation of the hopes he gave them of ſoon concluding the voyage ſucceſsfully, he often put them in mind of the above-mentioned ſigns and tokens, promiſing they would ſoon find a vaſt rich country, where they would all conclude their labour well beſtowed. The men were ſo anxious, and diſconſolate, that every hour ſeemed a year, till on Tueſday the 25th of September at ſun-ſetting, whilſt Columbus was talking to Vincent Yanez Pinzon, he cried out, "Land, land, Sir: let me not looſe "my reward for the good news;" and ſhewed, towards the ſouth-weſt, a body, that looked like an iſland, about twenty-five leagues from the ſhips. This, which was looked upon as an invention concerted between the two, ſo much cheered up the men, that they returned thanks to God, and the admiral till night made as if he had believed it to be ſo, ſteering his courſe that way a great part of the night to humour the men.

The next morning they all perceived they were clouds, which often look like land, and to the great regret of the greater part, they held on their courſe weſtward, as long as the wind did not hinder them. But to return to the tokens, they ſaw a gull, and a waterwagtail, and other birds; and on Thurſday morning they ſaw another waterwagtail, coming from the weſt-ward, and many gilt fiſhes appeared, which they killed with harping irons; a waterwagtail flew very near the ſhip, and they perceived that the currents ran not ſo ſtrong as before, but turned back with the tides, and there were fewer weeds. The next Friday they took many gilt fiſhes. On Saturday they ſaw a waterwagtail, which is a ſea fowl, that never reſts, and purſues the gulls, till they empty their bellies for fear, and catching their dung in the air,

feeds

feeds on it; and of theſe birds there are very many in the iſlands of Cape Verde. Soon after two waterwagtails appeared, and many flying fiſhes, which having two little wings, ſometimes fly a muſket-ſhot, a few yards above the water, being about a ſpan in length, and ſometimes fell into ſhips. After noon they met with a great quantity of weeds in a line from north to ſouth, and three gulls, and a waterwagtail purſuing them; the men ſtill fancying that the weeds were a token that there was ground near under water, and that they ſhould periſh. On Sunday four waterwagtails flew near the admiral, and by their being together, they judged that they were near land; as alſo becauſe four more came ſoon after, and they ſaw many weeds in a line from weſt-north-weſt to eaſt-ſouth-eaſt; and many fiſhes called emperors, which have a very hard ſkin, and are not good to eat. Though the admiral took notice of theſe tokens, not forgetting thoſe in the ſky, he obſerved there, that the polar ſtars were at night on the weſt quarter, and when day came on they were on the north-eaſt quarter, by which he concluded, that during the night they advanced but three lines, which are nine hours, and this he found every night. He alſo perceived, that at night-fall the needles varied one whole degree, and in the morning they were right to the ſtar, which very much troubled and confounded the pilots, till he told them, that the occaſion of it was the compaſs the north ſtar takes about the pole: this gave them ſome ſatisfaction, for in reality, that variation made them apprehenſive of danger, being ſo far from land.

On Monday the firſt of October, at break of day, a waterwagtail came to the admiral, which ſome ſay is like a bittern, as did others, two or three hours before noon, and the weeds came from eaſt to weſt, ſome believing they ſhould fall in ſo near the land, that the ſhips would be aground, and periſh. That ſame day in the morning the pilot told the admiral, that they were then 588 leagues to the weſtward of the iſland Ferro; the admiral told the pilot, that by his reckoning, it was 584, but in his own thoughts, and according to his true reckoning, it was 607. The pilot of the caravel Nina, the next Wedneſday in the afternoon ſaid, he found they had ſailed 650 leagues, and the pilot of the Pinta ſaid 634, wherein they were miſtaken, for they had always ſailed before the wind. But Columbus ſtill took no notice, leſt the men ſhould be diſmayed at the vaſt run, for the greateſt ſea till then known did not exceed 200 leagues. The 2d of October they killed a tunny fiſh, and ſaw much other fiſh, and a white bird, and many grey, and the weeds were very much withered, and almoſt rotted to duſt; and having ſeen no birds the third day, they feared they had miſſed ſome iſland on either ſide, believing that the many birds they had ſeen went over from one iſland to another, and the men being deſirous to turn to one ſide or other to ſeek for thoſe lands, Columbus did not think fit to let ſlip the fair weather that favoured him, ſo that he kept on due weſt, which was what he deſired, becauſe he thought he ſhould loſe the credit of his undertaking, if they ſaw him turning at random from one ſide to the other, to find out that which he always affirmed he knew. For this reaſon the men began again to mutiny, which none will wonder at, who ſhall conſider ſo many men led by one, of whom few of them had any knowledge; expoſed to ſo many dangers, without ſeeing any thing for ſo many days, but the ſky and water, or knowing what would be the end of ſuch a long voyage. But it pleaſed God to ſend new tokens, which in ſome meaſure quieted their minds; for on the 4th of October, after noon, they ſaw above forty ſparrows, and two gulls, which came ſo near to the ſhips, that a ſailor killed one of them with a ſtone, and

ſeveral flying fiſhes fell into the ſhip, which things, and the good words the admiral gave them, pacified them. The next day there flew near the ſhips a waterwagtail, and a gull, and ſeveral ſparrows, from the weſtward. Sunday the 7th, ſome ſign of land appeared to the weſtward; but no man durſt ſpeak of it becauſe of the thickneſs of the weather, though they all wiſhed for it, to gain the reward of an annuity of ten thouſand maravedies their catholic majeſties had promiſed for life to the firſt that ſhould diſcover land; and to prevent their crying land at every foot, in hopes of that annuity, it was ordained, that whoſoever ſaid it, if the ſame were not made good in three days, ſhould be for ever excluded from that reward, though he ſhould afterwards really diſcover it. However, thoſe aboard the caravel Nina, which was much a-head, being ſo good a ſailer, concluding that it was certainly land, fired their guns, and put out their colours; but the farther they ſailed, the more their joy abated, till it quite vaniſhed. In the midſt of this anguiſh, it pleaſed God to comfort them again with the ſight of great numbers of birds, and among them many that were land fowl, flying from the weſt to the ſouth-weſt; and Columbus conſidering, after he had ſailed ſo vaſt a length, that ſuch ſmall birds could not be far from land, he concluded it muſt certainly be near, and therefore he altered the courſe he then held due weſt, and ſteered ſouth-weſt, alledging, that though he altered his courſe, he deviated but little from his firſt deſign, and did it to follow the rule and method of the Portugueſe, who had diſcovered moſt of the iſlands by following the flight of ſuch birds; beſides that thoſe they then ſaw took the ſame way, he alſo concluded he ſhould find land; for as they well knew, he had often told them he did not expect to find it till he had ſailed ſeven hundred and fifty leagues from the Canaries weſtward, at which diſtance he had alſo told them he ſhould diſcover the iſland Eſpanola, which he then called Cipango, (in Engliſh Hiſpaniola) and that he ſhould certainly have found it, had he not known it was ſaid to lie north and ſouth, and that he had not turned to the ſouthward, to avoid falling on it, and that he believed it lay among other iſlands on the left-hand, and which way thoſe birds flew; and that by reaſon they were ſo near land, ſo many and ſuch various ſorts of them appeared; for on Monday the 8th, about a dozen ſmall birds of ſeveral colours came up cloſe by the admiral, and having hovered about the ſhip awhile, they held on their way, and many more made towards the ſouth-weſt. That ſame night they ſaw many large birds, and ſwarms of ſmall ones, which came from the northward. Some tunny fiſhes were ſeen, and the next morning a gull, ducks, and ſmall birds, that flew the ſame way the other had gone before. The air blew freſh and ſweet, as it is at Seville, about April; but they were ſo eager to ſee land, that they regarded no tokens; though on Wedneſday the tenth they ſaw many birds fly by night as well as by day. Neither the admiral's encouragement, nor his reproaching them with faint-heartedneſs were of force to ſatisfy thoſe men.

It pleaſed God in his mercy, at the time when don Chriſtopher Columbus could no longer withſtand ſo much muttering, contradiction, and contempt, that on Thurſday the 11th of October of the aforeſaid year 1492, in the afternoon, he received ſome comfort, by the manifeſt tokens they perceived of their being near land; for the men aboard the admiral ſaw a green ruſh near the ſhip, and next a large green fiſh, of thoſe that keep cloſe about the rocks. Thoſe aboard the caravel Pinta ſaw a cane, and a ſtaff, and took up one that was artificially wrought, and a little board, and ſaw abundance of weeds, freſh torn off from the ſhore. Thoſe aboard the caravel Nina

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ſaw other ſuch like tokens, and a branch of a thorn with the berries on it, which appeared to be newly broke off, for which reaſons, and becauſe they brought up ſand upon ſounding, there was a certainty of their being near land, which was confirmed by the ſhifting of the wind, which ſeemed to come from the ſhore. Columbus being ſatisfied that he was near land, after night-fall, when they had ſaid the Antiphon Salve Regina, as is uſual among the ſailors every night, he diſcourſed with the men, telling them how merciful God had been to them, carrying them ſafe ſo long a voyage; and that ſince the tokens were hourly more manifeſt, he deſired them to watch all night, ſince they knew that in the firſt article of the inſtructions he had given them when they came out of Spain, he told them, that when they had run ſeven hundred leagues without diſcovering land, they were to lie by after midnight till day, and be upon the watch, for he firmly believed they would find land that night; and that beſides the ten thouſand maravedies annuity their highneſſes had promiſed the perſon that ſhould firſt diſcover it, he would give a velvet doublet. Two hours before midnight, Columbus ſtanding on the poop, he ſaw a light, and privately called Peter Gutierres, groom of the privy-chamber to the king, and bid him look at it; he anſwered, he ſaw it. Then they called Roderick Sanchez of Segovia, purſer of the fleet, who could not diſcern it; but afterwards it was ſeen twice, and looked like a little candle raiſed up, and then taken down; and Columbus did not queſtion but it was a true light, and that they were near land, and ſo it proved, and it was people paſſing from one houſe to another. Two hours after midnight, the caravel Pinta being always a-head, made ſigns of land, which was firſt diſcovered by a ſailor, whoſe name was Roderick de Triana, but two leagues diſtant. But their catholic majeſties declared, that the reward of ten thouſand maravedies annuity belonged to the admiral, and it was always paid him at the ſhambles of Sevil, becauſe he ſaw the light amidſt darkneſs, meaning the ſpiritual light that was then coming into thoſe barbarous people; God (ſays Herrea) ſo ordering it, that when the war with the Moors was ended, after they had been ſeven hundred and twenty years in Spain, this work ſhould be taken in hand, to the end that the kings of Caſtile and Leon ſhould be always employed in bringing infidels over to the light of the catholic faith.

When day appeared, they perceived it was an iſland fifteen leagues in length, plain, much wooded, well watered, and having a lake of freſh water in the middle of it, well ſtored with people, who ſtood full of admiration on the ſhore, imagining the ſhips to be ſome monſters, and with the utmoſt impatience to know what they were, and the Spaniards were no leſs eager to be upon land. The admiral went aſhore in his boat armed, and the royal colours flying, as did the captains Martin Alonſo Pinzon, and Vincent Yanez Pinzon, carrying the colours of their enterpriſe, being a green croſs with ſome crowns, and the names of their catholic majeſties. Having all of them kiſſed the ground, and on their knees with tears, given thanks to God for the goodneſs he had ſhewn them, the admiral ſtood up, and gave that iſland the name of San Salvador, or St. Saviour, which the natives called Guanaham, being one of thoſe afterwards called the Lucayo iſlands, nine hundred and fifty leagues from the Canaries, diſcovered after they had ſailed thirty-three days. Then, with the proper ſolemnity and expreſſions, he took poſſeſſion of it, in the name of their catholic majeſties, for the crowns of Caſtile and Leon, teſtified by Roderick de Eſcovedo, notary of the fleet, a great multitude of the natives looking on. The Spaniards immediately owned him as their admiral and viceroy, and ſwore obedience

to him, as repreſenting the king's perſon in that country, with all the joy and ſatisfaction that ſo great an event deſerved, all of them begging his pardon for the trouble and uneaſineſs they had given him by inconſtancy and faint-heartedneſs. The admiral believing thoſe Indians to be a gentle and ſimple people, and ſeeing them ſtand gazing on the Chriſtians, aſtoniſhed at their beards, white faces, and cloaths, he gave them ſome red caps, glaſs beads, and ſuch like things, which they highly valued; the Spaniards no leſs admiring thoſe people, their mien and ſhape.

The admiral returned aboard, the Indians following him, ſome ſwimming, and others in their boats, called canoes, made of one piece of wood, like trays. They carried along with them ſkins, and bottoms of cotton, parrots, and javelins, the ends whereof were armed with fiſh-bones inſtead of iron, and ſome other things, to truck for glaſs toys, hawks bells, and the like, which they were ſo fond of, that they received the broken pieces of earthen plates and porringers as precious relics. Being a people in their original ſimplicity, they were all ſtark-naked as they were born, men and women; and moſt of them were young, not above thirty years of age. They wore their hair down to their ears, and ſome few to their necks, tied to the head with a ſtring, like treſſes. They had good faces, and features, though their extraordinary high foreheads ſomewhat diſguiſed them. They were of a middle ſtature, well ſhaped, fleſhy, and their ſkins of an olive colour, like the natives of the Canaries. Some of them were painted with black, others white, and others red, moſt of them on their bodies, and ſome on their faces and eyes, or only the noſe. They were not acquainted with our weapons, for when they ſhewed them naked ſwords, they ſimply laid hold of them by the edges. They knew nothing of iron, and to work wood, they made uſe of hard and ſharp ſtones found in rivers. Some of them having ſcars about them, and being aſked by ſigns, anſwered, that people from other iſlands went to make them priſoners, and they received thoſe wounds ſtanding upon their defence. They ſeemed to be ready of tongue and ingenious, for they eaſily pronounced the words they once heard. No other ſort of creatures were ſeen there but parrots. The next day, being the 13th of October, many Indians came aboard the ſhips, in their canoes, moſt of which carried forty-five perſons; yet ſome were ſo ſmall that they held but one. They rowed with an oar like the peel of an oven, as if they had dug with a ſpade; and their boats are ſo artificially made, that though they overſet, the Indians ſwimming, turn them up again, and empty the water with dried calabaſhes or gourds they had for that purpoſe. They carried cotton to barter, and ſome Indians for three ceutis of Portugal (worth about a farthing) gave as many bottoms of cotton as weighed a quarter of a hundred weight. No jewels, or other things of value, were ſeen, except ſome little plates of gold they wore hanging at their noſes. They were never ſatisfied with gazing at the Spaniards; they knelt down, lifted up their hands, and gave thanks to God, inviting one another to go and ſee the heavenly men.

They were aſked, whence that gold came? they anſwered, it came from the ſouthward, where a king had very much of it, making ſigns with their hands. The admiral underſtanding, that there were other lands, reſolved to go in queſt of them. The ſhips were never clear of Indians; and as ſoon as they could lay hold of any trivial thing, though it were a bit of a broken earthen plate, they leaped over-board with much joy, and ſwam aſhore, giving what they had for any thing that was offered them. The whole day was ſpent in this ſort of bartering, their generoſity

not

not extending to give what they had, but for the value they put upon what they received in return, looking upon the Spaniards as men come from heaven, and therefore they would have ſomething to keep as a memorial.

The 14th of October in the morning, the admiral with the boats took a view of the coaſts to the north-weſt. The natives followed by land, promiſing proviſions, and calling others to ſee the people come from heaven, and wondering, lifted up their hands, and ſome ſwimming, and others in canoes, went to aſk them by ſigns, whether they came from heaven, and praying them to go and reſt in their country. The admiral gave them all glaſs toys, pins, and other baubles, being very well pleaſed to ſee ſo much ſimplicity, till he came to a ridge of rocks, where there was a ſafe and ſpacious harbour, and where a ſtrong caſtle might have been erected, becauſe it was almoſt encompaſſed with the ſea. In that place were ſix houſes, with many trees about them, which looked like gardens; and becauſe the men were tired with rowing, and he perceived the country was not proper to make any long ſtay in it, he took ſeven Indians to learn the Spaniſh tongue, and returning to the caravels, ſet out in queſt of the other iſlands, above an hundred appearing, plain, green, and inhabited, the Indians telling the names of them. Monday the 15th he came to one that was ſeven leagues from the firſt, which he called St. Mary of the Conception, the ſide whereof next to St. Saviour, extends fifty leagues along the coaſt, but the admiral took the coaſt that lies eaſt and weſt, being eighteen leagues in length, anchored on the weſt, and went aſhore. The natives immediately flocked thither, in great numbers, with much amazement; and he perceiving that it was all alike, thought fit to proceed farther. A canoe being aboard the caravel Nina, one of the ſeven Indians of San Salvador, or St. Saviour, threw himſelf over-board, and went his way, and though the boat purſued, they could not overtake him. The night before, another made his eſcape. Another Indian came in a canoe to exchange cotton; the admiral ordered a red cap to be put upon his head, and hawks bells on his arms and legs, and ſo ſent him away very joyful, without taking his cotton.

The next day, being Tueſday, he ſailed away weſtward to another iſland, the coaſt whereof ſtretched along eighteen leagues north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt; where he arrived on Wedneſday the 17th of October in the afternoon. On their way they met an Indian in a canoe, carrying a piece of ſuch bread as they eat, and a calabaſh or gourd with water, a little black earth with which they paint themſelves, and dry leaves of an herb they very much value, becauſe it is wholeſome, and has a ſweet ſcent, and in a little baſket a ſtring of glaſs beads, and two vinteins, a ſmall Portugueſe coin, by which they knew he came from San Salvador, had paſſed by the Conception, and was going to this iſland, which the admiral named Fernandina, in memory of the king. They underſtood that the ſaid Indian was going to carry advice of the Spaniards, but the way being very long, and he tired with rowing, he went aboard the ſhips, where the admiral ordered him bread and honey to eat, and wine to drink; and as ſoon as he arrived at the iſlands, he ordered him to be ſet aſhore, with ſome toys, which he gave him. The good account he gave, cauſed the people to go aboard to barter for ſuch things as they had met with in the other iſlands, the inhabitants of them being all of a ſort. When the boat went aſhore for water, the Indians readily ſhewed it, and carried the little tubs to fill the pipes; but they ſeemed to be a more underſtanding people than the former, for they managed better in the exchange of commodities; they had cotton cloths in their houſes, and the women covered their

privities.

privities with a little cotton clout, from the waiſt half way their thighs, and others with a ſwath of the ſame; and thoſe who had no better, covered themſelves with leaves, which the maids did not.

This iſland appeared to abound in water, having many meadows and groves, and ſome agreeable little hills, which there was not in the others, with an infinite variety of birds, that ſung ſweetly, and flew in flocks, moſt of them different from what Spain affords. There were alſo many lakes, and near one of them they ſaw a creature like a crocodile, ſeven feet long; they throwing ſtones at him, he ran into the water, where they killed him with their ſpears, admiring its largeneſs and frightful ſhape; but time afterwards made it appear, that thoſe animals, being ſcaled and flayed, are good meat, the fleſh of it being white, and moſt valued by the Indians; and in the iſland Hiſpaniola they call them Yvanas. In that iſland they ſaw trees that looked as if they had been grafted, as having leaves and branches of four or five different ſorts, and yet they were natural. They alſo ſaw fiſhes of fine colours, but no land creatures appeared, except large, thick, and tame ſnakes, parrots, the alligators afore ſpoken of, and a ſort of little rabbits, in ſhape like mice, but bigger, which they call Utias. Proceeding towards the north-weſt, taking a view of this iſland, they anchored in the mouth of a fine harbour, that had an iſland before it, but they went not in, becauſe it had not water enough, nor would the admiral go far from a town that covered them; whereas they had not yet ſeen, in any other iſlands, any town bigger than of ten or twelve houſes, like tents, ſome round, and others long, with an open portal before them, as is uſual in the low countries, covered with leaves of trees, well fitted for the rain and weather, with vents for the ſmoak, and ridges at the top, handſomely made; and within them there was no other houſhold ſtuff, or ornament, than what they carried aboard the ſhips to barter; but their beds were a net, made faſt to two poſts, which are called hammocks. They alſo ſaw ſome little dumb dogs. They found an Indian who had a bit of gold in his noſe, with ſome characters on it, that looked like letters, and the admiral would have it taken from him, believing it had been a coin, but it afterwards appeared that there had never been any in the Weſt Indies.

Finding nothing more in Fernandina than in San Salvador, and the Conception, he proceeded to the others that were neareſt. The fourth iſland he came to was called Saomoto, and he named it Iſabella, in honour of the catholic queen, and took poſſeſſion of it, before witneſſes, and the notary, as he had done in the others. He perceived the land was as beautiful as the reſt, as it is in Spain about April, and the people like the former. They killed another alligator, and as they were going towards a town, the Indians fled, carrying away what they had; but the admiral having forbid meddling with any thing, they ſoon came to the ſhips to barter like the reſt, and the admiral gave them ſome toys, and to qualify them, aſked for water, which they carried to him in calabaſhes, or gourds. He would not loſe time at the iſland Iſabella, or others, as there were many; but reſolved to go in queſt of another, which they told him was very large, and called Cuba, pointing to the ſouth; he believing it had been Cipango, by reaſon of the ſigns they gave of it, and the extraordinary way of crying it up. He ſteered weſt-ſouth-weſt, making little way on Wedneſday and Thurſday by reaſon of the rain, and at nine in the morning he altered his courſe to ſouth-eaſt, holding it eleven leagues, and diſcovered eight iſlands, lying north and ſouth, which he called Del Arena, or of ſand, becauſe there was ſhoal water

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about them. They told him, it was a day and an half's ſail from thence to Cuba. He ſailed from thoſe iſlands on Saturday the 27th of October, ſtanding ſouth-ſouth-weſt, and before night ſaw the land of Cuba, and by reaſon of the darkneſs, and it being night, would not draw near, but lay by.

Sunday the 28th of October he drew near the coaſt, gave it the name of Juana, or Johanna, and it ſeemed to be a better country than the others, by reaſon of the hills, riſing grounds, and variety of trees, plains, and ſhores, that appeared. He anchored in a great river he called San Salvador, to begin with ſo good a name. The woods looked very thick, the trees tall, with bloſſoms and fruit different from ours, and abundance of birds. The admiral deſiring to have ſome information, ſent to two houſes they ſpied, the people whereof fled, leaving nets and fiſhing-tackle behind them, and a dog that did not bark. He would not allow any thing to be touched, but ſailed to another great river, which he called De la Luna, or of the moon. Another he ſaw, which he called De Mares, or of the ſeas, the banks of it well inhabited. The Indians fled to the mountains, which were covered with large and tall trees of ſeveral ſorts. The Indians he carried with him ſignified to him that there was gold and pearls in Cuba, and he thought the ſame likely, becauſe he ſaw muſſels, and ſaid it was not ten days ſail from thence to the continent, according to the notion he had conceived, Paul, a phyſician of Florence, having writ about it; and though he was in the right, it was not the land he imagined. Believing that if many men went on ſhore, it would add to the fear of the Indians, he ſent two Spaniards, with one Indian of San Salvador, and one of Cuba, who came to the ſhips in a canoe; the Spaniards being Rodrigo de Xeres, an inhabitant of Ayamonte, and Lewis de Torres, who had been a Jew, and ſpoke Hebrew and Chaldaic, and ſome ſay Arabic: He gave them things to barter, and allowed them ſix days to return in, with inſtructions how to ſpeak in the name of their catholic majeſties. He ordered them to go up the country, and enquire into all affairs, without doing harm to any body. In the mean time he refitted the ſhip, and they obſerved that from all the wood they burnt, there came a ſort of gum, like maſtic, being in the leaf and fruit much like the maſtic-tree, but that it is much bigger. In this river of Mares, the ſhips had room to wind. It has ſeven or eight fathom water at the mouth, and five within, with two ridges of high ground on the ſouth-eaſt, and a fine cape to the weſt-north-weſt, plain, and running out, and this was afterwards the port of Baracoa, which the Adelantado, or lord lieutenant, Diogo Velaſquez, called of the Aſſumption.

When the ſhip was ready to ſail, the Spaniards returned on the 5th of November, with three of the native Indians, ſaying, they had travelled twenty-two leagues, and found a village of fifty houſes, built like thoſe before ſpoken of, and that they contained about one thouſand perſons, becauſe a whole generation lived in a houſe, and that the prime men came out to meet them, led them by the arms, and lodged them in one of thoſe new houſes, cauſing them to ſit down on ſeats, made of one ſolid piece of wood, in the ſhape of a beaſt with very ſhort legs, and the tail held up, the head before, with eyes and ears of gold, and that all the Indians ſat about them on the ground, and one after another went to kiſs their feet and hands, believing they came from heaven, and gave them boiled roots to eat, which taſted like cheſnuts, and intreated them to ſtay there, or at leaſt, to reſt them five or ſix days, becauſe the Indians that went with them ſaid many kind things. That abundance of women ſoon after coming in to ſee them, all the men went out, and they with the ſame admi-

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ration kiſſed their feet and hands, touching them as if they had been ſome holy things, offering what they brought; and that many men would have come away with them, but that they would admit of none but the lord and his ſon, with one ſervant.

They added, that both coming and going they found many villages, where the ſame reſpect was paid them, but that none of them had above five or ſix houſes together; and that by the way they met many people, each of them carrying a firebrand in his hand to light fire, and perfume themſelves with ſome herbs they carried along with them, and to roaſt their roots, that being their principal food; and the fire was eaſily kindled, becauſe they had a ſort of wood, which if they worked one piece againſt another, as if they had been boring a hole, took fire. They alſo ſaw a multitude of ſeveral ſorts of trees, ſuch as they had not ſeen on the ſea coaſt, and great variety of birds, much different from ours, and among them partridges and nightingales; but that they had met with no four-footed creature, beſides the little cur dogs that do not bark. They had much ground ſown with their roots, and that ſort of corn called Mayz, well taſted, either boiled or ground into flour. They ſaw a vaſt quantity of ſpun cotton, in bottoms, and in only one houſe they believed there was above twelve thouſand pounds weight of it, the ſame growing in the fields, without being planted; and as the roſes blow of themſelves, ſo does that when ripe, though not all at the ſame time; for upon the ſame plant ſome were open, and others ſtill cloſed; and for a leathern thong, or a piece of glazed ware, or a bit of a looking-glaſs, they would give a little baſket full of cotton; which they did not make uſe of to clothe themſelves, for they all went naked; but in making nets for their beds, and little clouts to cover their privities; and that being aſked about gold and pearls, they ſaid there was abundance at Bohio, pointing to the eaſtward.

The Spaniards ſtill enquiring of the Indians they had aboard the ſhips for gold, they anſwered Cubanacan, which they thought had meant the Great Cham, and that the country of Cathay was not far off; becauſe they alſo pointed out four day's journey. Martin Alonzo Pinzon ſaid, it muſt be ſome great city, that was four days journey from thence; but it was not long before they underſtood that Cubanacan was a province in the midſt of the iſland of Cuba, for Nican ſignifies in the middle, and that there were mines of gold. Having heard thus much, the admiral would not loſe any more time, but ordered ſome Indians to be taken to be carried into Spain, from ſeveral parts, that every one might give an account of his own country, as witneſſes of the diſcovery. Twelve were taken, men, women, and children, without giving offence; and as they were ready to ſail, an Indian, who was huſband to one of the women, and father to two boys that were aboard, came to the ſhip, and deſired they would take him along with his wife and children. The admiral ordered him to be taken aboard, and all of them to be well uſed; and becauſe of the north winds, he was obliged to return to a port, which he called Del Principe, or the prince's, in the ſame iſland, but without it there were many iſlands near, and this place he called the Sea of our Lady, and the channels between the ſeveral iſlands were ſo deep, and ſo ſet off with greens and trees, that it was delightful to paſs along them. The trees were different from ours, ſome looking like maſtic, and ſome like lignum aloes-trees, and palm-trees, with the ſtock green and ſmooth, and ſeveral other ſorts. And though thoſe little iſlands among which they paſſed along in their ſmall boats, were not inhabited, there were ſeveral fires of fiſhermen, for the people of Cuba were wont to go a fiſhing in their canoes, and to get whatſoever they could to eat, for they devoured many

many filthy things, as large ſpiders, worms breeding in rotten wood, and other naſty places, and fiſh half raw, for as ſoon as taken, before boiling, they pulled out their eyes, and ate them, which things any Spaniard would lothe. This fiſhing and ſeeking of vermin were their employment at ſeveral times of the year, ſometimes in one iſland, and ſometimes in another, like people that being weary of one ſort of food, look for another. In one of the iſlands they killed with their ſwords, a beaſt that was like a wild boar, and in the ſea they found many beads of mother of pearl, and among many other fiſhes they took in the net, there was one like a ſwine, with a very hard ſkin, and nothing tender but the tail. They obſerved, that the ſea ebbed and flowed much more than in any other port they had ſeen thereabout, which the admiral aſcribed to the many iſlands, and the tide was the reverſe of what it is in Spain, and the reaſon thereof he thought to be becauſe the low water was there, when the moon was at ſouth-weſt and by ſouth.

Sunday the 13th of November, he returned to Puerto del Principe, or the prince's port, and erected a croſs at the mouth of it, made of two large pieces of timber. On Monday he ſtood to the eaſtward, in queſt of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, which the Indians called Bohio, and ſome of them Babeque; but it afterwards appeared Babeque was not the iſland of Hiſpaniola, but the continent, for they called it by another name, Caribana. The wind being contrary, he ſpent three or four days plying up and down about the iſland Iſabella, but would not go up to it for fear the Indians ſhould make their eſcape. There they found ſome of the weeds they had met with during their voyage through the ocean, and perceived they were carried by the currents. Martin Alonſo Pinzon underſtanding now that the Indians ſaid there was much gold in Bohio, being covetous to enrich himſelf, left the admiral on Wedneſday the 21ſt without any ſtreſs of weather, or other lawful cauſe, and his ſhip being a very good ſailer, made the beſt of his way, till at night he quite diſappeared. By the name of Bohio, which was the iſland Hiſpaniola, it ſeemed the Indians would ſignify that it was a land full of Bohios, that is, cottages. The admiral ſeeing, that notwithſtanding all the ſignals he had made, Martin Alonſo was not to be found, with the two ſhips; the wind being ſtill contrary, he returned to Cuba, to a large and ſafe harbour, which he called St. Catherine's, becauſe that day was her eve. There he wooded and watered; ſaw ſome ſtones with tokens of gold in them: on the land there were tall fir-trees, fit to make maſts, and perceiving that all the Indians directed him to Hiſpaniola, he ſailed along the coaſt more to the ſouth-eaſt, twelve leagues, where he found large and ſafe harbours, and among them a river, up the mouth whereof a galley could eaſily paſs, though the entrance could not be perceived unleſs it were near. The conveniency of the river invited him to go in the length of the boat, where he found eight fathom water; and proceeding ſtill farther, being allured by the clearneſs of the water, the delightfulneſs of the banks, and the great variety of birds, he ſaw a foiſt of twelve oars on the ſhore, under a ſort of arbour; and in ſome houſes cloſe by, they found a maſs of wax, and a man's head hanging in a little baſket at a poſt; the wax they carried to their catholic majeſties, none being ever after found in Cuba, whence it was concluded to have been brought from Yucatan, either by ſtreſs of weather in a canoe, or ſome other way. They found no people to make any enquiry of, becauſe they all fled, but ſaw another canoe ninety-five ſpans in length, which could carry fifty perſons, made of one entire tree, like the reſt, and though they had no iron tools to work them, the

inſtruments they made for that purpoſe of flints, were uſeful, becauſe the trees were very large, and the heart of them ſoft and ſpungy, ſo that they eaſily hollowed them with flints.

The admiral having ſailed one hundred and ſeven leagues to the eaſtward along the coaſt of Cuba, arrived at the eaſtern point of it, and ſet out from thence on the 5th of December for Hiſpaniola, being eighteen leagues over to the eaſtward, but could not reach it till the next day, by reaſon of the currents: when he entered the port he called it St. Nicholas, becauſe it was that ſaint's day, and found it ſafe, ſpacious, and deep, encompaſſed with thick woods, though the land is hilly, and the trees not very large, like thoſe in Spain, for they ſaw firs and myrtles, and a pleaſant river ran into the harbour, and on the ſhore there were many canoes as big as brigantines, of twenty-five oars; however, finding no people, he proceeded farther to the northward, to the port he called the Conception, to the ſouthward of an iſland he called Tortuga, ten leagues from Hiſpaniola, and finding that this iſland of Bohio was very large, and that the ſoil and the trees were like thoſe of Spain; as alſo that at one draught of a net, among other ſorts of fiſh, they had taken ſkates, ſoles, and other fiſh known in Spain, which till then they had not ſeen in thoſe parts; and that they had heard the nightingale ſing, with other European birds, which they admired, about December: he called the iſland La Eſpanola, (that is, the Spaniſh iſland, by us corruptly called Hiſpaniola) for having called the firſt iſland San Salvador, or St. Saviour, in honour of God; the ſecond the Conception, with reſpect to our lady, the mother of God; the third Fernandia, for king Ferdinand; the fourth Iſabella, for queen Elizabeth of Caſtile; and the fifth Juana, for the prince their ſon: he thought fit the name of Spain ſhould have the ſixth place; though ſome told him, it would be more proper to call it Caſtellana, becauſe only the kingdoms of Caſtile and Leon were concerned in that conqueſt. As the Indians he had aboard gave him ſo good an account, he was earneſt to ſee what truth there was in it, as to the wealth of that country, and to take a view of it; but the Indians flying, and giving one another notice by fires, he thought fit to ſend out ſix armed Spaniards, who having travelled far, returned without finding any people, ſaying wonderful things of the delightfulneſs of the land. Having ordered a great croſs to be erected near the mouth of the harbour, on the weſt ſide; as three ſailors were in the wood ſeeking for proper trees for that effect, they ſpied abundance of naked people, who fled as ſoon as they ſaw the Spaniards. The ſailors running after them, took a woman, who had a little plate of gold hanging at her noſe. The admiral gave her hawks bells, ſtrings of glaſs beads, and cauſed a ſhirt to be put upon her, and ſo ſent her away, with three of the Indians he had brought with him, and three Spaniards to bear her company to her habitation.

The next day he ſent nine Spaniards well armed, with an Indian of San Salvador, to the woman's village, which was four leagues diſtant to the ſouth-eaſt. They found a town or village of one thouſand houſes, ſcattered about, and abandoned, the inhabitants being fled. The Indian went after them and called, ſo much extolling the Spaniards, that they returned, and being aſtoniſhed and trembling, laid their hands on the heads of the Spaniards, by way of honour and reſpect, and carried them proviſions, deſiring they would ſtay that night among them. Abundance of people then came up, carrying on their ſhoulders the woman to whom the admiral had given the ſhirt, with her huſband, who was going to return them thanks. The Spaniards returned

turned with an account that the country abounded in proviſions, the people whiter, and of better countenances than thoſe of the other iſlands, more tractable, and that the country which produced gold was more to the eaſtward; that the men were not ſo large, but ſtrong boned and groſs, without beards, their noſtrils very wide, and their foreheads ſmooth and high, diſagreeable, and they made them ſo at their birth, reckoning it graceful; for which reaſon, and becauſe they always went bare-headed, their ſkulls were ſo hard, that ſometimes a Spaniſh ſword would break upon their heads. Here the admiral obſerved the hours of the day and the night, and found that twenty half-hour glaſſes were run between ſun and ſun; but he believed there was ſome miſtake, through the neglect of the ſailors, and judged the day was ſomewhat above eleven hours. Having received the aforeſaid relation, though the wind was contrary, he reſolved to depart from thence, and turning it between Hiſpaniola and Tortuga, he found an Indian in a canoe, and admired, that being in a rough ſea, it had not ſwallowed him up. He took him and his canoe into his ſhip; when come to land, he ſent him out with ſome toys, and he ſo much commended the Spaniards, that many came aboard the ſhips; but they only brought ſome ſmall grains of pure gold hanging at their noſes, which they freely gave; and being aſked where they had that gold, they anſwered by ſigns, that there was much of it farther on. The admiral enquiring for his iſland of Cipango, they thought he had meant Cibao, and pointed where it lay, being the place where moſt gold was found in that iſland.

The admiral was informed, that the lord of that territory, whom they called a Cazique, was coming, with above two hundred men, to ſee the ſhips; and though young, they carried him on a bier on their ſhoulders: he had a tutor and counſellors. When he came aboard, it was obſerved with admiration, how great reſpect they paid him, and how gravely he behaved himſelf. An Indian of the iſland Iſabella went and talked to him, telling him the Spaniards were heavenly men. He went aboard, and when he came to the quarter dack, he made ſigns for thoſe that were with him to ſtay behind, excepting two men ſomewhat advanced in years, who ſat down at his feet, and were his counſellors. The admiral ordered to give him to eat; he took a little of every thing, and having taſted it, gave it to the other two, and afterwards carried it to the reſt. They gave him to drink, and he only put it to his mouth. They all behaved themſelves very gravely, and ſaid little; his men looked at his mouth, and ſpoke to him; and the admiral by means of the Indian interpreter, gave him to underſtand, that he was commander for their majeſties of Caſtile and Leon, the greateſt ſovereigns in the world; but neither the cazique nor the reſt would believe any other than that they lived in heaven. They ſeemed to the admiral to be a more rational people than thoſe of the other iſlands; and becauſe it grew late, the king, or cazique, returned aſhore.

The next day, though the wind was contrary, and blew hard, the ſea did not ſwell, by reaſon of the ſhelter the iſland Tortuga affords that coaſt, and ſome ſeamen went a fiſhing, with whom the Indians were well pleaſed. Some men went to the town, and bartered little plates of gold for glaſs beads, which much pleaſed the admiral, becauſe he was very deſirous that ſome gold might be found upon that diſcovery, to ſhew that his promiſes were not vain. The king came again to the ſhore in the afternoon, and then a canoe arrived from the iſland Tortuga with forty men, to ſee the Spaniards, at which the cazique appeared to be concerned; but all the Indians of

Hiſpaniola ſat down on the ground, in token of peace, and thoſe in the canoe went aſhore; but the king ſtood up, and threatening them, they went aboard their canoe again, and he threw water and ſome ſtones at them, which was all his anger, and he gave the admiral's alguazil, who ſtood by him, a ſtone to throw at them; but he laughed, and did not throw it. Thoſe of the canoe very ſubmiſſively returned to Tortuga, and the admiral diligently endeavoured to learn where that place was, which they ſaid had much gold.

This day, in honour of the conception of the bleſſed virgin, the admiral ordered the ſhips to be trimmed, all their colours flying, and firing the great guns, and the king came aboard at the time the admiral was dining. He went and ſat down by him, without permitting him to riſe, though it was wonderful with what reſpect thoſe people behaved themſelves before their lord. The admiral invited him to eat, and he took the meat as he had done the time before; and after dinner they laid before the admiral a gold girdle, that looked like thoſe in Spain, though the workmanſhip was different, and ſome plates of gold. The admiral gave the king a piece of cloth that hung at his bed's head, and ſome amber beads he had about his neck, a pair of red ſhoes, and a glaſs bottle of orange-flower water, with which he was much pleaſed. He and his followers expreſſed much concern, for that they could not underſtand one another, and offered him any thing in his country. The admiral ſhewed him a piece of Spaniſh coin, which they called Excellent, with the faces of their catholic majeſties, which he much admired, as alſo the colours, with the croſs and the royal arms. He then returned to land, the admiral paying him much honour, and he went away to his town in his chair. There alſo went a ſon of his, attended by many people, and before him were carried the things the admiral had given him, one after another, that they might be ſeen by all the people. Afterwards a brother of the king went on board the ſhip, whom the admiral treated with much courteſy and generoſity, and the next day he ordered a croſs to be erected in the ſquare of the town or village that was next the ſea, (which the Indians honoured, as they ſaw the Chriſtians do) becauſe the town where the king lived was four leagues from thence.

On Tueſday night, the admiral being reſolved to diſcover the ſecrets of the country, ſet ſail, and during all Wedneſday, the 19th of December, could not get out of that little bay between the two iſlands, nor put into a harbour that was there. He ſaw many mountains, woods, and groves, and a little iſland, which he called St. Thomas. He judged that Hiſpaniola had many capes and harbours, and he thought the temperature of the air moſt pleaſing, and the ſoil delightful. Thurſday the 20th, he put into an harbour, between the little iſland of St. Thomas, and a cape. Several towns appeared, as alſo fires, becauſe the ſeaſon being dry, and the graſs there growing high, they burnt it, to make paſſages, by reaſon that being naked, the dry weeds hurt them, and alſo to hunt the Utias, which they took with fire. The admiral entered the port in the boats, and having viewed it, ſaid, it was a very good one. He ſent out to ſee whether there was any town near, and they found one at a little diſtance from the ſea. They ſaw Indians, who kept aloof from the Spaniards; but the Indians that came aboard the ſhips bid them not to fear, and immediately ſo many men, women, and children came, that there was no ſeeing through the throng. They carried meat, calabaſhes with water, and good bread made of maize, or Indian wheat. They did not hide the women, as had been done in other parts, but all admired to ſee the Chriſtians, and ſtanding amazed, glorified God. They were whiter, and better

ſhaped,

ſhaped, better natured, and more generous, and the admiral took ſpecial care that no offence ſhould be given them. He ſent ſix men to ſee the town, where they entertained them as believing they came from heaven. In the mean time there came ſome canoes with men ſent by a king, who deſired the admiral to go to his town, and was waiting for him with many people on a point of land. He went in the boats, though many had intreated him not to go, but to ſtay with them. As ſoon as the boats came, the king ſent the Spaniards proviſions, and ſeeing they accepted of them, they went to the town for more, and for parrots. The admiral gave the Indians hawks bells, glaſs baubles, and ſome of tin. He returned to the ſhips, the women and children crying out, that he ſhould not go away. To ſome that followed him in canoes, he gave victuals, as he did to others that ſwam aboard from half a league diſtance. Though the ſhore was covered with people, they could ſee abundance going and coming acroſs a large plain, which was afterwards called La Vega Real, or the Royal Plain. The admiral again commended the harbour, and gave it the name of St. Thomas, becauſe he had found it on his day.

Saturday the 22d, in the morning, he deſigned to go in queſt of the iſlands which the Indians ſaid had much gold, but was hindered by the weather, therefore ſent the boats a fiſhing; and then one came from king Guacanagari, to deſire him to go to his country, and he would give him all he had, he being one of the five ſovereigns of the iſland, poſſeſſing the greateſt part of it on the north ſide, where the admiral then was. He ſent him a girdle he wore inſtead of a purſe, and a vizir with ears, tongue, and noſe of beaten gold. The girdle was adorned with ſmall fiſh bones, like ſeed pearl, curiouſly wrought, four fingers broad. The admiral reſolved to go thither on the 23d, though to pleaſe others, there went before ſix Spaniards with the notary, becauſe the Indians were ſo much delighted every where to ſee them. They gave them plentifully to eat, and they brought back ſome things made of cotton, and grains of gold, they had bartered for. Above an hundred and twenty canoes came to the ſhips with proviſions, and earthen ware pitchers, handſomely made and painted, full of freſh water. They alſo gave a ſort of ſpice, which they call Axi; they put it into diſhes of water, and drank it up, to ſhew it was good. The foul weather detaining the admiral, he ſent the notary to king Guacanagari to acquaint him with it. He alſo ſent two of his Indians to a town, to ſee whether there was any gold, gueſſing by the quantity he had got by bartering thoſe days, that there was plenty of it, and it was believed for certain that this day above a thouſand went aboard the ſhips; every one of them gave ſomething, and thoſe who went not aboard from their canoes, cried, "Take, take." The notary went to Guacanagari, who came out to meet him. He thought that town more regular than any he had ſeen before. All the people gazed on the Chriſtians with joy and admiration. The king gave them cotton cloths, parrots, and ſome pieces of gold, and the people what they had, valuing the toys the Spaniards gave them like relics. Thus the notary and his companions returned to the ſhips, attended by Indians. Monday the 24th, the admiral went to viſit king Guacanagari, the diſtance from port St. Thomas to the place where the king was, being about four or five leagues, and there he ſtaid, till ſeeing the ſea calm, he returned aboard, and went to bed, for he had not ſlept during two days and a night. The weather being ſo calm, the ſailor that was at the helm left it to a boy, though the admiral had, during the whole voyage, forbid the ſteerſman, whether the wind blew or not, ever to quit the helm; and in reality they were out of danger

of

of ſhoals or rocks, for on Sunday, when the boats went to carry the notary to the cazique, they had ſurveyed all the coaſt, and the ſhoals that are from the point of land to the eaſt-ſouth-eaſt, for above three leagues; and they had alſo obſerved which way they might paſs, and finding themſelves in a dead calm, they all went to ſleep, and it happened that the current carried the ſhip along very gently, till it ſtruck on a rock, with ſuch a dreadful noiſe, that it could be heard a league off, and the fellow that was at the helm finding the rudder ſtrike, cried out.

The admiral hearing the cry, was firſt up, and then came out the maſter, whoſe watch it was, and he ordered him, ſince the boat was out, to let fall an anchor at the ſtern, for by that means they might, with the help of the capſtan, work out the ſhip; and when he thought they were doing what he had ordered, he perceived that ſome were making away in the boat to the caravel that lay to the windward, half a league from thence. Obſerving that the water ebbed, and the ſhip was in danger, he ordered the maſt to be cut down, and lighten it, to ſee whether it might be ſaved; but it could not be done, becauſe the water falling away all at once, the ſhip was every moment left dryer, and lay athwart the ſea; and though it was not rough by reaſon of the calm, the ſhip ſprung a leak between the ribs, and lay down on her ſide, opened near the heel, and was ſoon full of water, and if the wind had blown, or the ſea been rough, not a man had eſcaped; but had the maſter done as the admiral ordered him, the ſhip had got off ſafe. The boat came again to their aſſiſtance, for thoſe in the other ſhip underſtanding how the caſe ſtood, not only refuſed to receive thoſe that had fled, but were coming with them to the relief of the diſtreſſed. There being no poſſibility of ſaving the ſhip, order was taken for ſaving the men, to which purpoſe the admiral ſent James de Arana, and Peter Gutierrez, to acquaint Guacanagari, that by going to viſit him he had loſt his ſhip, a league and an half from land. Guacanagari lamented this misfortune, and immediately ſent the canoes, which in a moment carried off all that was upon decks, and he came himſelf with his brothers, and took particular care that nothing ſhould be touched, ſtaying in perſon to guard the goods, and ſent word to the admiral not to be concerned, for he would give him all he had: the goods were carried to two houſes he appointed to lay them up in. The Indians ſo affectionately gave their help in this diſtreſs, that it could not have been better done in Spain, for the people were gentle and loving, and their language was eaſy to be pronounced and learnt; and though they went naked, they had ſome commendable cuſtoms, and the king was ſerved with much ſtate; he was very ſedate, and the people were ſo curious in aſking, that they would know a reaſon for every thing. They knelt down at the time of the Ave Maria, as the Spaniards did, and at that time it did not appear that they had any other religion beſides adoring the heaven, the ſun, and the moon.

On Wedneſday the 26th of December, Guacanagari went aboard the caravel Nina, where the admiral was, in great affliction for the loſs of his ſhip. He comforted him, and offered him all he had. Two Indians came from another town, bringing plates of gold to exchange for hawks bells, which was what they moſt valued, and the admiral had a ſtock of thoſe baubles, by reaſon of the experience he had learnt of the Portugueſe in Guinea. The ſailors alſo gave notice, that others carried gold, and gave it for ribbons and other trifles. Guacanagari obſerving what the admiral valued, ſaid, he would cauſe ſome to be brought him from Cibao, and going aſhore, he invited the admiral to go and eat axis and cazabi, which was their chief diet; and gave

gave him ſome vizirs with gold eyes, noſes, and ears, and ſome other ſmall things they wore about their necks. He alſo complained to him of the Caribs, who carried away his people, which was the reaſon of his flying at firſt, ſuppoſing that the Spaniards had been Caribs. The admiral ſhewed him his arms, and a Turkiſh bow, with which a Spaniard ſhot very dexterouſly, offering to defend him; but what he moſt admired was the cannon, for when they were fired, the Indians fell down as if they had been dead. The admiral having found ſo much affection, and ſuch tokens of gold, and believing the country was fruitful and wholeſome, judged that God had permitted the ſhip to be caſt away, to the end that a ſettlement might be made there, and that the preaching and knowledge of his moſt holy name might begin in that iſland, which it is often his divine will ſhould not only be extended out of zeal to his ſervice, and in charity to our neighbours, but alſo for the ſake of the reward men expect in this world, and in the next; for it is not to be believed, that any nation in the world would have undertaken the hardſhips the admiral and the Spaniards expoſed themſelves to, in ſo uncertain and dangerous an enterpriſe, had it not been in hopes of ſome reward, which has ſince continued the carrying on of this holy work; and it pleaſed God to deal with the Indians and the Spaniards, like a father that is about to marry a very unſeemly daughter, and therefore makes amends for that defect with the portion; for had not the Indies been ſuch wealthy lands, none would have ventured to endure all the hardſhips that will be hereafter ſpoken of, being ſuch as no nation could have endured, though the hopes of the reward had been greater. The Indians went and came for hawks bells, which was the thing they moſt delighted in, and as ſoon as they came near the caravel, they held up the pieces of gold, crying, "Chuque, chuque," that is, "Take, take." An Indian came to the ſhore with a piece of gold, weighing half a mark, (that is, four ounces) and holding it in his left hand, ſtretched out the right, and an hawk's bell being put into it, he let go the gold, and ran away, thinking he had cheated the Spaniard.

The admiral reſolved to leave ſome men in that country to trade with the people, and acquaint themſelves with the country, and learn the language, to the end that when he returned from Spain, there might be ſome capable to give directions for making of the ſettlements there, and many offered themſelves for that purpoſe. He ordered a ſort of tower to be built with the timber of the ſhip that had periſhed; and at this time advice came that the caravel Pinta was in the river, towards the eaſtern point, and Guacanagari ſent to enquire into it. The admiral carefully attended the building, and the more, for that there were daily greater inducements to it; and becauſe Guacanagari always ſhewed himſelf fearful of the Caribs, the more to encourage, and to ſhew him the effect of the Spaniſh arms, the admiral ordered a great gun to be fired againſt the ſide of the ſhip that had been caſt away, and the ball paſſing clear through, fell into the water. He ſhewed him what harm our weapons did, and told him, that with them, thoſe he deſigned to leave in his country would defend him, becauſe he deſigned to return into Spain, to bring ſome preſents for him; but ſo fond were they of the hawks bells, that being afraid they would not hold out, an Indian came at night to the caravel to beg they would ſave him one till morning.

A canoe that had gone in queſt of the caravel Pinta, carrying a Spaniſh ſeaman, with a letter from the admiral for Martin Alonſo Pinzon, affectionately intreating him to come and join him, without taking notice of his having forſaken him, returned, with

with an account that they had gone above twenty leagues without finding him; but if they had advanced five or ſix farther, they had ſucceeded. Afterwards an Indian ſaid he had ſeen the caravel at anchor in a river, but they did not regard him, thinking he had impoſed upon them, becauſe the others had not found it; and the Indian ſpoke the truth, as it afterwards appeared, for he might ſee it from ſome high place, and it was likely he made haſte to acquaint his lord. The ſailor that went in the canoe ſaid, he had twenty leagues from thence ſeen a king who had two plates of gold on his head, as had many others that were with him, and that as ſoon as the Indians of the canoe ſpoke to him, he took them off. The admiral fancied that Guacanagari had forbid all others ſelling gold to the Spaniards, that it might all paſs through his hands. He haſtened the building of the fort, and to that purpoſe went aſhore from the caravel, aboard which he always lay, on Thurſday the 18th of December, and as he was going in the boat, he thought he had ſeen Guacanagari, who went into his houſe, perhaps for the more ſtate, becauſe he had contrived to perform the ceremony he afterwards did, which was ſending one of his brothers, who received the admiral with much joy and courteſy, and led him by the hand to one of the houſes that had been given to the Chriſtians, being the largeſt and beſt in the town. In it they had provided for him a raiſed ſeat made of the inward bark of palm-trees, which were as large as a great calf's ſkin, ſhaped ſomething like it, very clean and freſh, with one of which a man covers himſelf to keep him from the rain, as if he was covered with a calf's ſkin, or cow's hide; they ſerve for many uſes, and they call them Yaguas.

They made the admiral ſit on a chair the Indians uſed, with a low back, and very neat, poliſhed, and bright, as if made of jet. As ſoon as the admiral was ſeated, the brother ſent to acquaint the king, who preſently came, and very joyfully hung a great plate of gold about his neck, and ſtaid with him till it grew late, and the admiral went to lie aboard the caravel. He had ſeveral motives for leaving a colony in that place; the chief whereof were to the end that when it was known in Spain that men had been left there to ſettle, the people might be more inclinable to go over thither; and becauſe they could not all be contained in the only caravel he had, without much uneaſineſs; as alſo becauſe he found thoſe that were to ſtay, very inclinable to it, to which they were much encouraged by the gentleneſs and affability of the people; and becauſe though he had deſigned to carry to their catholic majeſties ſome natives of that country, and other moſt valuable things there were in it, in token of the diſcovery, and for the more reputation of the enterpriſe, it was convenient it ſhould be known that men had ſtaid there of their own free will. The fort had a ditch round it, and though made of wood, it was very ſtrong againſt the natives, there being people to defend it. It was finiſhed in ten days, becauſe a vaſt number of men worked at it, and he called it the town of the Nativity, becauſe on that day he came into the port. The next day in the morning, being the 29th of December, a nephew of the king's, very young, and of good ſenſe, went aboard the caravel, and the admiral being always ſolicitous to know where the gold was found, he aſked all people by ſigns, and began to underſtand ſome words. Accordingly he aſked the youth about the mines, and underſtood, that four days journey from thence there was an iſland to the eaſtward, which he called Guarinoex, and others Macorix, Mayonis, Fumay, Cibao, and Coray, in which there was a vaſt quantity of gold. The admiral immediately writ down thoſe names, and by this it appeared that he under-

underſtood nothing of the Indian language; for theſe places were not iſlands, but provinces in that iſland, and lands belonging to ſeveral kings or lords: Guarinoex was the king of that great royal plain, one of the wonders of nature; and the youth meant to tell him, that in Guarinoex's country was the province of Cibao, abounding in gold. Macorix was another province, which afforded little gold, and the other names were, as has been ſaid, provinces, which either want or have too many letters, the admiral not knowing how to write them, becauſe he did not underſtand them, and he thought the king's brother, who was preſent, had reproved his nephew for having told him thoſe names. At night the king ſent him a large gold vizor, deſiring he would ſend him a baſon and an ewer, which it is likely were of braſs or tin. He immediately ſent them, and believed he aſked for them, to have the like made in gold.

Sunday the 30th of December, the admiral went to dine on ſhore, and it happened to be at the time when five caziques, ſubjects to Guacanagari, were come, all of them with crowns of gold on their heads, and with great ſtate. As ſoon as he landed, Guacanagari came to meet him, and led him by the arm to the ſame houſe he had been at before, where the raiſed place and the chairs were. He cauſed the admiral to ſit down with great courteſy and reſpect, and then took the crown from his own head and ſet it on the admiral's, who took off a collar he had on, of fine beads of ſeveral beautiful colours, which would have made a good ſhow any where, and put it about the king's neck; and took off an hood of fine cloth, which he had put on that day, and put it upon the king, and ſent for a pair of coloured buſkins, which he alſo drew on. He likewiſe put a large ſilver ring upon his finger, becauſe the admiral had been told, that they had ſeen a ſailor with one, and did all they could to get it of him; for it is certain that they put a great value on any thing that was made of white metal, whether it were ſilver or tin. With theſe gifts the king thought himſelf much enriched, and was highly pleaſed. Two of thoſe caziques bore the admiral company to the place where he took boat, and each of them gave him a great plate of gold, and theſe were not caſt, but made of many grains beaten together, for the Indians of this iſland had not the art of caſting, but beat the grains of gold they found between two ſtones, and ſpread them.

The admiral returned to lie on board the caravel, and found that Vincent Yanez, the commander of it, affirmed he had ſeen rhubarb, and knew the ſprigs of it and the root, which, they ſay, ſhoots out little branches above the earth, and the fruit of it is like green mulberries, almoſt withered, and the little ſtalk near the root is perfectly yellow: the root under ground grows like a great pear. The admiral ſent for ſome of this, and they brought one frail full of it, and no more, becauſe they had no ſpades to dig it up with, which was carried for a pattern to their catholic majeſties, but it did not prove to be rhubarb. The admiral looked upon the pepper of this iſland, as good ſpice, which they call Axi, ſaying that it was better than the pepper and manegueta that they carried from the eaſtern parts; for which reaſon he fancied there were other ſorts of it.

The admiral being now ſenſible of God's great goodneſs to him, in diſcovering ſo many, and ſuch good lands; ſuch multitudes of people, and tokens of gold, which ſeemed to promiſe immenſe wealth; and that affair now appearing conſiderable, and of great conſequence, he coveted nothing ſo much as to acquaint the world with the mercies God had ſhown to him, and eſpecially to their catholic majeſties. The

fort being therefore finiſhed, he ordered all to be provided for ſailing, wood and water to be taken in, and other preparations made. The king ordered as much as he would have of the country bread, called Cazabi, to be given him, as alſo of the ſpice called Axi, ſalt fiſh, and whatſoever he had beſides. Columbus he would not willingly have gone away for Spain without coaſting all that country, which he thought extended very far towards the eaſt, that he might have diſcovered its ſecrets, and find the beſt paſſage from it to Spain, for the ſafer bringing over of beaſts and cattle, he durſt not then attempt it, thinking as he had but one caravel, he might run himſelf into danger, and therefore it was not reaſonable to venture farther in unknown ſeas and land. He complained very much of Martin Alonſo's forſaking him, as being the cauſe of thoſe inconveniences. He made choice of thirty-nine men to ſtay in the fort, ſuch as were moſt willing, chearful, and of good diſpoſition, the ſtrongeſt and beſt able to endure fatigues among all he had. He left with them for their commander James de Arana, a native of Cordova, notary and alguazil, with full power, as he had received it from their majeſties; and in caſe he ſhould die, he appointed for his ſucceſſor in that poſt Peter Gutierrez, groom of the privy chamber to the king; and in caſe he died, the place to fall to Roderic de Eſcovedo, born at Seville. He left with them a ſurgeon, whoſe name was John: alſo a ſhip carpenter, a caulker, a cooper, and a good gunner, who was very ſkilful in fire works. There was likewiſe a taylor left: the reſt were good ſailors, whom he furniſhed with biſcuit and wine, and the other proviſions he had, for a year, leaving ſeeds to ſow, and all the things he had brought, being a great quantity, to barter; as alſo all the great guns and other arms that were in the ſhip, and the boat that had belonged to it.

When all things were ready, and he was upon the point of departing, he called them together, and ſpoke to them to this effect. He bid them "offer up their prayers to God, and return thanks to him, for having carried them to ſuch a country to plant his holy faith, and not to forſake him, but to live like good Chriſtians, and he would protect them. That they ſhould pray to God to grant him a good voyage, that he might ſoon return to them with a greater power: that they ſhould love and obey their captain, becauſe it was requiſite for their own preſervation, and he charged them ſo to do in the name of their highneſſes. That they ſhould reſpect Guacanagari, and give no offence to any of his people, nor offer violence to man or woman, that the opinion of their coming from heaven might be confirmed. That they ſhould not part, nor go up the country, nor out of Guacanagari's dominions, ſince he loved them ſo well: that with his conſent they ſhould ſurvey the coaſt in canoes or their boat, endeavouring to diſcover the gold mines, and ſome good harbour, becauſe he was not well pleaſed with that where they remained, which he called Navidad, or the Nativity: that they ſhould endeavour to barter the moſt they could fairly, without ſhewing covetouſneſs, and endeavour to learn the language, ſince it would be ſo uſeful to them to gain the friendſhip of the natives, and very advantageous; and he promiſed to intreat their catholic majeſties to reward them, ſince they had opened the way to that new world." They anſwered, they would punctually perform all he ordered them.—Wedneſday the 2d of January, he went aſhore to take his leave, dined with Guacanagari and his caziques, recommended the Chriſtians to him, whom he commanded to ſerve and defend him againſt the Caribs. He gave him a fine ſhirt, and ſaid he would ſoon return with preſents from the king of Spain. He anſwered with great tokens of ſorrow for his departure. One of the king's

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king's ſervants then ſaid, he had ſent canoes along the coaſt to ſeek for gold, and the admiral anſwered, that if Martin Alonſo Pinzon had not left him, he would have ventured to ſail round the iſland, and have carried a ton of gold into Spain; and would ſtill do it, were he not afraid that the caravel Pinta would get home ſafe, and give ſome information againſt him, to conceal their own crime.

Friday the fourth of January, 1493, the admiral left the port he had called Navidad, or the Nativity, ſailing eaſtward, toward a very high mountain without trees, but covered with graſs, looking like a tent, which he called Monte Chriſto, and lies to the eaſt, eighteen leagues from the cape he called Santo, that was behind, and four leagues from the port called Navidad. That night he anchored five leagues from Monte Chriſto. Saturday the fifth of January, he proceeded to a little iſland near by, where there were good ſalt pits. He entered the port, and was ſo much pleaſed with the ſoil, the plenty of the woods, and of the plains he ſaw, that he ſaid it was probably the iſland of Cipango, and had he thought he was ſo near the mines of Cibao, whence ſo much wealth was drawn, he would have affirmed it more poſitively. Sunday the ſixth, he ſailed from Monte Chriſto, and ſoon after diſcovered the caravel Pinta ſailing toward him before the wind. They thought fit to return to Monte Chriſto, where Martin Alonſo Pinzon made his excuſe for having parted company, and though there was no ſatisfactory reaſon for what he had done, the admiral winked at it, and underſtood he had bartered for much gold, and that he had taken one half for himſelf, and the other half for the ſeamen. A great river runs down into this harbour, which he called Rio de Oro, that is, river of gold, becauſe the ſand looked like gold, and there he watered. Wedneſday the 9th of January, he hoiſted ſail, came to Punta Roxa, or red point, which is thirty-ſix leagues eaſt of Monte Chriſto, and there they took tortoiſes as big as bucklers, when they went to lay their eggs aſhore. The admiral affirmed he had thereabout ſeen three mermaids, that raiſed themſelves far above the water, and that they were not ſo handſome as they are painted; that they had ſomething like a human face, and that he had ſeen others on the coaſt of Guinea. He proceeded to the river De Gracia, or of grace, where Martin Alonſo had been bartering, and was alſo called by his name; and cauſed four Indians that Martin Alonſo had taken away by force, to be left there.

Friday the 11th of January, he ſailed to a cape he called Belprado, from a mountain appearing, which being covered with ſnow, as if it had been ſilver, he called Monte de Plata, or the ſilver mountain; and a port that is at the foot of it, Puerto de Plata, or ſilver harbour, which is like a horſeſhoe. And proceeding along the coaſt with the currents and fair weather, above ten leagues, he diſcovered ſeveral capes, which he called Angel, Plunta del Hierro, or iron point; El Rodondo, or the round one; El Frances, the French; El Cabo de buen Tiempo, the fair weather cape; El Tajado, the craggy. Saturday the twelfth, he advanced thirty leagues farther, admiring the bigneſs of the iſland, and called one cape De Padre y Hijo, of father and ſon; and gave names to Puerto Sacro, or holy harbour, and Cabo de los Enamorados, or the lover's cape, and coming up with it, he diſcovered a vaſt bay, which was three leagues in breadth, and in the midſt of it a ſmall iſland. He ſtaid there to obſerve the conjunction, which was to be on the 17th, and the oppoſition of the moon, and Jupiter with Mercury, and the ſun in oppoſition with Jupiter. He ſent the boat for water, and they found ſome men with bows and arrows. They

bought a bow and ſome arrows, and deſired one of the Indians to go and ſpeak with the admiral, which he conſented to. He aſked him for the Caribs, and he pointed that they were to the eaſtward; and for gold, he pointed to the iſland of St. John, ſaying there was guanin, that is, pale gold with a purpliſh caſt, which the Indians valued very much. He ordered him ſomething to eat, and to give him two bits of green and yellow cloth, and ſome glaſs beads, and ordered the boat to ſet him aſhore. Fifty-five naked Indians with long hair, like the women in Spain, with feathers, bows and arrows, ſwords made of hard palm wood, and heavy ſpears, with which they gave heavy blows, lay in the wood. The Indian made them lay down their arms: they came to the boat, where the Spaniards bought two bows of them, by the admiral's order, and were ſo far from ſelling any more, that they begun to concert to ſeize the Spaniards, who being but ſeven, fell upon them, gave one a great cut upon the buttocks, and another a gaſh on the breaſt, on which they fled, leaving their arms behind, and many might have been killed, if they would have purſued them. This was the firſt time that the Spaniards and Indians came to blows in this iſland: the admiral was ſorry for it, though, on the other hand, it pleaſed him, that they might be ſenſible of the weight of the Spaniards hands.

Monday the 14th, in the morning, abundance of people appeared on the ſhore. The admiral ordered the boat's crew to be upon their guard; but the Indians came as if nothing had happened, and among them the king of the country, and the Indian that had been aboard the caravel, whither the king came with three Indians. The admiral ordered them to have biſcuit and honey to eat, and gave them red caps, bits of cloth, and beads. The next day the king ſent his gold crown, and proviſions; the men were armed with bows and arrows. Four youths in canoes came to the caravel, and were men of ſuch good ſenſe, that the admiral reſolved to carry them into Spain. They acquainted him with many particulars, and from thence ſhewed him the iſland of St. John. He ſailed from that bay, which he called De las Flechas, or of arrows, on Wedneſday the 16th of January, and would not make any longer ſtay, becauſe the caravels were very leaky. He advanced with the wind at weſt-north-weſt, and when he had ſailed ſixteen leagues, the Indians he had aboard pointed to the iſland of St. John, that of Martinino, and the Caribs, where the Indians were that eat men; and though he was willing to take a view of thoſe iſlands, for fear of diſheartening the men, the wind freſhening, he ordered to ſteer directly for Spain. Advancing ſucceſsfully during ſeveral days, they ſaw many tunny fiſh and ſea gulls; the air was very drying, and they met with abundance of weeds, but being acquainted with it, they were not afraid. They killed a tunny fiſh and a large ſhark, which afforded them ſomething to eat, for they had nothing but bread and wine. The caravel Pinta was no good ſailer upon a wind, as ſhe had little benefit of her mizen, by reaſon that maſt was not good, and the admiral being forced to lie by for her, they made little way. Sometimes when there were calms, the Indians leaped into the water, ſwam about, and diverted themſelves. Having ſailed ſeveral days, changing their courſe according to the winds, they endeavoured to keep their reckoning, and fancied they were to the eaſtward of the iſlands Azores, becauſe they reckoned more leagues than they really ſailed, being quite miſtaken in the way they made to the northward, ſo that inſtead of any of the Azores, they would more likely have fallen in with Madeira, or Puerto-Santo.

The

The admiral being more ſkilful at reckoning, found their run one hundred and fifty leagues leſs than the others. Tueſday the 12th of February, the ſea began to ſwell with great and dangerous ſtorms, and he drove moſt of the night without any ſail; afterwards he ſet a little ſail. The waves broke, and the ſhips laboured. The next morning the wind ſlackened, but on Wedneſday night it aroſe again, with dreadful waves, which hindered the ſhips way, ſo that he could not work them. The admiral kept under a main-top-ſail reefed, only to keep the ſhip to the waves, but perceiving how great the danger was, he let it run before the wind, there being no other remedy. Then the caravel Pinta began to run, and diſappeared, though the admiral kept his light abroad the whole night, and the Pinta anſwered. Thurſday the 14th of February, after ſun-riſing, the wind blew fiercer, and they were more fearful of periſhing, with the trouble of believing that the caravel Pinta was already loſt. The admiral finding himſelf near death, to the end that ſome knowledge might come to their catholic majeſties of what he had done in their ſervice, he writ as much as he could of what he had diſcovered on a ſkin of parchment, and having wrapped it up in a piece of ſeer-cloth, he put it into a wooden caſk, and caſt it into the ſea, all the men imagining it had been ſome piece of devotion, and preſently the wind ſlackened. Friday the 15th of February, they ſaw land a-head, bearing from them eaſt-north-eaſt. Some ſaid it was the iſland Madeira, others that it was the rock of Cintra, near Liſbon; but the admiral always ſaid they were the iſlands Azores: they plied to and fro with much labour, but could not come up with the iſland of St. Mary. The admiral's legs being very uneaſy, becauſe he had been expoſed to all the rain and cold, he ſlept a little, and on the 18th came to an anchor on the north ſide of the iſland, which they found to be St. Mary's. Preſently three men made a ſignal to the caravel; he ſent the boat for them; they carried the admiral refreſhments of bread and fowl from the governor, whoſe name was don John de Caſtagneda. Tueſday the 19th of February, he ordered one half of the men to go out in proceſſion to an hermitage there was near by, to perform their vow, and that when they returned, he would go out with the other half, and deſired the Portugueſe to bring him a clergyman to ſay maſs. Whilſt they were at prayers in their ſhirts, the whole town on horſeback and on foot, with their commander, fell upon and made them priſoners. They ſtaying very long, the admiral ſuſpected either that they were detained, or that the boat was ſtaved, becauſe the iſland is incloſed with rocks, and becauſe he could not ſee the hermitage, being covered by a point of land that runs into the ſea. He therefore brought the caravel right before the hermitage, and ſaw abundance of people come into the boat, and make towards the caravel.

The commander of the iſland ſtood up and demanded hoſtages, and though they were offered him, the Portugueſe would not venture his perſon. The admiral aſked why he had ſent him refreſhments, and thoſe Portugueſe to invite him aſhore, and afterwards, notwithſtanding the two nations of Caſtile and Portugal were at peace, he had ſo baſely detained his men; and that to convince him he was employed in the king of Spain's ſervice, he would ſhew him his commiſſion. The Portugueſe anſwered, "We here know nothing of their majeſties of Caſtile, nor their commiſſions, nor do we fear them." Some other words paſſed between them, and the Portugueſe bid him carry his caravel to the harbour, for all he had done was by his king's order. The admiral took witneſſes of what he ſaid, and anſwered, that if he did not reſtore him his men and the boat, he would carry away an hundred Portugueſe

gueſe priſoners into Spain. This ſaid, he returned and anchored where he was before, becauſe the wind blew freſh. He ordered the caſks to be filled with ſea water, to ballaſt the veſſel, and by reaſon of the foul weather, ſailed towards the iſland of St. Michael, becauſe there are no good harbours in thoſe iſlands, and it is ſafeſt to keep out at ſea. He was in a great ſtorm all the night, and having miſſed of the iſland of St. Michael, he returned to that of St. Mary, and preſently the boat came with two clergymen, a notary, and five ſeamen, and upon ſecurity given them, they came aboard the caravel, and required the admiral to ſhew them the king of Spain's commiſſion, which he did, and they returned and releaſed his men and the boat: the commander ſaid, he had orders from the king of Portugal to ſeize the admiral, and would give any thing to have him.

Having recovered his men, and the weather being fit to ſail for Spain, he ordered to ſteer their courſe eaſt. The next day a large bird came to the ſhip, which the admiral judged to be an eagle. Saturday the 2d of March, there was ſo great a ſtorm, that he ordered to caſt lots for a pilgrim to go to St. Mary de Cinta en Guelva, and the lot fell upon the admiral, ſo that it looked as if God had followed him, that he might humble himſelf, and not grow proud, for the mercies he had ſhewn him. They drove with all their ſails furled, in the greateſt danger, till Monday, without hopes of eſcaping, but it pleaſed God that they diſcovered the land and rock of Cintra, and to avoid the ſtorm, he reſolved to put into the harbour, not being able to ſtay at Caſcaes. He returned thanks to God for his delivery, and all admired how he had got into the port, affirming, they had not ſeen ſuch dreadful ſtorms. The king of Portugal was then at Valparayſo, to whom he writ, ſignifying that their majeſties of Spain, his ſovereigns, had ordered him not to avoid entering his highneſſes ports, to get what he wanted for his money, deſiring he would give him leave to go up to Liſbon for the more ſecurity, and that his highneſs might know he came not from Guinea, but from the Indies. Bartholomew Diaz de Liſboa, maſter of a galeon, carrying many guns, who was there in an armed boat, went aboard the caravel, and ordered the admiral to go up with him, to give an account of himſelf to the king's officers and the captain of the galeon. Columbus anſwered, that he was admiral to their majeſties of Spain, and was not obliged to give any man an account of himſelf, nor would he go out of his ſhip, unleſs he were compelled by force. The Portugueſe anſwered, he might ſend the maſter of his ſhip; but the admiral would neither ſend him, ſaying he would not do it, unleſs compelled, and could not reſiſt it, for he looked upon it much alike, to ſend another, or to go himſelf; and that it was the practice of the admirals of the kings of Caſtile, rather to die than deliver up themſelves or their men. The Portugueſe maſter replied, that ſince he was ſo reſolved, he might do as he pleaſed; but that he deſired he would condeſcend to ſhew him his commiſſion from their majeſties of Spain, if he had any ſuch. As ſoon as he had ſeen it, he returned to the galeon and reported what had paſſed, and the captain, whoſe name was Alvaro Daman, went aboard the admiral's caravel with drums, trumpets, and hautboys, and offered to ſerve him in whatſoever he ſhould command.

As ſoon as it was publicly known at Liſbon that the admiral came from the Indies, ſo many flocked to ſee him and the Indians, that it was wonderful to behold, and to obſerve how they ſtood in admiration. The next day he received a letter from the king of Portugal, by don Martin de Noronha, his ſervant, deſiring him to come where

where he was, which he was obliged to do, to avoid ſhewing any miſtruſt. He went and lay at Sacavem, where he was well entertained, and the king had given orders that they ſhould give him all he had occaſion for at Liſbon, without money. The next day he came to the place where the king was, and the gentlemen of the houſehold came out to receive, and bore him company to the palace. The king received him with much honour, bid him ſit, and after having expreſſed much ſatisfaction for the ſucceſs of his voyage, and aſked ſome particulars about it, he ſaid he was of opinion, that according to the articles ſtipulated with the kings of Caſtile, that conqueſt rather belonged to the kings of Portugal than to thoſe of Caſtile. He anſwered, he had not ſeen thoſe articles, nor knew any more than that their highneſſes had commanded him not to go to the gold mine, nor to Guinea, and that the ſame had been proclaimed in all the ports of Andaluſia, before he ſet out upon his voyage. The king graciouſly anſwered, he believed he would not ſtand in need of vouchers in that particular. He then ordered the prior of Crato to entertain him, he being the principal perſon preſent. The next day the king told him that if he wanted any thing he ſhould have it, and making him ſit, aſked him many queſtions concerning the voyage, the new countries, the latitudes, the people, and other things relating to thoſe parts; being much concerned for having miſſed of that good fortune; and there wanted not ſomebody who offered the king to kill the admiral, that what he had diſcovered might not be known, but he would not conſent to it.

At length, on Monday the 11th of March, the admiral took his leave of the king, and all the gentlemen of the court attended him, and don Martin Alonſo de Noronha was ordered to conduct him to Liſbon. He gave him a mule, and another to his pilot, and twenty eſpadines, which were about as many ducats. He paſſed through Villa Franca, where the queen was in the monaſtery of St. Anthony. He kiſſed her hands, and having given her an account of his voyage, departed, and a ſervant of the king overtook him, and told him from his majeſty, that if he would go into Caſtile by land, he would order him to be attended, find him carriage, and all that he had occaſion for. Wedneſday the 13th of March, he ſailed with his caravel for Seville. Thurſday before ſun-riſing, he found himſelf off cape St. Vincent, and Friday the 15th off Saltes, and at noon he paſſed over the bar with the flood into the port from whence he had firſt departed, on Friday the 3d of Auguſt, the year before, ſo that he ſpent ſix months and an half upon the voyage. Being informed that their catholic majeſties were at Barcelona, he had thoughts of going to them by ſea in his caravel. He landed at Palos, was received with a ſolemn proceſſion, and much rejoicing of the whole town, all admiring ſo great an action, which they never thought or imagined the admiral could have performed.

The admiral having concluded not to go by ſea to Barcelona, ſent advice of his arrival to their catholic majeſties, with a ſummary of what had befallen him, reſerving it to give a more ample relation by word of mouth. The anſwer found him at Seville, the purport whereof was, that they rejoiced at his ſafe return, and the ſucceſs of his voyage, and therefore ordered him to make haſte to Barcelona, there to confer about what was moſt convenient for advancing the diſcovery thus begun; and that in the mean while he ſhould conſider whether it were proper to leave any orders at Seville, that no time might be loſt. There was no expreſſing the joy of their catholic majeſties, and the ſatisfaction and admiration of the whole court, to ſee a thing happily brought to paſs, of which moſt men had entertained no hopes.

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The ſuperſcription of the letter was, " To don Chriſtopher Columbus, our admiral " of the ocean, viceroy and governor of the iſlands that have been diſcovered in the " Indies." In his anſwer, he ſent a memorial of the ſhips, men, ammunition and proviſions that were proper to return to the Indies, and then ſet out himſelf for Barcelona, with ſeven Indians; the reſt died by the way. He carried with him green and red parrots, and other things, never before ſeen in Spain. He ſet out for Seville, and the fame of this novelty being ſpread abroad, the people flocked to the roads to ſee the Indians and the admiral. Their majeſties having received the memorial, ordered John Rodriguez de Fonſeca, archdeacon of Seville, brother to don Alonſo de Fonſeca, and to Anthony de Fonſeca, lords of Coca and Alaexos, to apply himſelf out of hand to furniſh what the admiral thought fit for the ſecond voyage he was to make to the Indies.

The admiral arrived at Barcelona about the middle of April, where a ſolemn reception was given him, the whole court and city flocking out in ſuch numbers, that the ſtreets could not hold them, admiring to ſee the admiral, the Indians, and the things he brought, which were carried uncovered; and the more to honour the admiral, their majeſties ordered their royal throne to be placed in public, where they ſat, and with them prince John. The admiral came in attended by a multitude of gentlemen; when he came near, the king ſtood up, gave him his hand to kiſs, bid him riſe, ordered a chair to be brought, and him to ſit down in the royal preſence, where he gave an account in a very ſedate and diſcreet manner, of the mercy God had ſhewn him in favour of their highneſſes, of his voyage and diſcovery, and the hopes he had conceived of diſcovering greater countries, and ſhewed him the Indians, as they went in their own native places, and the other things he had brought. Their majeſties aroſe, and kneeling down, with their hands lifted up, and tears in their eyes, returned thanks to God, and then the ſingers of the chapel begun the Te Deum. Likewiſe, as the articles concluded with the admiral were only in the form of a contract, and he had performed what he promiſed, their majeſties alſo, in the uſual form, paſſed grants, making good what they had offered him at the town of Santa Fe, on the 17th of April, of the foregoing year, and the charters were paſſed at Barcelona on the 30th of the ſame month, 1493, and ſigned by their highneſſes on the 28th of May. They alſo gave him the royal arms of Caſtile and Leon, to bear together with thoſe of his family, with other additions, expreſſing his difficult and wonderful diſcovery; and their majeſties beſtowed ſome favours and honours on his brothers, don Bartholomew and don James, though they were not then at court. The king took the admiral by his ſide when he went along the city of Barcelona, and did him much honour other ways; therefore all the grandees and other noblemen honoured and invited him to dinner, and the cardinal of Spain, don Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoza, a prince of much virtue, and a noble ſpirit, was the firſt grandee, that as they were going one day from the palace, carried the admiral to dine with him, ſeated him at the head of his table, and cauſed his meat to be ſerved up covered, and from that time forward he was ſerved in that manner. The admiral alſo gained wonderful reputation among the people.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

The king and queen of Caſtile and Leon acquaint the pope with the new diſcovery. Grants made by the pope to thoſe princes. Columbus prepares for a ſecond voyage. Conteſt between the crowns of Spain and Portugal. Columbus ſails: diſcovers ſeveral iſlands: arrives at Hiſpaniola: tranſactions there: ſails and diſcovers Jamaica: returns to Hiſpaniola: builds forts. Complaints made againſt Columbus: he returns to Spain. Deſcription of Hiſpaniola.

SO great was the reſpect and deference their catholic majeſties paid to the apoſtolic ſee, that notwithſtanding the reſolution they had taken of ſending back Columbus to the Indies, to proceed in the diſcovery he had begun, and to enter upon the propagating of the Chriſtian faith in thoſe parts, they thought fit to acquaint the pope, Alexander VI. with what had happened. The ambaſſador was alſo directed to let him know, that the ſaid diſcovery had been made without encroaching upon the crown of Portugal, the admiral having been poſitively commanded not to come within an hundred leagues of any port belonging to the Portugueſe, which he had obſerved: and though, by reaſon of the poſſeſſion the admiral had taken of thoſe new countries, and for other cauſes, ſome very learned men were of opinion that there was no need of the pope's confirmation or donation, nevertheleſs their catholic majeſties, as obedient children to the holy ſee, directed the ambaſſador to deſire his holineſs to grant to the kings of Caſtile and Leon the lands already diſcovered, or that ſhould be diſcovered, and to expedite his bulls accordingly.

The pope was much rejoiced at this advice, and conſidering the great ſervice their catholic majeſties had done God, what he hoped they might do for the future, and for ſeveral other reaſons, he granted their requeſt, and gave them the ſovereign dominion of the Indies, with ſupreme juriſdiction over all that hemiſphere. Accordingly with the conſent and approbation of the whole ſacred college,
A. D. 1493. the bull was paſſed in the uſual form, on the 2d of May, with the formalities, prerogatives and powers that had been before granted to the kings of Portugal in relation to the Eaſt Indies, Guinea, and part of Africa; and by another bull of the 3d of May, of the ſame year, he granted them all the iſlands and continents already diſcovered, or that ſhould be diſcovered, drawing a line from pole to pole, at the diſtance of an hundred leagues to the weſtward of the iſlands Azores, and thoſe of Cape Verde; and that all that ſhould be diſcovered beyond that line to the weſt or ſouth, ſhould appertain to the navigation and diſcovery of the kings of Caſtile and Leon, provided it were not in the poſſeſſion of any Chriſtian prince before Chriſtmas-day, and that no perſon ſhould paſs over into thoſe parts under penalties and cenſures.

The apoſtolic bulls being come, at the time when the admiral had been ordered all he deſired for his voyage, a few days before he ſet out from Barcelona, their majeſties ordered the Indians to be baptized, they being already inſtructed in the Chriſtian doctrine, and aſked to be chriſtened; their catholic majeſties thought fit to offer up to God the firſt fruits of thoſe Gentiles, and the king, and his ſon prince John, were godfathers: the prince would have one of them to ſtay in his ſervice, who died not

long after. To the end that the affair of the converſion might be managed as it ought, their highneſſes ſent with the admiral a monk of St. Benedict, whoſe name was Boyl, a Catalonian, with apoſtolical authority, and other religious men, and particular orders, that the Indians ſhould be well uſed, and drawn over to religion by gifts and good behaviour, and that if the Spaniards abuſed them, they ſhould be ſeverely puniſhed. They gave him veſtments, and other things, for the worſhip of God. The admiral was ordered to expedite his departure, and to endeavour as ſoon as might be, to diſcover whether Cuba, which he had called Juana, was a continent or an iſland; and that he ſhould behave himſelf very diſcreetly towards the Spaniards, treating the good affectionately, and puniſhing the wicked. He took leave of their majeſties, and that day all the court waited on him from the palace to his own houſe, and ſo they did when he ſet out from Barcelona.

King John of Portugal was ſo much concerned for having let this new empire ſlip through his fingers, that not being able to diſguiſe it, he pretended that the ſame belonged to him, and gave orders to fit out ſhips to carry men over to take poſſeſſion of thoſe new countries; and on the other hand, he ſent Ruy de Sande to their catholic majeſties with credentials, who told them how well he had treated the admiral, and that he rejoiced that his voyage had proved ſucceſsful; and that he confided, that ſince lands and iſlands had been diſcovered, which belonged to him, they would deal by him as he would do in the like caſe; and as he underſtood that they deſigned to continue the diſcovery, from the Canary Iſlands directly weſt, without turning to the ſouthward, he prayed them to command the admiral to obſerve that order, and he would direct his ſhips, when they went upon diſcovery, not to exceed to the northward. A report had reached the court, before Ruy de Sande came to it, that the king of Portugal deſigned to ſend his fleet the ſame way as the Spaniſh went, and, as has been ſaid, take poſſeſſion of thoſe lands; as alſo there was advice that Martin Alonſo Pinzon, having met with prodigious ſtorms, was at length arrived in Galicia with his caravel Pinta. He died preſently, and ſome ſaid it was for grief of a reproof given him for having been diſobedient to the admiral and parted from him, and becauſe their catholic majeſties would not ſee him, unleſs introduced at the requeſt of the admiral.

Upon the advice received of what was doing at Liſbon, and of the king of Portugal's intention, their catholic majeſties ordered John Rodriguez de Fonſeca to furniſh the fleet that was to carry over the admiral in ſuch manner, that it might both defend itſelf, and offend, in caſe the Portugueſe ſhould make any attempt; and they ſent Lope de Herrera, a ſervant of their houſhold, to Liſbon, to return the king thanks for his courteſy to the admiral, and to adviſe him not to permit any of his ſubjects to preſume to go or ſend to thoſe iſlands or continents newly diſcovered, becauſe they belonged to him: in this he would act as became the brotherly affection that was between them; troubles would be avoided, and the advancement of the holy catholic faith, and the preaching among thoſe new nations, would not be obſtructed. Lope de Herrera was alſo inſtructed to repreſent how careful their catholic majeſties had been in charging the admiral not to touch at the lands diſcovered by his predeceſſors, nor any other thing that belonged to him. Beſides all this courteſy, he ordered him in private, that in caſe he found the king had ſent his fleet, or deſigned to ſend it, he ſhould not follow the method aforeſaid, but that he ſhould deliver the credentials he carried, and require him to put a ſtop to it, till it were cauſed to

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be proclaimed in his kingdom. Ruy de Sande having performed the aforeſaid embaſſy, he aſked leave to export ſome neceſſaries for an expedition the king of Portugal intended to undertake into Africa againſt the Moors, which was to palliate the report of the diſcovery he deſigned to make to the weſtward. He alſo requeſted that the Spaniards ſhould be forbid to fiſh about Cape Bojador, till it ſhould be decided by equity whether they might juſtly do it; and their majeſties anſwered, it ſhould be done.

Lope de Herrera being ſet out for the court of Portugal before Ruy de Sande arrived at the court of their catholic majeſties, the king of Portugal underſtanding the purport of his embaſſy, ſent Duarte de Gama to give notice of the commiſſion Ruy de Sande was charged with, in relation to the diſcovery made by Columbus, and without permitting Lope de Herrera to uſe his credentials or make his demand: he anſwered him, that he would ſend no ſhip out upon diſcovery during the term of ſixty days, becauſe he deſigned to ſend ambaſſadors about it to their highneſſes. Whilſt this was in agitation, he had complained at the court of Rome againſt their catholic majeſties, ſaying, they put a ſtop to the progreſs of his diſcoveries, and excepted againſt the bulls granted, alledging ſeveral wrongs; as, that they broke in upon his limits, and that it was requiſite to ſet boundaries, to prevent the troubles that might happen between the ſubjects of the two crowns. The pope anſwered, that to prevent any occaſion of complaint, he had marked out what belonged to each of them, ordering the line to be drawn from pole to pole, as has been ſaid; and again granted to the kings of Caſtile all that ſhould be conquered in the iſlands to the eaſt, weſt, and ſouth, the ſame not being in the poſſeſſion of any other prince; and another bull was paſſed on the 26th of September, that ſame year 1493. However, the Portugueſe did not reſt ſatisfied, pretending they were wronged, and that the line of partition ought to be drawn much farther to the weſtward.

The ſixty days the king of Portugal had preſcribed being paſt, their catholic majeſties ſent Garcia de Herrera, a gentleman of their houſhold, to adviſe and require him not to attempt any thing; and ſoon after they ſent the protonotary, don Pedro de Ayala, and Garcia Lopez de Carvajal, brother to the cardinal De Santa Cruz, the ſubſtance of whoſe commiſſion was, to return thanks to king John for his good intention to maintain the peace between them, and to remove the cauſe that might obſtruct it, declaring that they were of the ſame mind, and did again offer it to him: and that as for the pretenſion that that part of the ocean belonged to him, both by apoſtolical conceſſion, and by poſſeſſion, and by the articles of peace; that they would be very ready to admit of any proper method for preſerving the brotherly friendſhip that was between the two crowns; but that their highneſſes were aſſured, that nothing in the ocean belonged to king John, beſides the iſland of Madeira, thoſe of the Azores, and of Cape Verde, and what more he then poſſeſſed, with all that had been diſcovered from the Canary Iſlands to Guinea, with the gold mines and trade; and that this was all that belonged to him by the articles of peace, wherein it was expreſsly declared, that they would not moleſt his trade, lands, and commerce with Guinea, with his gold mines, or any other iſlands or coaſts diſcovered, or not diſcovered, from the Canary Iſlands downward towards Guinea, this being what he could ſay he had poſſeſſed, and no more: and that it evidently appeared he had underſtood it ſo, when he was informed that their highneſſes were ſending don Chriſtopher Columbus upon diſcovery, and he was ſatisfied that he ſhould ſail through all the ocean,

provided he did not paſs the Canary Iſlands towards Guinea, whither he uſed to ſend his fleets; and that when don Chriſtopher returned, and went to viſit him at Valparayſo, he ſeemed to be well pleaſed therewith.

Their catholic majeſties depended ſo much upon theſe their allegations, as to ſay, that in caſe king John was not ſatisfied with them, they would be content that ſome perſons ſhould be named on both ſides, who ſhould decide it, and if they could not agree, he ſhould himſelf name another perſon, or authoriſe the judges ſo to do, who ſhould be umpire between them; and that if the king would have it tried without their kingdoms, in the court of Rome, or in any other indifferent place, they would conſent, or that any other method might be found for deciding it ſpeedily, according to juſtice; for it was not their deſign to poſſeſs themſelves of any thing that belonged to another. And they ordered Lope de Herrera's requiſition to be reiterated, that none ſhould ſail from Portugal to diſcover in thoſe parts that belonged to their highneſſes, but where the Portugueſe had done ſo before, becauſe if they ſhould proceed into the parts of the ocean, they would come into that which did not belong to them; and therefore the king of Portugal ſhould ſo order it to be proclaimed throughout his dominions, under ſevere penalties, ſince their highneſſes were the firſt that had began to claim what they then poſſeſſed, by their having been the firſt diſcoverers: and the kings of Caſtile and Leon, ever ſince the Portugueſe took that way, had never hindered them; for which reaſon he ought to follow the ſame method that their predeceſſors had obſerved towards one another: to do otherwiſe would be directly contrary to the peace concluded between them. When theſe ambaſſadors ſet out from the court of their catholic majeſties, there were already come to it Peter Diaz, deſembargador, or judge of the king of Portugal, and a gentleman of his houſhold, whoſe name was Ruy de Pina. They propoſed, that it would be a proper method to divide the ocean between the two crowns, by a line drawn directly from the Canary Iſlands to the weſtward, and that all the ſeas, iſlands, and countries, from that ſtraight line to the northward, ſhould belong to the kings of Caſtile and Leon, excepting the iſlands the king of Portugal was then poſſeſſed of in that part; and that all the ſeas, iſlands, and continents, from that line to the ſouthward, ſhould belong to the king of Portugal, ſaving the Canary Iſlands, which belonged to the crown of Caſtile. To which their catholic majeſties anſwered, that what they propoſed was no method, for as much as nothing in the ocean belonged to the king of Portugal but what has been above mentioned; and ſo the affair remained at that time, the king of Portugal forbearing to ſend upon diſcovery to that part which the king of Caſtile pretended did belong to him; but the king of Portugal contended to have theſe differences adjuſted.

Their catholic majeſties were willing to put an end to the difference, and when they were at Tordeſillas, there came to them ambaſſadors from the king of Portugal. Theſe perſons had full power to adjuſt this difference, either by ſettling boundaries north and ſouth, or from eaſt to weſt, or ſuch other limits, either by ſea or land, as they ſhould think fit. After many conferences, and hearing of ſeveral coſmographers, who were admitted into their aſſemblies on the 7th of June, 1493, they agreed, that the line for ſettling the boundaries ſhould be drawn three hundred and ſeventy leagues farther than that mentioned in the pope's bull, from the iſlands of Cape Verde weſtward, and that all beyond that meridian weſtward ſhould belong to the kings of Caſtile and Leon; and all to the eaſtward ſhould appertain to the navigation, conqueſt and

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diſcovery of the kings of Portugal; but that their catholic majeſties might freely ſail through thoſe ſeas belonging to the king of Portugal, they holding on their direct courſe. Likewiſe, that whatſoever ſhould be diſcovered before the 20th day of the ſaid month of June, within the firſt two hundred and fifty leagues of the ſaid three hundred and ſeventy, ſhould remain to the kings of Portugal, and whatſoever ſhould be diſcovered within the other one hundred and twenty leagues, ſhould appertain to the kings of Caſtile for ever. Theſe conditions being drawn up, their ſaid catholic majeſties ſigned them at Arevalo, on the 2d of July, and the king of Portugal at Ebora, on the 27th of February the next year. Though their catholic majeſties on the 7th of May that ſame year, ordered the coſmographers and others that were to draw the line, to meet, and to do the ſame within ten months, if required, it does not appear to have been performed, yet it is certain, their catholic majeſties endeavoured it. The Portugueſe, who at this time had diſcovered very little beyond the iſland of San Tome, or St. Thomas, under the equinoctial, that they might not be behind hand with their neighbours, exerted themſelves ſo vigorouſly, that they ſoon after paſſed that cape ſo dreadful among the ancients, now called De Buena Eſperanca, or Cape of Good Hope.

When the admiral came to Seville, the archdeacon, John Rodriguez de Fonſeca, had fitted ſeventeen ſail of ſhips, great and ſmall, well furniſhed for the voyage, with great ſtore of proviſions, and ſpare ammunition, artillery, corn, ſeeds, mares and horſes, and tools to work the gold mines, with abundance of merchandiſe to barter, and for the admiral to give to whom he thought fit. The fame of this novelty, and of the gold, drew together one thouſand five hundred men, and among them ſeveral gentlemen, all of them in the king's pay, for there were not above twenty that went without it, and they were horſe. There was a great number of labouring people to dig and cleanſe the gold, and ſeveral handicrafts of divers ſorts. Their majeſties, by a new commiſſion, appointed the admiral to command the fleet in chief, and to be captain-general in the Indies, and Antony de Torres, a diſcreet man, and of known ability, to command the ſhips that ſhould return; Francis de Penaloſa, the queen's ſervant, was appointed commander of the land ſoldiers; Alonſo de Vallejo had the ſame poſt; Bernal Diaz de Piſa, who was alguazil of the court, was made accountant of the Indies, and James Marques inſpector. There went over alſo at this time Alonſo de Ojeda, ſervant to the duke De Medina Celi, a little man, but well ſhaped, and of a handſome face, very ſtrong and active; who, when queen Elizabeth was on the ſteeple of the cathedral church of Seville, went upon a piece of timber that runs out twenty feet beyond that ſteeple, and walked along it as faſt as if he had been going in a chamber, and at the end of it, lifted up one foot over it, and returning with the ſame quickneſs, got again upon the ſteeple, though it was thought impoſſible but that he muſt have fallen, and beaten himſelf to pieces. All thoſe above named, and every individual perſon that went aboard the fleet, took a ſolemn oath to be obedient to their majeſties, and to the admiral in their name, as alſo to his juſtice, and to be careful of the royal revenue.

The admiral being come to Seville with his proper diſpatches, his commiſſion aſcertaining the limits of his admiralſhip and government over all that the apoſtolical conceſſion extended to, applied himſelf to pick out the ableſt pilots, and in muſtering the men that had been raiſed. All perſons were forbid carrying any goods to barter,

barter, and it was ordered, that all that belonged to his highneſs and to private men, ſhould be entered before they left Spain, and the ſame to be done when they arrived in the Indies, and that all that ſhould appear not to have been ſo entered, ſhould be confiſcated. The admiral was ordered, as ſoon as he came to Hiſpaniola, to muſter the men, and after that as often as he ſhould think fit, and that they ſhould be paid by his direction; and that he ſhould appoint alcaldes and alguaziles in the iſlands and other parts, to try civil and criminal cauſes, and the appeals from them to be to him; and that in caſe it were requiſite to appoint regidores, jurats, and officers, for the government of the people, or of any colony that ſhould be planted, the admiral ſhould nominate three perſons to every employment, for their highneſſes to chuſe one of them, but that the firſt time he might name them. That all proclamations ſhould be in the names of their highneſſes: that all patents, orders, and commiſſions, ſhould alſo be in the names of their highneſſes, ſigned by the admiral, counterſigned by the notary that writ them, with their highneſſes ſeal upon the back. That upon his arrival, a cuſtom-houſe was to be built, where the royal ſtores ſhould be laid up, to be looked after and accounted for by the regal officers, the admiral ſtill preſiding every where, and he, or the perſon he ſhould appoint, to manage the bartering, with the aſſiſtance of their highneſſes comptroller and inſpector. That he ſhould have the eighth part of all that was gained, paying the eighth part of all that was carried over to be exchanged, firſt deducting the tenth part he was to have of the whole, purſuant to the contract made; and that if it were requiſite to ſend ſhips and men to any parts, he might do it.

Whilſt the admiral was at Seville, expediting his affairs, he received a letter from their majeſties, dated at Barcelona, directing him before his departure to cauſe a ſea chart to be drawn, with the rhubms, and other particulars requiſite for the voyage to the Indies, and to haſten his departure, ſtill promiſing him mighty rewards, becauſe that affair of the diſcovery daily appeared to be of greater conſequence, acquainting him that nothing was yet concluded with the king of Portugal, though it was believed he would be brought to reaſon. The admiral cauſed many plants and trees to be put aboard, and, as was ſaid before, wheat, barley, oats, rye, and all ſorts of ſeeds; as alſo cows, lime, bricks, and all ſorts of materials; and having embarked the men on Wedneſday the 25th of September, before ſun-riſing, ſet ſail in the bay of Cadiz. He ordered to ſteer ſouth-weſt for the Canaries, and arrived at Gran Canaria on Wedneſday the 2d of October, and Saturday the 5th, anchored at Gomera, where he ſtaid two days, taking in water, wood, and cattle, as calves, goats, and ſheep, and eight ſows, at the rate of ſeventy maravedies a head, from which afterwards increaſed thoſe that have been ſince in the Indies. They alſo took in hens, and other creatures, as alſo ſeeds for greens. There each pilot had his inſtructions given him, ſealed up, how to ſteer his courſe to the dominions of king Guacanagari, which they were not to open, unleſs forced to ſeparate from him by ſtreſs of weather, for he would not have them know that courſe without ſuch neceſſity, leſt the king of Portugal ſhould be acquainted with it.

He ſailed from Gomera on Monday the 7th of October, paſſed by the iſland Hierro, the fartheſt of the Canaries, and directed his courſe more to the ſouthward than he had done the firſt voyage, till the 24th of the ſame month, when he reckoned he had run four hundred and fifty leagues: he ſaw a ſwallow come to the ſhips, and at ſome diſtance farther they met with heavy rains, whereupon he gueſſed the ſame

might

might proceed from the nearneſs of ſome land, and therefore he ordered to ſlacken ſail, and to look out ſharp at night. Sunday the 3d of November, at break of day, all the fleet ſaw land, to their great joy, and it proved to be an iſland, which he named Dominica, becauſe diſcovered on Sunday, in Spaniſh called Domingo. Soon after they ſaw two more on the ſtarboard ſide, and then ſeveral others. They began then to have the ſcent of the herbs and flowers, and ſaw ſwarms of parrots, crying aloud, as they uſually do. There did not appear to be any convenient place to the eaſtward, and therefore he ſtruck over to the ſecond iſland, which was called Marigalante, and he gave it that name, becauſe the ſhip he went in was ſo called. He ſent ſome men on ſhore, and took poſſeſſion before a notary and witneſſes. The next day, departing thence, he ſaw another iſland, which he named Guadaloupe. He ſent the boats aſhore, but they found no people in a little village there was on the ſhore; and there they took the firſt parrots, which they called Guacamayas, as big as cocks, of various colours. The inhabitants were fled to the mountains, and having ſearched the houſes, they found that piece of timber belonging to a ſhip, called by ſeamen the ſtern poſt, which they much admired, not knowing in what way it came thither, unleſs carried on by tempeſtuous weather from the Canaries, or from the iſland Hiſpaniola, from the admiral's ſhip that was caſt away there. Tueſday he ſent men aſhore again, who took two youths, who by ſigns gave them to underſtand that they belonged to the iſland of Borriquen, and ſignified that thoſe of Guadaloupe were Caribs, and had them there to eat them. The boats returned for ſome Spaniards that had been left aſhore, and found them with ſix women, who had fled to them from the Caribs. The admiral not believing it, to avoid offending the people of the iſland, gave them ſome hawks bells, and ſent them aſhore: the Caribs took away the bells, and other baubles he had given them, and when the boats returned to land, the women, two boys, and a youth, intreated the ſeamen to carry them aboard the ſhips. They gave them to underſtand that there was a continent thereabout, and many iſlands, every one of which they called by its name: being aſked for the iſland Hiſpaniola, which in their language is called Ayti, they pointed towards that part where it lay.

The admiral would have proceeded on his voyage immediately, but was told that the inſpector, James Marque, was gone aſhore with eight ſoldiers, at which he was diſpleaſed; and becauſe he had been long gone and did not return, he ſent ſeveral parties of men to look for him, who could not find him by reaſon of the thickneſs of the woods, and therefore he reſolved to ſtay a day for him. He ſent men again, who fired ſome ſhot, and ſounded a trumpet; and hearing no news, every day being an age to him, he reſolved to leave them there; however, he armed himſelf with patience, and ordered the ſhips to wood and water, and reſolved to ſend Alonſo de Ojeda, who commanded a caravel, with forty men, to ſeek him out, and at the ſame time take a view of the country; but he returned without them, and ſaid he had ſeen much cotton, hawks, haggards, kites, herons, daws, pigeons, turtles, geeſe, nightingales, and partridges, and that in the ſpace of ſix leagues he had croſſed twenty-ſix rivers, many of them up to his middle. Friday the 8th of November, the inſpector came with his men, and ſaid he had loſt himſelf in the thick woods and brambles, and could not find his way back. The admiral ordered him to be taken into cuſtody, and went himſelf aſhore, and in ſome of the houſes that were near, found ſome ſpun cotton, and not ſpun, and a ſtrange ſort of looms in which they wove it. They ſaw many men's heads hung up, and baſkets full of human bones: the houſes were good, and

better

better ſtored with proviſions than thoſe in the iſlands he had diſcovered the firſt voyage.

The 10th of November, coaſting along this ſame iſland of Guadaloupe towards the north-weſt, in queſt of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, he found a very high iſland, and becauſe it looked like the rocks of Montſerrat, he gave it that name. Next he diſcovered a very round iſland, every way upright, ſo that it looked to be inacceſſible without ladders, for which reaſon he called it Santa Maria la Redonda, or St. Mary the Round. Another he called Santa Maria la Antigua, which extended fifteen or twenty leagues along the coaſt. Several other iſlands appeared to the northward, very high, wooded, and agreeable. He came to an anchor in one he called St. Martin. The 14th of November he anchored at Santa Cruz, where they took four women and two boys, and the boat returning, met a canoe with four Indian men and a woman, who ſtood upon their defence, and the woman ſhot her arrows as dexterouſly as the men. They wounded two ſoldiers, and the woman ſhot through a target. The Spaniards boarded the canoe and overſet it, and one of the men ſhot with his bow ſmartly as he ſwam. Holding on their way, they diſcovered many iſlands together, which could not be numbered; the biggeſt of them he called St. Urſula, and the others the Eleven Thouſand Virgins. The admiral coming up to another large one, called Borriquen, he gave it the name of St. John Baptiſt. In a bay on the weſt of it they found ſeveral ſorts of fiſh, as ſkates, olave fiſh, and pilchards. There were many good houſes, though built with timber and thatched, and a ſquare in the midſt of them, and a way down to the ſea, very clean and plain, and the walls of canes interwoven, or wattled, with greens artificially wrought, as is uſed in Valencia. Near the ſea was a gallery that would hold twelve perſons, made after the ſame manner, but they ſaw no living creature, and ſuſpected they were fled. Friday the 22d of the ſame month, the admiral came up with the firſt land of the iſland Hiſpaniola, that is to the northward, and the laſt of the iſland of St. John, about fifteen leagues diſtant.

The admiral being arrived at Hiſpaniola, ſet aſhore one of the Indians he had brought back from Spain, who was of the province of Samona, that he might tell the Indians what great things he had ſeen in Spain, and induce them to be friends with the Spaniards. He promiſed to do it with a good will, but they never more heard of him, and it was thought he died. Proceeding farther to Cape Angel, ſome Indians reſorted to the ſhips in their canoes, with proviſions and other things to barter with the Chriſtians. As they were about to anchor at Monte Chriſto, a boat went aſhore near a river, and they found two men dead, one young, and the other old, who had a rope made of the weed or ſhrub uſed in Spain, called Eſparto, his arms ſtretched out, and his hands tied to a ſtick acroſs, but they could not diſcern whether they were Spaniards or Indians, which troubled the admiral, and gave him ſome jealouſy. The next day, being the 26th of November, he ſent more men to ſeveral parts, to hear what news there were of thoſe he had left in the fort of the Nativity. Many Indians reſorted very freely to talk with the Spaniards; they came cloſe to them, touched their doublet and ſhirt, ſaying, "Jubon, camiſa," (that is, doublet, ſhirt, in Spaniſh) to ſhew that they knew the names, which gave the admiral ſome ſatisfaction, believing that thoſe he had left at the fort were not dead. Wedneſday the 27th of November, he came to an anchor with his fleet at the mouth of the port of Navidad, or the Nativity. About midnight a canoe came aboard the admiral; the

the Indians cried, "Almirante," that is, admiral: they anſwered, and bid them come aboard, for he was there. They would not till they ſaw and knew him, and then gave him two vizors, well ſhaped, and ſome gold, as a preſent from the cazique Guacanagari. He enquiring of them after the Spaniards, they ſaid ſome had died of ſickneſs, and that others were gone up the country with their wives. The admiral gueſſed that they were all dead, but was obliged not to take notice of it, and ſent them back with a preſent of ſome tin toys, which they always valued very much, and ſome other baubles, for the cazique.

The next Monday all the fleet entered the port; the admiral ſaw the fort burnt down, whence he concluded that all the Chriſtians were dead, which troubled him very much, and the more, becauſe no Indians appeared. The next day he went aſhore very melancholy, finding no body to enquire of: ſome things belonging to the Spaniards were found. He went up the river with the boats, and in the mean time gave orders for cleanſing a well he had before made in the fort, but nothing was found in it, and the Indians fled from their houſes, ſo that they could learn nothing, though they found ſome cloaths of the Spaniards. Near the fort they diſcovered ſeven or eight men buried, and others farther off, whom they knew to be Chriſtians by their being clad, and it appeared that they had not been buried above a month. Whilſt they were ſearching about, one of Guacanagari's brothers came with ſome Indians, who had learnt a little Spaniſh, and named all thoſe that had been left in the fort; and by their means, with the aſſiſtance of another Indian the admiral brought with him from Spain, who was called James Colon, or Columbus, they were informed of the diſaſter. They ſaid, that as ſoon as the admiral was gone, they began to fall out among themſelves, and to diſobey their commander, going about in an inſolent manner to take what women and gold they pleaſed; and that Peter Gutierrez and Eſcovedo killed one Jacome; and that they two, with nine others, went away with the women they had taken, and their baggage, to the country of a lord whoſe name was Caunabo, who was lord of the mines, and he killed them all. That ſome days after, Caunabo went to the fort, with abundance of men, in which there were none at that time but the commander, James de Arana, and five that thought fit to ſtay with him to keep the fort, which Caunabo ſet fire to in the night, and thoſe that were in it flying to the ſea, they were all drowned, the reſt being diſperſed about the iſland. That king Guacanagari coming to fight Caunabo in defence of the Chriſtians, had been wounded, and was not yet recovered. All this agreed with the account ſome Spaniards brought, whom the admiral had ſent to enquire into the matter, and being come to Guacanagari's town, they found him ill of the wounds, which were his excuſe for not going to ſee the admiral.

From what has been ſaid above, and ſeveral other relations, it appeared that it was true that thoſe Spaniards had been at variance among themſelves, and that it was occaſioned by the Biſcainers; and that if they had agreed together, and done as the admiral directed them, they had not periſhed. Guacanagari ſent to deſire the admiral to viſit him, becauſe he did not go abroad by reaſon of his indiſpoſition. The admiral did ſo, and the cazique, with a very melancholy countenance, told him all that has been related, ſhewing him his own, and the wounds of many of his people; and thoſe wounds proved they were made with Indian weapons, being a ſort of darts, the ends of them armed with the bones of fiſhes. After diſcourſing together, he preſented the admiral with eight hundred ſmall beads made of ſtone, which they highly valued,

and called them cibas, and one hundred of gold, a crown of gold, and three little calabaſhes, or gourds, which they call ybueras, full of grains of gold, all weighing about two hundred peſos. The admiral gave him ſeveral glaſs trinkets, knives, ſciſſars, hawks bells, pins, needles, and little looking-glaſſes, which the king thought a great treaſure. He waited on the admiral to his quarters, admiring the horſes, and how the men managed them. The admiral alſo gave him an image of our lady, which he cauſed him to wear about his neck, and which before he had refuſed to receive. Many of the Spaniards, and particularly father Boyl, adviſed the ſeizing of Guacanagari, becauſe the Spaniards had been left in his charge, till he could better clear himſelf of their death; but the admiral did not think fit to follow their advice, ſince there was no remedy for what was done, and it was not proper for him to enter the country puniſhing and making war, if it could be avoided; and the rather, for that he deſigned to ſecure and fortify himſelf, and ſettle a colony, and to enquire into that affair at leiſure, and in caſe he found the cazique guilty, it would be always time enough to chaſtiſe him.

The admiral was now very thoughtful how to behave himſelf, to give a good beginning to his enterpriſe, and thinking that the province of Marien, where his ſhips were riding, was very low land, and had no ſtone, or other materials for building, though it had good harbours and freſh water, he reſolved to turn back along the coaſt to the eaſtward, to find out a proper place to build a town. Accordingly, the 7th of December, he ſailed out with all the fleet, and came to an anchor that evening near ſome ſmall iſlands, not far from Monte Chriſto, and the next day, being Sunday, cloſe under that mount; and fancying that Monte de Plata was nearer to the country of Cibao, where he had been informed the rich gold mines were, which he imagined to be Cipango, as has been ſaid before; he was deſirous to draw near that place. The wind proved ſo contrary after he departed from Monte Chriſto, that he was very much perplexed, becauſe the men and horſes were much fatigued, and he could not proceed to Puerto de Gracia, or Port Grace, where Martin Alonſo Pinzon had been, which is now called Martin Alonſo's river, and is five or ſix leagues from Puerto de Plata, or Port Plate; he was forced to turn back three leagues, where a great river falls into the ſea, and there is a good harbour, though expoſed to the north-weſt. He landed at an Indian village there was in that place, and diſcovered a very delightful plain up the river, and obſerved that there might be trenches drawn from the river into the town, for erecting mills, and other conveniences for building. Reſolving to make a ſettlement there, he ordered the men and horſes to be landed, the latter being almoſt ſpoiled, and the former quite tired. In this place he began to build a town, which was the firſt in the Indies, and he thought fit to call it Iſabella, in honour of queen Elizabeth, whom he highly reſpected; and having met with proper neceſſaries of lime and ſtone, and all he could deſire, the ſoil being extraordinary fruitful, he uſed the utmoſt diligence in building a church, a magazine, and an houſe for himſelf. He marked out plats for houſes, with ſtreets and ſquares. The public ſtructures were built with ſtone, the reſt of timber thatched, as every one was able.

The men being fatigued with ſo long a voyage, moſt of them not uſed to the ſea, and the toil of that work enſuing upon it, being ſtinted in their allowance, and none liking the country bread, they began to ſicken apace, the change of air contributing to it, though the country of itſelf is very healthy, and they died for want of conveniences,

niences, all being equally employed in the work. Nor were they leſs afflicted for being ſo far from their native country, without any hopes of relief, or of that gold and immenſe wealth, they had conceited they ſhould meet with immediately. The admiral did not eſcape, for as he had much fatigue at ſea, the whole fleet depending on his care, ſo was his toil no leſs on ſhore, providing to order all things in ſuch manner that they might anſwer the hopes conceived of him in this important affair; and though he kept his bed, he preſſed on the work of the new town, and to the end that no time might be loſt, nor the proviſions conſumed without any advantage, he was deſirous to know the ſecrets of the country, and to find where his Cipango was, which ſo much miſled him, becauſe the Indians affirmed that Cibao was near by. He therefore ſent Ojeda with fifteen ſoldiers to view all parts, and in the mean time applied himſelf to ſend back twelve ſhips into Spain, keeping with him five of the largeſt, being two ſhips, and three caravels.

Alonſo de Ojeda travelled eight or ten leagues over a deſert country, and having gone through a paſs, he came into a beautiful plain, in which were ſeveral towns, where he was well received and entertained. He arrived at Cibao in five or ſix days, though it is but fifteen or twenty leagues from the place where he left the admiral; but could not make more haſte, becauſe the Indians entertained him, and there were many rivers and brooks in thoſe parts. The inhabitants and the Indians that went with Ojeda as guides, gathered gold in the preſence of Ojeda, and he returned with ſuch ſpecimens as he thought ſufficient to prove the great plenty there was of it, as afterwards appeared, which highly pleaſed the admiral, and all the reſt of his men. This, and what he had received from king Guacanagari, he ſent away to their catholic majeſties, with a particular relation of what he had found, in twelve ſhips, under the command of Antony de Torres; and thus ended the year 1493.

A. D. 1494. The ſhips being gone, and the admiral recovered of his indiſpoſition, he was informed, that ſome who repented of their undertaking that voyage, taking Bernal de Piſa for their chief, contrived to ſteal away, or take by force the five ſhips that remained, or at leaſt part of them, to return into Spain. He ordered Bernal de Piſa to be ſecured, and having drawn up the proceedings againſt him, to be put aboard a ſhip to be ſent to the king. Some of the others he cauſed to be puniſhed, and though he did it not with the ſeverity that the caſe required, his enemies ſlandered him as a cruel man. For this reaſon he ordered the great guns, ammunition, and naval ſtores belonging to the four ſhips, to be all laid up aboard the admiral's ſhip, under the guard of ſuch perſons as he confided in. This was the firſt mutiny contrived in the Indies, and the ſource of all the oppoſition the admiral and his ſucceſſors met with in the thoſe parts, in relation to their prerogative. As ſoon as Bernal de Piſa was ſecured, an information drawn up againſt the admiral was found concealed in a buoy of one of the ſhips, which the latter alſo thought fit to ſend to their majeſties.

This affair being ſettled, he reſolved to go with the beſt men he had to ſurvey the province of Cibao, and to carry labourers and tools to dig for gold, as alſo materials to build a ſtrong houſe, if requiſite. He marched with colours flying, in rank and file, drums beating, and trumpets ſounding, and in that manner, to gain the more reputation among the Indians, he went into and departed from their towns; thoſe people being aſtoniſhed at it, and no leſs to ſee the horſes. He ſet out from the Iſabella on the 12th of March, leaving his brother don James Columbus, whom he had carried over with him,

him, to command in the town, he being a gentleman of a peaceable temper and exemplary behaviour. That day he advanced three leagues, and at night lay at the foot of a craggy paſs on the mountains; and the Indian roads being only paths, he ſent pioniers, under the guard of ſome gentlemen, to open the paſs, and therefore it was called the Gentleman's Paſs. On Thurſday, from the eminence of the paſs, they diſcovered the great plain, which is one of the moſt wonderful things in the world, for it extends eighty leagues, and is twenty-five or thirty leagues over; and the proſpect was ſo pleaſant, green, and beautiful, that the men thought they had been in Paradiſe, for which reaſon the admiral called it the Royal Plain. They went down the mountain, traverſed five leagues, which is the breadth of it in that part, paſſing through many towns, where they were well received.

They came to the great river, which the Indians called Yaqui, as conſiderable as the Ebro at Tortoſa, and the admiral called it Rio de la Canas, or the River of Canes, not remembering that at his firſt voyage, when he was at the mouth of it, he called it del Oro, or of Gold, for it empties itſelf at Monte Chriſto. They all lay joyfully on the bank of that river. The Indians they carried with them from the territory of Iſabella, went into the houſes of the towns they paſſed through, and took what they found, as if it had been in common, with much ſatisfaction of the owners, who went to the quarters of the Spaniards, and took what they liked, thinking that was the cuſtom among them. Having the next day paſſed the river in canoes and on floats, and the horſes at the ford, a league and half from it they met with another river, which they called Del Oro, or of Gold, becauſe they found ſome grains of gold in it; but the natives called it Nicayagua, into which three other brooks fell. The firſt of them Buenicum, which the Chriſtians called Rio Seco, that is, Dry River; the ſecond Coatenicù; the third Cibù, all which proved extraordinary rich, and yielded the greateſt treaſure of Cibao. Having paſſed this river, they proceeded to a great town, moſt of the inhabitants whereof fled, and thoſe that ſtaid, placing ſome canes athwart their doors, thought themſelves ſafe enough within. The admiral ſeeing their ſimplicity, ordered that no harm ſhould be done them, by which means they took courage and came out. He advanced to another river, which, for its agreeableneſs, he called Rio Verde, or the Green River, the bottom and ſides of it were full of ſmooth pebble ſtones, almoſt round. Saturday the 15th of March, they paſſed through other towns, where they alſo thought it a ſufficient defence to ſet canes acroſs the doors. They came to a paſs, which they called of Cibao, becauſe at the top of it the province of Cibao begins on that ſide.

Pioniers were ſent before to clear the paſs, and from thence the admiral ſent ſumptures to Iſabella for proviſions, becauſe the men could not yet accuſtom themſelves to thoſe of the country. When they came up to the top of the paſs, they again had a view of the moſt beautiful plain, for above forty leagues on both ſides. They entered upon Cibao, an uncooth ſoil, full of high rocky mountains, called Cibao from Ciba, a ſtone. In it are a vaſt number of rivers and brooks, and gold is found in them all. There are few pleaſant woods, the country being very dry, except only in the bottoms where the rivers run. It abounds in tall ſpreading pine-trees, which bear no pine-apples, ſo orderly placed by nature, that they look like the olive-trees of Axaraſe at Seville. All the province is healthy, the air pleaſant, the water ſweet and thin. In every brook they found ſmall grains of gold; for the gold of Cibao is ſmall, though ſome large grains have alſo been found. At all the towns they came out to receive the admiral

admiral with proviſions and gold duſt they had gathered, when they underſtood that it was acceptable. The admiral was then eighteen leagues from Iſabella, and diſcovered ſeveral mines of gold, one of copper, another of fine blue, and one of amber, which proved of little value, as did the blue; for which reaſon, and becauſe the country is very uncouth, and the horſes could not travel through it, he reſolved to build a ſtrong houſe, for the ſecurity of the Chriſtians; and that they might ſubdue the province, he made choice of a ſpot of ground on an eminence, almoſt encompaſſed by a river called Xanique; and though that affords not much gold, there are many about it that do. The fort was built with clay and timber, and they made a ditch on the ſide where the river did not encompaſs it. He called it the Fort of St. Thomas, becauſe the men would not believe that there was gold in the iſland till they ſaw it.

In the foundations of this fort, they found neſts of ſtraw, which looked as if they had been placed there a few years before, and there were in them three or four round ſtones like oranges, as if they had been eggs. It is poſſible that the mineral virtue might have converted the eggs into ſtones, and that they might afterwards grow by the ſame virtue. Don Pedro Margarite, a Catalonian gentleman, was left governor of that fort, with fifty-ſix men, and the admiral returned to the Iſabella, and arrived there the twenty-ninth of March. He found the men much fatigued, many of them dead, and thoſe that were in health very diſconſolate for fear they ſhould not long ſurvive: they ſickened the faſter as the proviſions declined, and their allowances were ſhortened, which was partly occaſioned by much of it being ſpoiled, through fault of the captains of the ſhips; and thoſe that landed ſafe could not be long preſerved, becauſe of the dampneſs and heat of the country. The flour being almoſt ſpent, it was neceſſary to build a mill to grind the corn; and the labouring people being ſick, the better ſort were obliged to work, which was as bad as death to them, eſpecially having little to eat. This misfortune obliged the admiral to have recourſe to force, that the men might not periſh for want of doing the public work. This gained him ill-will; and from hence father Boyl began to be incenſed, reproaching him with cruelty, though others ſay his averſion proceeded from the admiral's not allowing him and his ſervants as much as he thought fit. Thus their ſubſiſtence hourly failed, not only of thoſe that were in health, but even the ſick; for among five that were under cure, they ſometimes had not above an egg apiece, and a kettle of boiled Garvanços, (a ſort of Spaniſh peas, much unlike the Engliſh) beſides which there was a want of medicines; for though ſome had been carried over, they did not agree with all conſtitutions; and what was ſtill worſe, they had nobody to help and nurſe them. Being thus out of hopes of any relief, ſtarving with hunger, and ſick, many of them, being perſons of diſtinction, who had never undergone ſuch hardſhips, died very impatient, and almoſt deſperate.

Whilſt the admiral was under this perplexity, advice was brought from fort St. Thomas, that the Indians abandoned their towns; and that the lord of a certain province, whoſe name was Caunabo, was providing to go and reduce the fort. The admiral immediately ſent thither ſixty of the moſt healthy men, and the horſes, with proviſions and arms. He alſo ſent all the other men that were able to go, leaving behind only the mechanics, and appointed Alonſo de Ojeda to command them, with orders for him to go into the fort, and don Pedro Margarite to take the field with moſt of the men, to range about the country, and make the Indians acquainted with the power of the Spaniards, that they might learn to fear and obey them, and particularly about the Vega

Real, or Vale Royal, where there was an infinite multitude of people, and many caziques, or lords, as alſo that the Spaniards might inure themſelves to feed upon the proviſions of the country, ſince thoſe that came from Spain were almoſt ſpent.

Alonſo de Ojeda ſet out from Iſabella with above four hundred men, on the 9th of April, and as ſoon as he had paſſed the river Del Oro, ſecured the cazique of a town, with his brother and nephew, and ſent them priſoners to Iſabella, and cauſed the ears of an Indian to be cut off in the midſt of a public ſquare. This he did becauſe three Spaniards going from fort St. Thomas to Iſabella, the cazique gave them five Indians to carry their baggage over the river, and as ſoon as they were in the middle, they left them, and returned to the town with their baggage, and the cazique was ſo far from puniſhing them, that he took and kept what they brought. The cazique of another town, ſeeing thoſe above-mentioned carried away priſoners, went along with them, flattering himſelf, that becauſe he had done the Spaniards ſome kindneſſes, his interceſſion for them would prevail with the admiral; but as ſoon as the priſoners came, he ordered their heads to be ſtruck off, but at the requeſt of the other cazique he forgave them. That very moment an horſeman came from the fort, with advice, that in the priſoner cazique's town they had hemmed in five Spaniards to kill them, and that he with his horſe had reſcued them, above four hundred flying before them, whom he had purſued, and wounded ſeveral of them with his ſpear. Thus the troubles that were apprehended in the iſland Hiſpaniola were quelled for that time, and the admiral reſolved to go out upon diſcovery, as their catholic majeſties had ordered. To the end that the government of the iſland might be well ſettled, he reſolved to appoint a council, of which his brother don James Colon, or Columbus, was appointed preſident; and the counſellors were father Boyl, Peter Ferdandez Colonel, head alguazil, Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal, and John de Luxan. He ordered don Pedro Margarite to march about, with above four hundred men he had under him, to ſurvey the whole iſland. He gave them all ſuch inſtructions as he thought moſt convenient, and leaving two ſhips in the harbour to ſerve upon any occaſion that might offer, he ſailed away to the weſtward, with one large ſhip and two caravels, on Thurſday the 24th of April. He ſailed to Monte Chriſto, and to the port of the Nativity, where he enquired for Guacanagari, and though they ſaid he would ſoon come to viſit him, he did not ſtay for him, but ſailed to Tortuga, and the wind proving contrary, came to an anchor again in the river he called Guadalquivir. The 29th of April he arrived at port St. Nicholas, from whence he deſcried the point of the iſland of Cuba, which he called Alpha and Omega, but the Indians called it Bayatiquiri.

He croſſed the channel between Hiſpaniola and Cuba, the diſtance between them from one point to the other being eighteen leagues, and beginning to coaſt along Cuba on the ſouth ſide, he ſaw a ſpacious bay, which he called Puerto Grande, or Great Harbour, the mouth of it being one hundred and fifty paces over. He anchored there, and the Indians came in canoes, with abundance of fiſh. Sunday the 1ſt of May, he proceeded farther, frequently diſcovering excellent harbours. He ſaw high mountains, and rivers running out into the ſea; and keeping near the ſhore, a vaſt number of Indians came to the ſhips in their canoes, carrying proviſions gratis, believing they were come down from heaven, and the admiral always ordered toys to be given them, with which they were wonderfully pleaſed, becauſe the Indians he had aboard, who had been in Spain, gave them a good account. He reſolved to take a turn to the ſouth-eaſt, becauſe he there ſpied an iſland, which was Jamaica, and

and ſome are of opinion it is that which the Indians of the Lucayo iſlands ſo much talked of by the name of Babeche, or Bohio. Monday the 14th of May, he arrived at Jamaica, which he thought the moſt beautiful of all he had ſeen, and a prodigious multitude of canoes reſorted to the ſhips. When he ſent the boats to ſound and find out ſome harbour, many armed canoes came out to hinder the Spaniards from landing. The admiral went on to another place, which he called Puerto Bueno, or Good Port, where they met with the ſame oppoſition, for which reaſon they gave them a flight of arrows out of their croſs-bows, and five or ſix of them being wounded, they returned in a peaceable manner to the ſhips. Next Friday he ſailed along the coaſt to the weſtward, ſo near the ſhore, that many canoes followed the ſhips, giving what they had, and receiving what the Spaniards gave them, with much ſatisfaction. The wind all the while proving contrary, he reſolved to return to Cuba, deſigning to be ſatisfied whether it was an iſland or continent. This day, being the 18th of May, an Indian youth came to the ſhips, who begged they would carry him along with them; and though his parents and kindred intreated him not to go away, they could not prevail, but to avoid ſeeing them weep, he hid himſelf in a private part of the ſhip.

The ſame 18th of May, he arrived at the cape of the iſland of Cuba, which he called Cabo de Cruz, or Cape Croſs, and holding on his courſe along the coaſt, with heavy rains, thunder and lightening, he met with many ſhoals, which brought him into much danger and trouble. The farther he proceeded along the coaſt, the more ſmall iſlands he found, ſome all ſand, and covered with trees, and the nearer he was to Cuba, the higher, greener, and more agreeable they appeared, being a league or two, or more, in compaſs. The firſt day he diſcovered them he ſaw many, and the next day many more; in ſhort, there was an infinite number of them, and becauſe there was no giving each of them a particular name, he called them El Jardin de la Reyna, the Queen's Garden. There were channels between them that the ſhips could ſail through. In ſome of them they found birds like red cranes, which are only to be found in Cuba and theſe little iſlands; they feed on ſalt water, and ſomething they find in it; but when any one of them is kept in the houſe, it feeds on cazabi, which is the Indian bread, put into a pan with water and ſalt. There were abundance of large tortoiſes, as big as a target. They ſaw cranes like thoſe in Spain, crows, and ſeveral ſorts of ſinging birds; a very pleaſant ſcent came from the iſlands, and they obſerved a canoe of fiſhermen, who ſtood ſtill, without ſhewing any fear, waiting for the Spaniards. They fiſhed on, and took ſome fiſhes they called reves, the biggeſt of them about the ſize of a pilchard, having a roughneſs on the belly, with which they cling ſo faſt, wherever they firſt take hold, that they muſt be torn in pieces before they can be drawn off again. They tied theſe by the tail with a ſmall thread, about two hundred fathoms, more or leſs, in length, and the fiſh ſwimming away on the ſurface of the water, or but little under it; when it came where the tortoiſe was in the water, it clung to the under ſhell thereof, and then the Indians drawing the thread, took a tortoiſe that would weigh an hundred weight, or upwards. After the ſame manner they took ſharks, which devour men. When they had done fiſhing, the Indians went aboard the ſhips; the admiral ordered ſome toys to be given them, and was informed that there were many more iſlands farther on. He held on his way to the weſtward among the iſlands, with heavy rains, thunder and lightening, every evening till the riſing of the moon, and notwithſtanding the utmoſt care he uſed, the

ſhip ſeveral times touched and ſtruck, and it was a prodigious toil to get her off again. He found an iſland larger than the reſt, which he called Santa Marta, and there was a village in it, with much fiſh, dumb dogs, great ſwarms of red cranes, parrots, and other birds, and the people fled for fear.

Being in want of water, the admiral reſolved to leave the little iſlands, and draw near to Cuba, but by reaſon of the thickneſs of the woods, they could not ſee whether there were any towns. A ſailor going aſhore with a croſs-bow, met thirty men armed with ſpears and maçanas, which are the wooden ſwords they uſe. The ſailor ſaid, he ſaw one among them with a white tunick down to his feet, but he could not be found, though they looked for him, becauſe they all fled. Advancing ſtill about ten leagues to the weſtward, they ſpied houſes, from which people came in canoes, bringing proviſions, and gourds full of water, for which the admiral gave them toys. He deſired they would let him take an Indian along with him, to ſhew him the way, and ſome other things; which they granted, though with ſome reluctancy. By this man he was almoſt aſſured that Cuba was an iſland, and that the king of that part along the weſtern coaſt forward, did not ſpeak to his people any otherwiſe than by ſigns, and was obeyed. Proceeding farther, the ſhips came upon a ſand-bank, where there was one fathom water, and about the length of two ſhips. Here they were in much anguiſh and trouble, being obliged to ply all their capſtans to bring them into deeper water. The ſea appeared covered with extraordinary large tortoiſes. There paſſed over a cloud of cormorants, that darkened the ſun, coming from the ſea, and flying over to Cuba: there alſo paſſed over pigeons, ſea cobs, and other ſorts of birds, in vaſt multitudes. The next day ſo many butterflies came to the ſhips that they darkened the air, and this continued till night, when the great rain diſpelled them. Being informed by the Indian that there was a continued courſe of iſlands that way, and finding the dangers and trouble increaſe, and proviſions growing ſhort, the admiral thought fit to return to the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and went to wood and water at an iſland that was about thirty leagues in compaſs, which he called the Evangeliſt, and is ſuppoſed to be the ſame that is now called Iſla de Pinos, or the Iſland of Pines, ſo that there was not much to diſcover to the end of Cuba, being only about thirty-ſix leagues; and upon this diſcovery he ſailed about three hundred and thirty-three leagues: then computing his voyage by aſtronomical rules, ſince his departure from Cadiz to the weſtermoſt part of the iſland of Cuba, he found he had ſailed ſeventy-five degrees of longitude, which are five hours in the difference of time from Cadiz to the weſtermoſt part of the iſland of Cuba.

Friday the 13th of June, he ſtood about to the ſouthward, and attempting to paſs through the channel he liked beſt, found it impracticable, which diſcouraged the men, ſeeing themſelves in ſuch danger, and ſcarce of proviſions; but with the aſſiſtance of the admiral's courage and induſtry, they got out the ſame way they came in, and returned to the iſland of the Evangeliſt. He ſailed thence to the north-weſt, to take a view of ſome ſmall iſlands that appeared at about five leagues diſtance, and ſomewhat farther they came into a ſea, that was in ſpots of green and white, looking as if it had been all ſhoals, though there were above two fathoms water. At ſeven leagues diſtance they came into a very white ſea, like milk turned. Seven leagues farther the ſea looked black as ink, having five fathoms water, through which they ſailed till they came to Cuba, the ſeamen being in a great conſternation to ſee ſuch different

ſeas.

ſeas. This is concluded to proceed from the bottom being of that colour, and not the water, as the Portugueſe affirm, who have ſeen it in the Red Sea; and ſuch ſpots have been ſeen in the ſouth, and in the north ſea. Among the windward iſlands there are other white ſpots, becauſe the bottom is white, ſo that it proceeds from tranſparency. He departed from Cuba to the eaſtward with ſcant winds, through channels that were full of ſhoals; and on the 30th of June, the admiral's ſhip ſtruck, ſo that not being able to bring her off ſternwiſe with anchors and cables, they at laſt, by the admiral's induſtry, brought her off a-head. He proceeded, holding no regular courſe, but as the ſhoals and channels would permit, through a very white ſea, and every afternoon had great rains. He drew up to the land of Cuba, the way he had begun that voyage to the eaſtward, and the men ſmelt a moſt fragrant odour, as if it had been of ſtorax, which proceeded from the wood the Indians burned. The 7th of July he went aſhore to hear maſs, and whilſt it was ſaying, an old cazique came, who attentively obſerved all the motions of the prieſt, with what reverence the Spaniards aſſiſted, and the reſpect they paid the admiral in giving him the pax to kiſs: ſuppoſing him to be the ſuperior of them all, he preſented him with ſome of the fruit of the country in a calabaſh or gourd, called in thoſe parts ybuera, being uſed there like a porringer, and ſat down by him on his hams, for ſo they do when they have not their low ſtools, and then diſcourſed him as follows:

"You are now come into theſe countries, which you never ſaw before, with a "great power, and have cauſed much conſternation. Be it known to you, that ac- "cording to what we here believe, there are two places in the other world, to which "ſouls go; the one bad, and full of darkneſs, for thoſe that do ill; the other plea- "ſant and good, where thoſe are to be placed who love the peace of all people; and "therefore, if you think you are to die, and that every one is there to be rewarded "according as he has acted here, you will do no hurt to thoſe that do you none. "What you have done here is good, becauſe I believe it is a way of returning thanks "to God." He ſaid he had been in Hiſpaniola, in Jamaica, and in the iſland below Cuba, and that the lord of that place was clad like a prieſt. All this the admiral underſtood by his interpreters, and was much ſurpriſed at the wiſe ſpeech of the old Indian. He told him, he was glad that he and the inhabitants of that iſland did believe the immortality of the ſoul, and informed him, that he was ſent by the monarchs of Caſtile, his ſovereigns, to be informed of thoſe countries, to know whether there were any men that did harm to others, as he underſtood the Canibals did, and to correct them, and procure that all ſhould live in peace. The old Indian heard theſe words with tears, affirming, that if he had not a wife and children, he would go away with him into Spain, and having received ſome toys of the admiral, he knelt down with motions of admiration, often aſking whether it was heaven or earth where ſuch men were born.

The admiral departing from that place where the old Indian talked to him, it looked as if all the winds and rains had conſpired to torment him, and among the reſt, there fell upon him ſuch a ſpout as beat his ſhip almoſt under water. They made much water at the flower, or bilge, ſo that the pumps could ſcarcely diſcharge it; and it was none of the leaſt misfortunes, that every man had no more allowance than a pound of rotten biſcuit, and about half a pint of wine, beſides which they had nothing, unleſs they took ſome fiſh. Amidſt all theſe hardſhips he arrived at Cape Cruz, or Croſs, on the 18th of July, where he reſted three days, becauſe the Indians received

received him kindly, and carried him fruit and proviſions. Tueſday the 22d, the winds being contrary, he ſtood off to the iſland of Jamaica, which he called Santiago. He kept along the weſtern coaſt of it, much admiring its delightfulneſs, and the harbours he found at every league's diſtance: many Indians followed him in canoes, who gave their proviſions, which the Spaniards thought better than thoſe of other iſlands; but the heavy rains never left him in the afternoons, which he ſaid was occaſioned by the many woods on the coaſt. He ſaw a very fine bay, with ſeven ſmall iſlands near the ſhore; one of them very high land, and full of villages. The admiral believed it to be very large, but it afterwards appeared to be the iſland of Jamaica, which was only fifty leagues in length, and twenty in breadth. When the weather grew better, he tacked about to the eaſt, towards the iſland Hiſpaniola, and the utmoſt land of it, being a cape that runs out towards Jamaica, which he named Cabo del Farol. On Wedneſday the 20th of Auguſt, he ſaw the weſtern cape of the iſland Hiſpaniola, which he called St. Michael, and is now called Cape Tiberon, about twenty-four or thirty leagues diſtant from the iſland of Jamaica. Saturday the 20th, a cazique came to the ſhips, crying, "Almirante, almirante;" whence he concluded that cape muſt be of the iſland Hiſpaniola, for he knew it not before. At the latter end of Auguſt he came to an anchor at a ſmall iſland, which looks like a ſail becauſe it is high, and therefore he named it Alto Velo: it is twelve leagues from that called La Beata. Having then loſt ſight of the other two ſhips, he ſent ſome men to the higheſt part of Alto Velo to look out for them, and the ſailors killed twelve ſea wolves, that ſlept ſecurely on the ſand: many birds they knocked down with cudgels, and ſome they took with their hands, for that iſland not being inhabited, they did not fly from men.

Six days after the other two ſhips that had been miſſing came up: they proceeded to La Beata, which is a ſmall iſland, and then coaſting Hiſpaniola, they went on to a place where there was a delightful plain, well inhabited, which they now call Catalina, or Catherine, becauſe it belonged to a lady of that name. The Indians came in their canoes, and ſaid that ſome perſons had been there from Iſabella, and that they were all well. He held on his courſe to the eaſtward, where a great town appeared, and he ſent the boats thither for water. The Indians came out armed with poiſoned arrows; they threatened to bind the Spaniards with the cords they brought: this was the province of Higuey, the inhabitants whereof were the moſt warlike people of the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and poiſoned their weapons; but when the boats came up to the ſhore, the Indians laid down their arms, aſked for the admiral, and carried proviſions. He held on his courſe eaſtward, and they ſaw a great fiſh, like a middling whale, which had on its neck a large ſhell, like that of a tortoiſe, little leſs than a target: the head it held above water, was like a pipe or butt; the tail like that of a tunny fiſh, very large, and two vaſt fins on the ſide. By the token of this fiſh, and other obſervations in the ſky, the admiral perceived there was likely to be a change of weather, and endeavoured to get within a little iſland, which the Indians called Adamanoy, and the Spaniards Saona, which makes a ſtrait a little above a league over, with the iſland Hiſpaniola, and is about two leagues in length. There he came to an anchor, and the other two ſhips not being able to get in, ran the greateſt hazard. That night the admiral obſerved the eclipſe of the moon, and affirmed that the difference between that place and Cadiz was five hours and twenty-three minutes. He continued there by reaſon of the ſtorm eight days, and the other ſhips being come, he ſailed thence on

on the 24th of September, and came to Cape Engano in Hiſpaniola, which the admiral named St. Raphael. They next touched at the iſland Mona, which is ten leagues from Hiſpaniola, and eight from the iſland of St. John, being ſix leagues in compaſs, and on it grow moſt delicious melons, as big as a jar of oil that will hold ſix quarts. Being gone from Mona, and near St. John's, the admiral was ſeized with ſuch a fit of a lethargy, that he loſt all his ſenſes, ſo that it was thought he could not live; for which reaſon the ſeamen uſed the utmoſt diligence, and arrived with all the ſhips at Iſabella on the 29th of September, without any farther certainty of Cuba being an iſland than what the Indian had ſaid. As ſoon as arrived, the admiral underſtood that his brother, don Bartholomew Columbus, was there, and that the natives of the iſland were in arms againſt the Spaniards.

It is impoſſible to expreſs how much the admiral was pleaſed to ſee his brother; and it will be proper here, before we proceed any farther, to give an account of what befel him from the time that his brother ſent him to propoſe the undertaking of thoſe diſcoveries to the king of England. He was a long time going to that kingdom, and then learning the language, the methods of the court, and gaining acceſs to the miniſters, occaſioned another delay, ſo that after ſeven years, when he had articled and agreed with king Henry VII. of England, he returned into Spain to look for his brother, who having heard nothing of him during all that time, concluded he was dead. At Paris he heard of his having made the diſcovery, and that he was declared admiral, being told it by king Charles, whom they called the Courteous, who gave him one hundred crowns towards his journey; and though he made all the haſte he could, his brother was gone on his ſecond voyage with the ſeventeen ſhips, but he had an inſtruction that had been left by the admiral, delivered to him. He went to kiſs their majeſties hands, and to viſit his nephews, don James and don Ferdinand, at Valladolid, where the court then was, they being pages to prince John. Their catholic majeſties did him much honour, and ordered him to go away to the Indies with three ſhips that were ſending to carry proviſions to the admiral. He arrived there in April, 1494, and found his brother was gone upon the diſcovery of Cuba. The admiral thought he had ſome comfort in his brother, gave him the title of adelantado, or lord lieutenant, which their catholic majeſties very much reſented, ſaying, it was not in the admiral's power ſo to do, but that it belonged to them to give that title; yet ſome years after they confirmed it. Don Bartholomew was a very wiſe man, and as expert in ſea affairs as his brother; ſomewhat harſh in his temper; very brave and free, for which ſome hated him. He had other very commendable qualities, becoming a diſcreet and reſolute man.

To return to the affairs of the iſland Hiſpaniola, the admiral having left don Pedro Margarite commander of the four hundred men, to the purpoſe that has been before mentioned, that commander went away with them to the Vega Real, or Vale Royal, ten leagues from Iſabella, and quartered them in the towns there, where they lived without any order or diſcipline, ruining the Indians, for a Spaniard will eat more in a day than one of them in a month. The council reproving don Pedro Margarite becauſe he did not check the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers, he began to cavil with them, refuſing to obey them either in this particular, or in marching about the iſland, as the admiral had ordered him; and fearing to be puniſhed for thoſe diſorders, he thought fit to embark aboard the three ſhips that had gone over with don Bartholomew Columbus and return to Caſtile, and father Boyl with him, beſides ſome more

of

of his party. Being come to the court, they gave an account that there was no gold in the Indies, and that all the admiral ſaid was untrue. The ſoldiers being left without their commander don Pedro Margarite, diſperſed themſelves about the country, living like men without a chief, whereupon a cazique, whoſe name was Guatiguana, who had a large town on the bank of the great river, killed ten Chriſtians, and privately ſent to ſet fire to a houſe where ſome ſick men lay; and the Indians in ſeveral parts of the iſland killed ſix more: the ill report of the Spaniards being ſpread abroad every where, in ſuch ſort, that all the people hated them, even thoſe who had not ſeen them, and particularly the four principal kings, Guarinoex, Caunabo, Behechico, and Higuanama, and all that followed and obeyed them, being an infinite multitude, were deſirous to turn the Spaniards out of the country; only Guacanagari, king of Marien, did not ſtir, but on the contrary, kept one hundred Chriſtians in his country, giving them part of what he had, and treating them affectionately.

Some days after the admiral's arrival, Guacanagari went to viſit him, expreſſing ſorrow for his ſickneſs and troubles, and ſaid, he had not known any thing of the killing of thoſe Chriſtians; that he was his friend, and for that reaſon all the natives bore him ill will, and particularly thoſe that were in arms in the Vale Royal, and other places: and calling to mind the Chriſtians that had been left in the town of the Nativity, he wept, becauſe he had not been able to preſerve them alive till his return. The admiral reſolving to take the field, in order to diſperſe thoſe people, and reduce the iſland to peace, Guacanagari offered to bear him company with his ſubjects; but before he went out in perſon, he ſent to begin the war with Guatiguana, who had killed the ten Chriſtians, that the puniſhment might not be delayed, and to prevent his growing bolder. They killed ſeveral of his men, and took many priſoners, but he fled: ſome of the priſoners were ſent into Spain. Caunabo was the moſt potent lord of the iſland, brave in his perſon, and had three valiant brothers; he was king of the province they called Maguana. The admiral had his eye more particularly on him, and thinking it would be beſt to ſubdue him by policy, becauſe to do it by force would be difficult, he contrived to ſend Alonſo de Ojeda with only nine Spaniards, under colour of carrying him a preſent. The Indians valued braſs more than gold, and rejoiced when they got any of it, or of the other metals they carried from Spain, thinking they came down from heaven; and when the bell at Iſabella rung, and the Spaniards in conſequence went to church, they thought it ſpoke: the fame of it had reached Caunabo, who had often thought of begging it of the adelantado, that he might ſee the turey of Biſcay, ſo they called the tin, for turey ſignifies heaven, and they ſo highly valued tin, and other metals, that they called it turey; the Spaniards added, of Biſcay, and therefore they ſaid, the turey of Biſcay.

Ojeda being come to the province of Maguana, which was about ſixty or ſeventy leagues from the colony of Iſabella, the Indians were in a conſternation to ſee him on horſeback, believing that the man and horſe were all of a piece: they told Caunabo that ſome Chriſtians were come, being ſent by the admiral, whom they called Guamiquini, and that they brought him a preſent of that they called turey de Biſcay, which very much rejoiced him. Ojeda being introduced, kiſſed his hand, as the reſt did, and then ſhewed him the preſent, being fetters and manacles, very bright and well poliſhed, that looked like ſilver. He told him, the kings of Spain wore them, becauſe they came from heaven; that they were wont to put them on at the areitos,

areitos, ſo the Indians called their dancing matches, and that it would be proper for him to go with them to bathe himſelf in the river Yaqui, which was half a league off; that he would there put them on him, and he ſhould come back on horſeback, and then would look like the kings of Spain. Accordingly he went one day, attended by a few ſervants, with Ojeda to the river, little imagining that nine or ten men ſhould have a deſign upon him, in a place where he was ſo powerful. He waſhed and refreſhed himſelf, and being very earneſt to try on the preſent, having ordered the Indians to keep at a diſtance, though they always avoided being near the horſes, they ſet him up behind Ojeda, and put on the fetters and handcuffs, the king obſerving all very attentively. Ojeda took two turns about, the better to palliate his deſign, and the third time made off, with the Spaniards about the horſe, till the Indians loſt ſight of them: then they drew their ſwords, and threatened to kill him, if he did not ſit ſtill whilſt they tied him with cords to Ojeda, and travelling with much expedition, they arrived at Iſabella, and delivered him to the admiral, who kept him in his houſe fettered and handcuffed; and when the admiral came in, he never paid him any reſpect, but did to Alonſo de Ojeda. Being aſked why he did ſo, he anſwered, that the admiral durſt not go to his houſe to ſeize him, and Ojeda did. The admiral reſolved to ſend him into Spain, and being embarked with other Indians, there aroſe ſo great a ſtorm that the ſhip was caſt away, and Caunabo and the Indians periſhed: the admiral ordered two caravels to be immediately provided, that he might not be left without ſhips.

The return of Antony de Torres with the twelve ſhips into Spain, was very pleaſing to their majeſties, which they ſignified to the admiral by his brother, don Bartholomew Columbus, giving him thanks for the toils he underwent, promiſing always to ſupport him, expreſſing much concern for the diſreſpect ſhewed him; ordering him to ſend away Bernal de Piſa with the firſt ſhips, and to put into his place any one that he and father Boyl ſhould think fit. And for as much as their catholic majeſties were willing to pleaſe the admiral, and that this affair of the Indies ſhould proſper, they ordered the dean, John Rodriguez de Fonſeca, to fit out four ſhips with expedition, furniſhed with ſuch things as the admiral required; and they appointed Antony de Torres to return with them, by whom they writ to him, their letter dated at Segovia the 16th of Auguſt, again repeating their thanks for his good ſervice, promiſing to promote him to the utmoſt, becauſe all he had ſaid and propoſed had proved as true as if he had ſeen it before he went upon the diſcovery; and though they had received the account he had ſent them, yet they deſired he would particularly acquaint them what iſlands he had diſcovered, the names of them before, and thoſe he had given them, with the diſtance from one to another, what he had found in every one of them, what ſort of weather there was in thoſe parts every month, and how the things that were ſown came up, becauſe ſome had ſaid there were two winters and two ſummers; and that he ſhould ſend all the hawks that could be had, and ſeveral ſorts of birds. That all the ſeveral things he had aſked for in his memorial were ſent him; and to the end that they might often hear from him, it was thought expedient that a caravel ſhould go from Spain every month, and one return from the Indies, the affairs with Portugal being adjuſted: and as to the manner of his behaviour there towards the people, their highneſſes approved of what he had done till then, and ſo he ſhould continue, endeavouring to give them all poſſible ſatisfaction, without allowing any diſorders; and that as for the colony he had planted, there

was nothing to ſay to it, for if their highneſſes had been preſent, they would have aſked his advice, and therefore they left it to him; and that they had ſent him a copy of the articles concluded with Portugal, that he might know and obſerve them on his part. That as for the line of partition which was to be drawn, that being a matter of much difficulty and great truſt, their highneſſes could wiſh, if it were poſſible, the admiral ſhould be preſent at, and draw it, together with thoſe that were to be employed about it by the king of Portugal; and that in caſe he ſhould not come himſelf, he ſhould ſend his brother, don Bartholomew, or ſome other proper perſon, with draughts and relations, and his opinion concerning what ought to be done in the caſe, which he was to do with the utmoſt expedition, that it might come in time, and not diſappoint the king of Portugal.

The ſeizing of Caunabo very much incenſed his brothers, who reſolved to make war upon the Spaniards with the utmoſt of their power. The admiral perceiving that abundance of men drew together, and all the country armed, he took the field with two hundred foot, twenty horſe, and twenty wolf dogs, which, as the Indians were naked from head to foot, made terrible havock among them. There were no more ſoldiers than the above, becauſe the reſt were ſick. The admiral ſet out on the 24th of March, taking along with him his brother the adelantado, don Bartholomew Columbus, and king Guacanagari with his men. He entered the royal plain, and diſcovered the enemy's army, in which king Manicatex had a great number of men, and the whole ſeemed to amount to one hundred thouſand. The adelantado gave the charge, and the men, the horſes, and the dogs, played their parts ſo well, that they were ſoon routed, and a vaſt number of them killed and taken, the latter being adjudged to be ſlaves, and many of them were ſent into Spain, aboard Antony de Torres's four ſhips. The admiral continued ranging about the iſland nine or ten months, ſeverely puniſhing thoſe he found guilty, having ſome encounters with Caunabo's brothers, who all made the greateſt reſiſtance they were able, but finding their power too weak, they and Guarinoex being the chief kings in the iſland, reſolved to ſubmit themſelves to Columbus.

A. D. 1495.

The admiral having thus reduced all the people under the obedience of their catholic majeſties, ordered that they ſhould all pay tribute after this manner: the inhabitants of the province of Cibao, thoſe of the royal plain, and thoſe near the mines, above fifteen years of age, to pay a ſmall hawk's bell full of gold quarterly; all other perſons a quarter of an hundred weight of cotton each, and only king Manicatex gave every month half a gourd full of gold, being worth one hundred and fifty peſos, or pieces of eight. A certain ſort of coin was made of copper or braſs, with a figure on it, and was changed upon every payment of the tribute, that every tributary Indian might wear it about his neck, thus to ſhew who had paid. Upon this occaſion Guarinoex, king of the great royal plain, offered the admiral to ſow corn through all the country from Iſabella to Santo Domingo, which is from ſea to ſea, being full fifty-five leagues diſtance, which would furniſh all Caſtile with bread, provided he would not require any gold of him, becauſe his ſubjects did not know how to gather it; but the admiral being a ſtranger, alone, and envied by the miniſters of their catholic majeſties, and like a diſcreet man, being ſenſible that the wealth he ſent muſt be his ſupport, preſſed for gold; though in other reſpects he was a good Chriſtian, and feared God, and accordingly he moderated the tribute, being ſenſible that

that it could not be paid; for which reaſon ſome fled to the mountains, and others wandered away into other provinces. This oppreſſion, and the Indians ſeeing there was no likelihood of the Spaniards leaving the country, becauſe there were no ſhips in the harbour, and they built houſes on the land with ſtone and timber, became melancholy, and they aſked them whether they ever deſigned to return home; and having found by experience that the Spaniards, compared with them, were very great eaters, they thought they had gone thither only to eat; therefore obſerving that many of them were ſick, and that the proviſions brought them from Spain were ſpent, many towns conſpired to contrive ſome method to make them all periſh, or depart the iſland.

The expedient the Indians thought beſt to rid themſelves of the Spaniards, was to forbear ſowing, that there might be no corn, and to retire themſelves to the mountains, where there are many good roots to eat, that grow without being planted, upon which they might feed, and help out with hunting utias, a ſort of rabbet, whereof there is a vaſt plenty on the hills and in the dales. This contrivance little availed them; though the Spaniards ſuffered very much through hunger, they went not away: the calamity fell upon the Indians themſelves; for they ranging about the mountains with their wives and children, endured much hunger, and a peſtilential diſtemper reigned among them; ſo that what through this, and the wars till the year 1496, one-third of the inhabitants periſhed. Father Boyl, and don Petro Margarite, as they agreed (as was ſaid before) to go away together without leave, ſo they combined in ſpeaking ill of the Indies, and miſrepreſenting that enterpriſe, becauſe they had not found gold laid up for them to plunder in cheſts, or growing on the trees. They alſo gave an account that the admiral did not behave himſelf well, not having been in the iſland from his return thither the ſecond voyage till he came back from the diſcovery of the iſland of Cuba, full four months; and there being letters alſo that gave an ill character of the admiral, and of thoſe that went aboard the four ſhips under the command of Antony de Torres; for there are always malecontents. Their catholic majeſties, almoſt at the ſame time when the admiral took the field againſt the Indians in the royal plain, ſent away John Aguado, a native of Seville, groom of the bedchamber, to go and obſerve what was doing in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, taking with him four ſhips laden with proviſions and other neceſſaries, for the relief of the people there.

John Aguado carried with him credentials to this effect: "Gentlemen, eſquires, "and others, who by our command are in the Indies, we ſend to you John Aguado, "our groom, who will diſcourſe you in our name: we command you to give entire "credit to him. Madrid, April the 9th, 1495." John Aguado arrived at Iſabella about October, at the time when the admiral was carrying on the war againſt Caunabo's brothers, in the province of Maguana. At Iſabella, he by words and outward actions, pretended to have extraordinary power and authority, interpoſing in matters of government, ſeizing ſome perſons, and reproving the admiral's miniſters, ſhewing little reſpect to don Bartholomew Columbus, who had been left governor there during his brother's abſence. John Aguado thought fit to go after the admiral, and took horſe and foot along with him; and thoſe who went with him by the way gave out that another admiral was come, who would put the former to death; and the natives being diſcontented on account of the wars, and of the tribute of gold, they were much pleaſed with ſuch news, and ſome caziques met privately in the houſe

of a king called Manicatex, whoſe lands were near the river Yaqui, where they agreed to give in their complaints againſt the admiral, and to ſeek ſome redreſs from the new miniſter. The admiral being informed that John Aguado was going in queſt of him, reſolved to return to Iſabella, where, in the preſence of the people, he received their highneſſes letter, with ſound of trumpet, and the greateſt ſolemnity. John Aguado could not forbear very ſoon diſcovering his indiſcretion, thruſting himſelf into many affairs without any reſpect to the admiral, which gave an ill example to others.

His example being ſo pernicious to the admiral, by reaſon of the bold threats he made, and the people being diſcontented on account of the troubles and diſtempers, for they had nothing to eat but the allowance given them out of the king's ſtores, which was a porringer of wheat, by ſome ground in an hand-mill, and by others eaten boiled, and a ſlice of ruſty bacon or rotten cheeſe, with a few beans or Spaniſh peas, but no wine; and the admiral obliging them, as they were in the king's pay, to work at the fortifications, his own houſe, and other ſtructures; they, like men in deſpair, complained to John Aguado, and theſe were chiefly the ſick, for thoſe that were in health, ranging about the iſland, fared better; and he thought theſe complaints ſufficient for him to lay before their majeſties. At this time the four ſhips that had carried over John Aguado periſhed in the harbour, in one of thoſe great tempeſts which the Indians call hurricanes, and there was nothing left to carry him back but the admiral's two caravels, who obſerving his preſumption, and being informed that others had miſrepreſented him at court, where he had nothing to ſupport him but his own merit, reſolved to appear before their majeſties, to clear himſelf of all thoſe ſlanders, and at the ſame time acquaint them with what he had found upon his ſecond diſcovery on the iſland of Cuba, and his opinion touching the partition that was to be made of the ocean between the two crowns of Caſtile and Portugal. And to the end that all things might be thoroughly ſettled, he would firſt leave other forts in a good poſture, which he had begun, beſides that of St. Thomas, for the ſecurity of the country, being the Magdalen, called the lower Macorix, in the royal plain belonging to the cazique Guanaconel, three or four leagues from the place where the town of Santiago now ſtands, in which Lewis de Artiaga was left governor; another called St. Catherine, was committed to Ferdinand Navarro, a native of Logrono; another on the bank of the river Yaqui, on the ſide of Cibao, called Eſperanſa; another in the kingdom of Guarinoex in the royal plain, called the Conception, commanded firſt by John de Ayala, and then by Michael Balleſter. The caziques being much oppreſſed by the burden of the tribute, diſcovered to the admiral that there were good gold mines on the ſouth ſide, and he might ſend the Spaniards for it. Now as it concerned the admiral to diſcover much of that metal to ſupport his own credit, and this coming at the time when he was reſolved to return to Spain, he ſent Francis de Garay and Michael Diaz, with ſome men, and Indian guides. They went from Iſabella to the fort of the Magdalen, and thence to the Conception, all the way over the royal plain; they next made through a paſs, two leagues in length, which led them into another plain, the lord whereof was called Bonao. They advanced ſome leagues farther along the ridges of Bonao, and came to a great river called Hayna, very fruitful, and where they were told there was much gold, as there was in all the brooks; which they found true, for digging in ſeveral places, they met with ſuch plenty, that one labourer in a day could get above three peſos, or pieces of eight.

Theſe they called the mines of St. Chriſtopher, from a fort the admiral ordered to be there built; and afterwards they were called the old mines. At this time ſome inhabitants of Seville were at the court of Spain, petitioning for licenſe to make new diſcoveries.

When the caravels were finiſhed and provided, the admiral appointed his brother, don Bartholomew Columbus, his lieutenant and captain-general, he being a perſon capable of a greater command; and he likewiſe departing, his brother James; earneſtly charging the people to be obedient to him. He went aboard one of the caravels, and John Aguado in the other; and as their catholic majeſties had ordered that the moſt ſickly and needy, and others whoſe wives and kindred complained that the admiral would not permit them to return into Spain, ſhould have leave, their number amounted to two hundred and twenty, or better. He ſet ſail on the
A. D. 1496. 10th of March, went to take a view of Puerto de Plata, and carried his brother, don Bartholomew, along with him, becauſe he deſigned to ſettle a colony there. Don Bartholomew returned by land, and the admiral, by reaſon of the contrary winds and the currents, made to the eaſtward, with much difficulty, as far as Cape Engano, and Tueſday the 22d of the ſame month, he loſt ſight of it. The 9th of April he came to an anchor at Marigalante, and the next day at Guadaloupe, where many women came out with their bows and arrows to hinder their landing; and becauſe the boats could not come near the ſhore by reaſon the ſea ran ſo high, they ſent out two Indians ſwimming, having thirty aboard from Hiſpaniola, who told the women that they would do them no harm, but only take in proviſions. They anſwered, they ſhould go to the other ſide of the iſland, where their huſbands were; and when they came, a great multitude of men appeared, ſhooting great flights of arrows, but they fell ſhort, and the boats firing ſome ſmall guns, which did ſome harm, they fled to the mountains.

The Spaniards went upon the iſland, where they found many of the large ſort of parrots, honey, and wax, though it is believed to have been brought from the continent, as alſo much cazabi to make bread. The admiral ſent forty men to take a view of the country, who returned with forty women and three boys. One of theſe women was the lady of the place, and a native of the Canaries, who was extraordinary light of foot, purſuing her, ſhe ran like a ſtag; but perceiving that he was likely to overtake her, ſhe turned, and claſped him in her arms, and had not others come to his aſſiſtance, ſhe would have ſtrangled him. Staying there nine days, the admiral furniſhed himſelf with wood and water, and plenty of bread. He ſent the women aſhore with ſome Spaniſh toys to pleaſe them, becauſe that iſland lay in the way; though it was ſaid, that the lady and her daughter ſtaid of their own accord with the Spaniards. The 20th of April he held on his voyage, in about twenty-two degrees latitude, little over or under, as the winds would permit him, for as yet they were not acquainted with the nature of that voyage, becauſe the winds generally blowing freſh at eaſt moſt part of the year, the ſhips ſhould have gone up into at leaſt thirty degrees latitude, to meet with the cold and freſh gales. Experience afterwards taught this way of ſailing; but that not being then known, the admiral had a more tedious voyage, which was the reaſon that the men ſuffered much by hunger, there being ſo great a number aboard. As they ſailed in this diſtreſs, they diſcovered land; the pilots affirmed it was one of the Azore iſlands, but the admiral ſaid it was Cape St. Vincent,

Vincent, and ſo it proved. He came into the bay of Cadiz on the 11th of June, having ſpent three months on the voyage. At Cadiz he found three ſhips laden with proviſions for Hiſpaniola, and cleared: having ſeen the royal diſpatches, he writ to his brother, don Bartholomew, what he ſhould do with Peralonſo Nino, maſter of the two caravels, and they ſailed four days after the admiral's arrival.

The admiral went away immediately to the court, which was then at Burgos, but the king was at Perpignan, in the war againſt France, and the queen at Laredo, ſending away to Flanders the infanta, donna Juana, who was married to the archduke Philip, ſon to the emperor Maximilian, who were afterwards king and queen of Caſtile. When the fleet, which conſiſted of one hundred and twenty ſail, was gone, their majeſties ſtaid at Burgos to wait for the lady Margaret, ſiſter to the archduke Philip, who was to be married to prince John. The admiral was well received by their majeſties, who ſhewed themſelves very well pleaſed and gracious; though they ſignified to him that he ought to have uſed leſs ſeverity. He acquainted them with the condition of the iſland, and the diſcovery of Cuba and the mines; he made them a good preſent of gold uncaſt, as it was found in the mines, among which there were ſome grains as big as peas, others like beans, and ſome like walnuts. He alſo gave many parrots, vizors with eyes and ears of gold, and ſeveral other things of the Indies, which they received with ſatisfaction, doing the admiral much honour, and returning him thanks; and he fully anſwered all the queſtions they aſked, and the doubts they ſtarted: and for as much as they little regarded the informations brought by John Aguado, either becauſe the admiral refuted them, or becauſe they appeared to have been made with very little judgment, it will be needleſs to ſay any more of them.

The admiral in the account he gave their catholic majeſties of the affairs of the Indies, having ſaid much relating to the deſcription of the iſland Hiſpaniola, of the religion he could find practiſed among thoſe people, and many other particulars, it will not be improper, before we proceed any farther, in this place to mention what is moſt material. The natives called this iſland Ayti and Quiſqueya, ſignifying uncouthneſs, and great country. The ſhape of it is like a cheſnut leaf: it lies in nineteen degrees and an half of north latitude, and ſeventy-ſix of weſt longitude from the meridian of Toledo, the diſtance from which city to it is about one thouſand two hundred and forty-ſeven leagues, being about five hours in the courſe of the ſun. It is ſomewhat above four hundred leagues in compaſs, being one hundred and fifty leagues in length from eaſt to weſt, and in breadth from north to ſouth, in ſome places thirty, and in the midſt ſixty. It produces much Yuca, of which the natives make their bread, but no wheat, or wine; though ſome corn has grown in the coldeſt parts of it. It abounded in gold mines, which are now either exhauſted, or not wrought for want of hands; but ſtill it produces abundance of cotton and indigo, beſides other things. The climate is ſo good, and the ſoil ſo fertile of all that is neceſſary, that it might vie with the beſt countries in the world. As for religion, no ſort of idolatry, nor any kind of ſect could be diſcovered among theſe people, though it plainly appeared, ſays Herrera, at the very firſt, that the devil had entire poſſeſſion of them, and led them blindly into errors, talking with and ſhowing himſelf to them in ſeveral ſhapes. All the caziques had each of them an houſe at ſome diſtance from their towns, where there was nothing but ſome odd images made of ſtone, or wood, or painted, which they called cemis; and in thoſe houſes nothing was done but what tended to the ſervice of

thoſe

thoſe cemis, with certain ceremonies and prayers they ſaid there, as we do in our churches. There they had a ſmall board, well wrought, and round, in which was ſome powder, which they laid on the heads of the images, with a certain ceremony, and then with a ſort of cane of two branches which they put up their noſe, they blew up the powder, and the words they ſaid no Spaniard underſtood, and when they had taken up that powder, they remained beſides themſelves, as if they had been drunk. They gave names to thoſe ſtatues, being thoſe of their grandfathers, in memory of them, and they uſually bore more devotion to one than to another. The caziques and the common ſort valued themſelves upon having better cemis than others, and they always endeavoured to hide them from the Spaniards, refuſing to let them into thoſe their places of worſhip, and it was uſual among them to ſteal thoſe cemis from one another. It happened that the Spaniards being deſirous to ſee into the ſecret of thoſe cemis, they ruſhed on a ſudden among the Indians into one of thoſe houſes, and immediately the cemi cried out, and ſpoke in their language, by which it appeared to be artificially made; for the ſtatue was hollow, and behind it was a hollow cane that reached to the corner of the houſe, which was garniſhed, and covered with greens, where the perſon was hid who ſpoke what the cazique would have the cemi ſay. The Spaniards being ſenſible of this fraud, pulled all that in pieces, and the cazique ſeeing the ſecret diſcovered, earneſtly intreated the Spaniards not to tell the Indians, becauſe by that artifice he kept them in ſubjection.

This may be ſaid to have ſome reſemblance of idolatry, at leaſt as to thoſe that knew not the ſecret, becauſe they believed it was the cemi that ſpoke, and they were in general deceived; only the cazique was ſenſible of their falſe belief, by which means he drew what he would from his ſubjects. Moſt of the caziques had alſo three ſtones, to which they paid much devotion; the one, they ſaid, was good for the growth of the land; another for women with child to bring forth with eaſe; and the third for rain and ſunſhine, according as they had occaſion. Three of theſe the admiral had ſent their catholic majeſties by the commander, Antony de Torres, and three others he carried himſelf. When a cazique died, they opened and dried him at the fire, that he might be preſerved intire; then they laid him in ſome cave, or other hollow place, and left with him bread, liquor, and his arms, and the wife that would ſhew ſhe loved him beſt above all the reſt, was ſhut up with him, where ſhe died, and ſometimes two of them. Among the common ſort, they only kept the heads of thoſe that died, ſtrangling them when they were at the point of death, as was alſo generally done with the caziques. Some they carried out of their houſes, and ſome they laid in hammocks, which were their beds, and ſetting ſome bread and water at their heads, left them alone, never returning to ſee them. Others, when they were very ſick, were carried to the cazique, and he ordered whether they ſhould ſtrangle them, ſo great was their ſubmiſſion to theſe lords. Their opinion was, that after death they went into a valley, which every great cazique believed was in his own dominions, and there they ſaid they ſhould find their parents and predeceſſors, and that they had wives and did eat, enjoying all ſorts of pleaſures.

They thought their idols were immortal, and that their dead appeared to them, all which, and much more, they learned of their forefathers, for they could neither write nor read, nor count beyond ten. Nothing to be depended on could be learned of them concerning their antiquities, about which they varied very much. They told chimerical tales and fables about the creation of the world, and about the earth, the

ſun

ſun and moon, and woman. As to this point, they ſaid that the men went one day to waſh themſelves, at a time when it rained very much, and being very deſirous to have women, becauſe thoſe they had before were gone away to other iſlands, they ſaw the ſhapes of human perſons drop among the trees, being neither men nor women, and they going about to take them, they fled as ſwift as eagles; however, they caught four of them, and then held a council how they ſhould make them women; to which effect they looked out for a bird that makes holes in trees, which we call a woodpecker, and that tying thoſe perſons hands and feet, they applied the bird to them, the which taking them to be wood, pecked in that part where the difference of the ſexes is, and ſo they were made women. This abſurdity the moſt ancient of them told as very certain, beſides many others too tedious to relate. They ſaid the ſun and moon came out of a cave, which they called Jovobaba, and held in great veneration, keeping it always much adorned with two ſtone idols, their hands bound, and looking as if they ſweated. They paid them great devotion, went to them to beg rain for their fields, and carried them many offerings. This cave was in the country of the cazique called Mauciatibel, and they believed that when they offered up their prayers before thoſe cemis, it rained. Some ſaid, that the dead went to a place called Coaybay, in a part of the iſland called Soraya; that in the day time the dead were ſhut up, and at night they went out to divert themſelves, and appeared to the living in the ſhape of men and women; that an Indian offering to fight with a dead man, he vaniſhed, and the living man found himſelf graſping a tree. They added, that the dead did eat of a ſort of fruit that was as big as quinces, and by reaſon that they appeared only at night, every Indian was much afraid to go any where alone.

Thoſe that perſuaded the commonalty to believe the aforeſaid extravagances, were thoſe they called Buutios, who pretended they converſed with the dead, and knew their ſecrets: theſe were their phyſicians to cure them with charms, and other helliſh arts. Theſe men had many ſtone cemis, and others of wood, which they carried about with them, ſome to obtain rain, and others to make the product of the earth thrive, and others for the winds to blow. When any prime man was ſick, they carried the phyſician to him, who was obliged to diet himſelf, and purge as the patient did, ſnuffing an herb up the noſe till he was out of his ſenſes, talking very extravagantly, pretending to ſpeak with the idols; then they daubed their faces with ſoot, and when the patient was purged, the phyſician ſat down, all the company obſerving ſtrict ſilence in the dark, and he took a ſort of herb to vomit up what he had eaten: then they brought light, and the phyſician took two turns about the patient, pulled him by the legs, went to the door of the houſe and ſhut it, ſaying, "Be gone to the "mountains, or where you will:" then he blowed, joined his hands, which he ſhook, ſhut his mouth, blowed his hands again, ſucked the patient's neck, back, ſtomach, and other parts, coughed, made faces, and ſpit out into his hand ſomething he had before put into his mouth, telling the patient he had taken it out of his body, and that it was the diſtemper his cemi had given him, becauſe he had not been obedient to him. For the moſt part they were ſtones they took out of their mouths, which they much valued, as good for women in labour, and other uſes, and kept them as relics. They obſerved certain feſtivals, or holy days, and when any ſolemn day came, they carried meat to the cemi, and the next day they took it away, and the prieſts eat it. If a patient happened to die, knowing that the phyſician had not obſerved the diet

diet exactly, in order to find out whether he died through his fault, they took the juice of a certain herb, pared the dead man's nails, and cut off the hair on his forehead, which they reduced to powder, and mixing it with the juice, poured it in at the dead perſon's mouth and noſe, and then aſked him ſeveral times, whether the phyſician had obſerved the ſtrict diet, till the devil ſpeaking, anſwered as plain as if he had been alive, and ſaid, the phyſician had not dieted himſelf: then they returned the body to its grave, and the dead perſon's kindred ſecured the phyſician, beating him till they broke his arms and legs; they alſo put out the eyes of ſome, or elſe cut off their privy members. Thus they puniſhed thoſe ſorcerers, who had a thouſand artifices to keep thoſe people in their blindneſs. Of their antiquities thoſe men knew nothing but what was in ſome ſongs, which they ſung to an inſtrument made of a hollow thin piece of wood, about two feet long, and one in breadth; that part on which they ſtruck was made like a ſmith's pincers, and the other end like a club, with a long neck: this inſtrument had ſo great a ſound, that it could be heard almoſt a league, to which ſound they ſung their ballads. The prime men played upon it, being taught from their childhood; as alſo to ſing to it at their dancing bouts, when they made themſelves drunk.

The cemis, or idols they had, were very various, and among the reſt was a cazique, who had one made of wood, with four feet, like a dog, which, they ſaid, went away many nights into the woods, and they brought him back bound, becauſe he looſed himſelf, and got away again: when the Spaniards came into the iſland, they ſaid, he fled to a lake, ſunk in it, and was never ſeen again. They had many more deviliſh inventions, which they obſerved in their barbarous blindneſs. They alſo faſted, after the example ſet them by a great lord they once had, who, they ſaid, was in heaven, which they obſerved, ſhutting themſelves up ſix or ſeven days, without eating any thing whatever but the juice of herbs, with which they waſhed themſelves, and after that they began to eat ſomething ſubſtantial, being weakened with the faſt: they ſaid they had ſeen ſomething of what they deſired, becauſe the faſt was always in honour of their cemis, to know whether they ſhould be victorious over their enemies, or to acquire wealth, or have plenty, or ſuch other things as they affected. It was looked upon as a certain truth, that an ancient cazique told another that was known at the time of the diſcovery of the iſland, thoſe that ſurvived him would not long enjoy their dominion, becauſe a people that was cloathed would come and ſubdue them, and they would all periſh with hunger. Moſt of them thought that theſe people would have been the Caribs; but they only robbing, and then going off, they concluded they muſt be ſome others, and afterwards they found the admiral, and thoſe that came with him, to be the people. This prophecy was immediately put into a ſong, which they ſung like their other ballads, playing on their tabor upon feſtivals, at weddings, and other ſolemnities, holding one another by the hands one after another, the foremoſt ſinging and roaring, and all the reſt, both men and women, anſwering; and ſometimes the men and women apart, drinking of the liquor made of mayz, or Indian wheat, and other ingredients, till they dropped down drunk, which was much practiſed among them; this diverſion generally laſted from morning till night.

They had other paſtimes, as playing at ball, for which purpoſe they had a houſe apart, joining ſo many on each ſide, like the Spaniſh game of bandy, and they would touch the ball with all the parts of their body, in a very active and dexterous manner:

the balls were made of the gum of a tree, and though heavy, would fly and bound better than thoſe filled with wind in Spain. One thing the admiral did at the very beginning, (very advantageous for the converſion of thoſe people) was his taking ſpecial care that both the prieſts and the laymen ſhould apply themſelves to learn the Indian language, which varied in ſeveral parts of the iſland, though they generally underſtood that which may be called the courtly language, ſpoken in the province of Guarinoex, whither the admiral ſent father Roman, of the order of the Eremites of St. Jerom, and father John Borgonon, of the order of St. Francis, to learn the ſame. They continued there ſome time, inſtructing the cazique and all the people in the Chriſtian doctrine. At firſt the cazique ſhewed a good inclination, and learnt the Chriſtian prayers, but afterwards he fell off, and at the perſuaſion of ſome Indians, deſiſted from his good purpoſe, they telling him that the Chriſtians were wicked, and held his lands by force, for which reaſon it were better to kill them; on which the friars went away to another place. Two days after they were gone, ſome Indians were building a houſe near another where the friars had ſome images, and were wont to pray; thoſe the Indians ſtole, and buried them in a field that was ſown, ſaying, "Now "you will produce much fruit." This was told to don Bartholomew Columbus, who, as has been ſaid, was in the iſland of Hiſpaniola as the admiral's lieutenant, and having formally convicted them, he burnt the offenders. The field in which they buried the images was planted with axi, being roots like turnips, and ſome like radiſhes, and it appeared that in the place where the images had been buried, two or three roots had come up in the form of a croſs, a thing never before ſeen in that country, for which reaſon it was looked upon as a miracle, and they were found by the mother of Guarinoex, who was a perverſe woman, and carried them to captain Ojeda.—Theſe Indians of the iſland Hiſpaniola were ſo ſubmiſſive to their caziques, that it depended on them whether their ſubjects ſhould believe or diſbelieve, as they pleaſed.

More ſhall be ſaid in another place of the cuſtoms of thoſe people, who had but one woman in matrimony, whom they honoured; but they kept many others to commit ſeveral beaſtly and abominable ſins with them, and there was never any diſcord among them. They were addicted to ſodomy, which the women abhorred, and were continent with the natives, but lewd with the Spaniards. The men forbore uſing their mothers, ſiſters, and daughters, but had no regard to any other degrees of conſanguinity. It plainly appeared, ſays our author, that the devil was entirely poſſeſſed of thoſe people, and led them blindfold into error, talking and ſhewing himſelf to them in ſeveral ſhapes; and that they were naturally of a mean capacity, given to change, and incorrigible.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Account of Americus Veſputius: he ſails from Cadiz: diſcovers part of the continent of America. Deſcription of the people and their cuſtoms. Returns to Cadiz.

AMERICUS Veſputius, who has had the good fortune to give his name to the vaſt weſtern continent, was a native and merchant of Florence; being a man of an enterpriſing genius, he made four voyages on diſcovery, the firſt of which we are now about to relate.

Americus is accuſed of having uſed arts unworthy of a man of honour, and to have falſified dates, to gain the praiſe of being the diſcoverer of the new continent, at which Herrera, the Spaniſh hiſtorian, is very much offended. Whether he is really guilty of what is laid to his charge, we will not undertake to determine, and ſhall therefore inſert his voyages under the date he has affixed to them.

Theſe voyages are to be found in the collections of Grynæus and De Brye, and in a ſeparate work, intitled, "Navigationes quatuor Americi Veſputii," all in Latin. The two firſt voyages we ſhall tranſlate from the former, being the only language we have been able to find them in. They are dedicated to Renault, king of Jeruſalem and Sicily, and duke of Loraine and Bar. They certainly contain the oldeſt and beſt account we have of the manners and cuſtoms of the Americans.

A. D. 1497. "We ſailed from Cadiz on the 20th of May, with four armed ſhips, to make diſcoveries in the weſtern ocean. We arrived without once altering our courſe, the wind blowing conſtantly S. S. W. at the Canaries, formerly called the Fortunate Iſlands. They are ſituated at the extremity of the habitable weſt, in the third climate, in twenty-ſeven degrees two-thirds north latitude, and diſtant from Liſbon (where the preſent work was written) two hundred and eighty leagues. Here we ſpent about eight days in laying in ſtore of water and proviſions, and above all, in imploring the protection of divine Providence on our undertaking. On the 9th of June we ſet ſail, ſteering W. S. W. and arrived in leſs than twenty-ſeven days at what we conjectured to be main land, diſtant from the Canary Iſlands nearly a thouſand leagues. It is inhabited, though it lies within the torrid zone; for by the moſt exact obſervation, we found it to be in ſixteen degrees north latitude, and ſeventy-five degrees more weſterly than the great Canary Iſlands. Here having caſt anchor about half a league from the land, we hoiſted out our boats, and went aſhore with part of the crew, well armed. We obſerved with extreme ſatisfaction, a multitude of the natives, walking naked on the ſhore; they appeared to be aſtoniſhed at ſight of us, wondering no doubt at our dreſs, features, and complexion, different from their own. As ſoon as we approached the ſhore, they fled to a neighbouring hill, from whence we tried in vain to invite them to us by every ſign of peace and friendſhip we could think of. Night mean while came on, and fearing to remain longer in a place which, in caſe of a ſtorm, afforded no ſhelter to our ſhipping, we agreed to ſail early next morning in queſt of a ſtation where we could anchor with more ſafety.

We

We accordingly made ſail, and after coaſting for the ſpace of two days along ſhore, always in ſight of land, and in view of a crowd of people who followed us, we diſcovered at length a place adapted to our purpoſe. Here we caſt anchor about half a league from land, and again went aſhore in order to effect an interview with the natives, who covered the beach with their multitudes. In vain, however, we tried to make them approach us, except a very few, whom we allured with great difficulty, and whom we diſmiſſed highly delighted with the nails, mirrors, drinking-glaſſes, and other baubles, which we gave them. Night coming on, we returned to our ſhips. Next morning, however, by day break, we beheld again on the ſhore a great number of men and women, carrying their little ones with them; and we learned that they brought with them all their chattels, as ſhall be mentioned in its proper place. Several of them threw themſelves into the ſea (for they are moſt excellent ſwimmers) and met us about a bow ſhot from the ſhore: they received us with much affection, and mixed with us with as much ſecurity and confidence as if they had been a long while acquainted: a circumſtance that gave us no ſmall ſatisfaction. I ſhall now proceed to give ſome account of their manners and cuſtoms, ſo far at leaſt as they came within our obſervation.

"They go all, women as well as men, as abſolutely naked as when they came from their mother's womb. They are of a middling ſtature, extremely well formed; their ſkin is of a dun or red colour; but I believe if they wore cloaths they would be as fair as we are. They have no hair, except the hair of their head, which is black and very long, and the women eſpecially take great delight in that ornament; but on no other part of the body do they permit any hair to grow, plucking out even that on the eye-brows and eye-laſhes; for they eſteem it highly beaſtly and unclean to have hair on any part of the body. Their features are by no means comely, for they are broad-faced like the Tartars. They are all, men and women, exceedingly light and nimble, either in walking or running, inſomuch that even the women make nothing of running one or two leagues, without once ſtopping; and in that particular they are far ſuperior to us. Their dexterity in ſwimming ſurpaſſes all belief, and in that exerciſe the women excel the men; we have often ſeen the women ſwim a couple of leagues in the ſea without any adventitious help whatever. Their arms are the bow and arrow, which they fabricate with much ingenuity. They are deſtitute of iron and other metals; but inſtead of iron, they point their arrows (which they harden in the fire) with the teeth of fiſh or wild beaſts. They are excellent archers, and can hit whatever they pleaſe with their arrows; and in ſome parts of the country even the women handle the bow with great dexterity. Beſides the bow they have a variety of other weapons, ſuch as ſpears, pointed poles and clubs, whoſe heads are moſt elaborately wrought. They are frequently at war with a bordering people of another language, with whom they carry on a mode of war the moſt cruel that can be imagined, ſparing none but thoſe whom they reſerve for the moſt acute torments. When they go forth to battle they take their wives along with them, not to aſſiſt them in fight, but to carry their neceſſaries; for one woman, as we have often witneſſed, will carry on her back, for the ſpace of thirty or forty leagues, a greater load than even a ſtrong man can lift from the ground. They have no chiefs or generals to conduct the war, they obſerve no order or regularity in their march, for they do not fight to extend their dominion, nor to gratify the ambition of any man, but merely to revenge the injuries which they received from their enemies.

enemies. When we enquired what was the cauſe of that enmity, they replied, that the blood of their anceſtors ſlain in battle called aloud for vengeance. They live in the moſt perfect freedom, having no king nor maſter. They prepare and animate each other to battle with the greateſt alacrity if any perſon of their nation is ſlain or taken priſoner by the enemy: when that happens, the eldeſt and neareſt relation of the perſon killed or taken priſoner, runs through the villages or public places, crying, inviting and perſuading all he meets to help him to revenge the death of his kinſman: moved by compaſſion, they follow him to battle, and ruſh ſuddenly on their enemies. They obſerve no laws, no form of juſtice whatever; they have no puniſhment for malefactors; nay, ſo little are they acquainted with ſeverity, that even parents never correct nor inſtruct their children. To our utter aſtoniſhment, we never knew them to quarrel among themſelves. They are ſimple in ſpeech, but withal cunning and acute: they ſpeak ſeldom, and in a gentle tone of voice, and in accents ſimilar to ours; but the formation of their words is different from ours, being effected chiefly between the lips and teeth. They have a great diverſity of dialect among them; for every hundred leagues we diſcovered a people who ſpoke a language unintelligible to their neighbours. Their manner of eating is quite barbarous, for they obſerve no ſtated meals, but eat night or day, as often as they are prompted by appetite: they eat ſitting on the ground, and have no table cloths nor towels, for they are totally unacquainted with linen, or any ſimilar manufacture. Their victuals they place in earthen veſſels, which they make themſelves, or in the ſhell of the calabaſh or gourd. They ſleep in a kind of large net made of ſilk, and ſuſpended above the ground---a mode, which though it may appear ſtrange and uncouth to thoſe who are unacquainted with it, is yet, as I have often experienced, more pleaſant and healthy than our manner of ſleeping in beds. They are extremely clean in their perſons, and ſmooth ſkinned, which is occaſioned by frequent ablution; and when they go to eaſe nature, they take every poſſible precaution that they may be ſeen by no body. Their modeſty in that reſpect can only be equalled by their immodeſty in making water, in doing which the men and women are equally ſhameleſs.

"They know of no law nor form of matrimony in the intercourſe of the ſexes, but every man takes as many wives as he deſires, whom he diſmiſſes when he pleaſes, without being ſubject to reproach, or ſuppoſed to commit an injury; and in this reſpect both ſexes act with equal freedom. Ignorant of jealouſy, they are libidinous in the higheſt degree, more eſpecially the women, whoſe artifices to ſatisfy their inſatiable luſt, it were ſcandalous to relate. They are extremely prolific, nor does pregnancy hinder them from proſecuting their labour as uſual. They bring forth with ſo little pain, that they generally walk about vigorous and in good health the day after delivery; eſpecially after they have been to bathe themſelves and infant in ſome river, from which they riſe as clean and ſprightly as a fiſh. They are much addicted to cruelty and revenge, inſomuch, that if at any time their huſbands ſhould irritate them, immediately urged by anger, they ſwallow a certain drug, which cauſes an abortion, and by this means a great many children are murdered in the womb. They are formed ſo exquiſitely elegant, that it is impoſſible to find fault with any part of their body. The women ſhewed themſelves extremely fond of an amorous intercourſe with us. Thoſe people obſerve no ſort of law whatever, nor can we call them Moors or Jews, for they are worſe than the very Pagans; and we could not perceive that they offered up ſacrifice, or had any place of worſhip. Their manner of life, which is

entirely voluptuous, may be termed epicurean. Each habitation is poſſeſſed by ſeveral families, who live in common: their houſes are of a bell form, firmly conſtructed with large trees, covered at top with palm-leaves, and rendered extremely ſecure againſt winds and ſtorms. In ſome places they are ſo large, that one of them will contain ſix hundred perſons. Eight of the largeſt of theſe houſes were ſo ſpacious as to hold ten thouſand ſouls. Every ſeventh or eighth year they change their habitations and place of abode. When we enquired of them the meaning of this emigration, they gave us a phyſical reaſon, telling us, that they did it on account of the vehement heat of the ſun, which exhaling the filth created by their long reſidence in the ſame place, infected the air, and occaſioned among them a variety of diſorders; and indeed there appeared to us a great deal of good ſenſe in the reaſon they alledged. Their riches are the plumes of various coloured birds, or amber ſtones, the bones of fiſh, or green and white pebbles, which they ſuſpend by way of ornament to the lips, cheek, and noſe. They have a great number of other baubles, which they eſteem as riches, but which we reckon of no value. Perfectly ſatisfied with that which nature ſpontaneouſly produces, they have no idea of commerce, nor of buying or ſelling: gold, jewels, and trinkets, which in Europe we reckon wealth, they pay not the leaſt regard to. They are naturally ſo liberal, that they give freely whatever a perſon aſks, and are equally ready in aſking, and glad to receive. The greateſt mark of friendſhip among them conſiſts in giving or lending their wives and daughters to each other, and either parent eſteem themſelves highly honoured when any perſon takes their daughter, though a virgin, to his bed, and in this manner chiefly their friendſhips are conciliated. Their funeral ceremonies and modes of diſpoſing of the corpſe are various: ſome inter the deceaſed, placing victuals at his head, which he is ſuppoſed to eat and drink, making no lamentation for the dead, nor performing any other ceremony. But there are others who bury in a manner the moſt inhuman and barbarous that can be imagined; for when they ſuppoſe any of their family to be at the point of death, his relations carry him into an immenſe foreſt; there they lay him in one of thoſe nets in which they ſleep, ſuſpended above the ground between two trees; for the ſpace of a whole day they ſing in chorus round him, ſuſpended in this manner; when night comes on they place at his head meat and drink ſufficient to ſuſtain him for three or four days, and then they leave him, and return to their habitations: if after that the ſick man ſhould eat and drink, and recover ſtrength, and return to his houſe, his friends and relations receive him with much ceremony. But very few ſurvive the trial, for nobody ever after goes near them; nor have they any other burial than what I have juſt mentioned. They have alſo a great many other barbarous rites, which, to avoid prolixity, I omit.

"In curing their diſtempers and diſeaſes, they make uſe of a great number of medicines, and modes of treatment ſo different from, and indeed ſo oppoſite to ours, that it is a miracle how they can eſcape from the experiment with life. To mention, for inſtance, a fact which we have often obſerved: when a perſon is taken ill of a fever, they take him at the moment when the fit is upon him, plunge him into cold water, and bathe him; then they lay him for the ſpace of two hours before a large fire, till he perſpires moſt copiouſly; after which they make him run up and down till he is quite fatigued, when they conſign him to repoſe; and by this means we have ſeen a great many people reſtored to health and vigour. They frequently enjoin abſtinence from meat and drink for three or four days. They let blood often, not in the arms, but in the

the loins, and calf of the leg. They make frequent uſe of the emetic, which they provoke by means of certain herbs which they hold in their mouth; and, in ſhort, they employ a number of other remedies and antidotes, too tedious to mention.—They abound much with blood and phlegmatic humour, occaſioned by their food, which conſiſts of roots, herbs, fruits, and fiſh of various ſorts. Of wheat they are totally deſtitute, and of every other kind of grain. Their moſt common food is a certain root, which they grind into a kind of flour, of no unpalatable taſte, and this root is by ſome of them called jucha, by others chambi, and by others igname. Of fleſh they ſeldom eat, except it be human, which they devour with a cruel voracity hardly to be found in the moſt ferocious of the wild beaſts, for they eat without diſtinction of age or ſex, whatever they kill in battle or take captive; and when we beheld with the utmoſt horror their beaſtly repaſts, they, on their ſide, expreſſed their aſtoniſhment that we alſo did not devour our enemies in the ſame manner. And of this your majeſty may be aſſured, that they have many cuſtoms of the moſt barbarous nature, which cannot here be ſufficiently deſcribed. And becauſe in the four ſeveral voyages which I made to thoſe parts, I had occaſion to remark a ſcene of manners, cuſtoms, and opinions, ſo ſtrikingly different from the face of things in our world, I have therefore written, but not yet publiſhed a book, intitled, "Four Journals, or Voyages," in which, according to the meaſure of my humble capacity, I have marked down, with tolerable perſpicuity, the moſt intereſting facts and remarkable things to which I was a witneſs: and as in the above-mentioned book I have given a more detailed account of my voyages, I ſhall in this place only touch ſlightly the principal matter.

"I return from this digreſſion, to finiſh the account of my firſt voyage. For ſome time after our arrival among thoſe people, for want, I believe, of underſtanding their language, we could not perceive any thing from which any material advantage might be derived, except that from ſome appearances in the earth, we diſcovered that the country produced gold. But with regard to the ſituation and fertility of the ſoil, it is ſo excellent, that it is hardly poſſible to find a better. We now agreed to leave this place, and to ſtretch our navigation farther. Having unanimouſly adopted this reſolution, we ſet ſail, and running along ſhore, doubling many points of land, and holding from time to time a conference with the natives, we arrived, after a lapſe of ſeveral days, at a certain port, where it pleaſed the Almighty to deliver us from great danger. On entering this port, we diſcovered one of their towns or villages, built like Venice, upon water, and in this village there were about twenty habitations, in the ſhape of bells, as we have already deſcribed, and firmly conſtructed on a ſolid circumvallation of wood: before each gate was a draw-bridge, by which you paſſed from one habitation to the other. As ſoon as the inhabitants ſaw us, they were ſeized with fear, drew up their bridges inſtantly, and hid themſelves in their houſes. While we were looking with wonder at what was going on aſhore, about a dozen of their boats (which are only the trunks of trees excavated) began to row towards us, and hovering around us, admired at a diſtance our ſtrange features and appearance. As ſoon as we obſerved them approaching us, we made them every demonſtration of our friendly intentions which we could deviſe, in order to encourage them to come along ſide, but to no purpoſe. We then began to row towards them, but inſtead of waiting till we came up with them, they fled directly towards ſhore, making ſigns to us at the ſame time to wait a little for them, and that they would return to us directly. They then aſcended a certain hill, and driving from thence eighteen bullocks, they

embarked with them in the forementioned boats, rowed towards us, and run along ſide us. They then ſent aboard each of our veſſels four of thoſe bullocks; a ceremony which, your majeſty may eaſily ſuppoſe, ſurpriſed us not a little. And now they mixed among us with the utmoſt frankneſs, and converſed with us in ſo pacific a manner, that we concluded their intentions to be of the moſt friendly nature. Mean while, however, a conſiderable number of the natives came ſwimming towards us from ſhore, and began to approach our ſhips, without exciting in us the leaſt apprehenſion of danger; but turning our eyes towards the village, we beheld ſtanding at the doors a number of old women, loudly lamenting, and tearing their hair; a circumſtance which gave us ſuſpicion of ſome intended treachery. Then on a ſudden the cattle which they put aboard of us, jumped into the ſea, and the men who were in the boats began to make off to a diſtance, and bending their bows, galled us exceedingly with their arrows. Thoſe who came ſwimming from ſhore, manifeſted their foul intentions by the lance which each of them carried in his hand, and which they attempted to conceal under water. Then we began to repel, and to revenge the attack of the natives with ſo much effect, that in a ſhort time we deſtroyed and ſunk ſeveral of their boats, with conſiderable ſlaughter of the natives, who deſerting their canoes, ſwam aſhore, with the loſs of about twenty killed and more wounded. Of ours only five were hurt, and theſe, by the bleſſing of God, were ſoon afterwards reſtored to health. We picked up two of the above-mentioned cattle, and three men: we then went aſhore, and entered into their houſes, but found nothing except two old women and a ſick man; but we would not ſet fire to their houſes, fearing to offend againſt our conſcience.

"After this we returned to our ſhips with the above-mentioned five captives, whom we put in irons, and detained the cattle; but the next night the cattle and one of the male captives made their eſcape from us with much ſubtlety. On the following day we agreed to leave that port, and ſailing accordingly along ſhore, at the diſtance of eighty leagues, we diſcovered an iſland, in language and converſation totally different from the former: here we agreed to anchor our fleet, and to go aſhore in our boats. We obſerved on the ſea ſhore a crowd of people, to the number of four thouſand, or thereabout, who fled on our approach, and leaving every thing they had, took refuge in the neighbouring woods. We jumped aſhore, and walking about a cannon ſhot into a path leading into the wood, we found ſeveral tents which they had pitched there for the conveniency of fiſhing, ſeveral large fires lighted to dreſs their victuals, and a great variety of beaſts and fiſh ready roaſted. Amongſt the reſt we ſaw an animal which, except that it had wings, very much reſembled a ſerpent, and had the moſt ſavage and horrid appearance that can be conceived. Walking, however, among the tents, we diſcovered ſeveral of theſe kind of ſerpents alive, with their feet tied, and their mouths bound tight with ropes, juſt as among us, dogs and other wild animals are muzzled, to prevent their biting. And, in ſhort, they had ſo horrid an aſpect, that concluding them to be animals of a poiſonous nature, we did not dare to approach them. They are equal to a goat in height and ſubſtance, and about a yard and an half in length. Their long and thick feet are armed with hoofs; their colour is extremely various; from their noſtrils to the extremity of their tail, a kind of briſtle extends itſelf; their head and face is exactly that of a ſerpent, inſomuch that we concluded they were really a ſpecies of ſerpent; and yet thoſe people dare to eat them.

They

"They alſo make from fiſh a kind of bread, in this manner: they firſt parboil the fiſh, then they beat it into a kind of flour, mix it with water, and make it into bread, which they bake on live embers. We have taſted this kind of bread, and found it very good. They have alſo a great variety of other food, as well of the animal as vegetable world, which it were tedious to enumerate. Finding that the fear of us had cauſed them to fly into the woods, we determined not to carry away with us the ſmalleſt article that was theirs; but in order to inſpire them with confidence, we left in their tents a number of little preſents, and towards night we returned to our ſhips. On the following morning, at ſun-riſe, we obſerved on the ſhore a vaſt number of people. We went aſhore in our boats. The natives at firſt approached us with diffident heſitation, but by little and little they became more familiar, and gave us the warmeſt aſſurances of their friendſhip. They informed us, that they did not reſide there, but had only come down for the opportunity of fiſhing, and they begged of us to accompany them to their habitation up the country, where they would receive us as their beſt friends. We had, it ſeems, acquired their friendſhip by the ſight of the two captives, who were of a tribe inimical to theirs. They importuned us at laſt into a conſent with their requeſt, and we agreed that twenty-three of our number, well armed, in good array, (and determined, ſhould neceſſity require it, to die like men,) ſhould accompany them to their village. After they had remained with us for the ſpace of three days, we departed with them, and at the diſtance of three leagues from the ſhore, we arrived at one of their villages, conſiſting of nine houſes, ſuch as we have already deſcribed. There they received us with ſo many barbarous ceremonies, that it were impoſſible for any one to deſcribe them; with ſongs and choruſſes, with expreſſions of grief mixed with burſts of merriment and gladneſs, and alſo with abundance of good cheer. Here we remained for that night; the natives brought us their wives with the utmoſt prodigality, and indeed the ladies were ſo exceedingly importunate that it was not without the greateſt difficulty we could reſiſt the temptation of their careſſes. After we had remained with them that night and part of the ſucceeding day, a vaſt concourſe of people came, without fear, to inſpect us, and their elders requeſted us to accompany them to others of their villages farther up the country: we agreed with their requeſt. It were hardly poſſible to deſcribe the high honours they paid us in the courſe of our journey. We viſited ſeveral of their villages, travelling with the natives from one habitation to another, for the ſpace of nine days, a delay which filled our comrades aboard with anxiety and fear. After having traverſed about eighteen leagues of the country, we propoſed to return to our ſhips. Our regreſs was honoured by the convoy of an immenſe multitude of men and women, who accompanied us to the ſea ſhore; and when any of us happened to be fatigued by the march, they put him into one of the nets, in which they ſleep, and carried him with the greateſt attention to his eaſe. In paſſing rivers alſo, which in that country are frequent and very large, they ferried us over with ſo much ingenuity and ſafety, that we had no danger to apprehend. Not a few of them attended us, laden with the preſents they had made us, ſuch as rich plumes, an infinite number of bows and arrows, and alſo a great variety of various coloured parrots, which they carried in the nets in which they ſleep. Many of them carried with them their whole ſtock of furniture, leading with them alſo their domeſtic animals. It was wonderful to ſee with what alacrity they ſerved us, and how happy they thought themſelves in carrying us on their backs in the paſſages of rivers or other water. When we reached the ſhore, and began to embark in our boats, ſuch was the preſſure

of

of the vaſt concourſe of natives ſtriving to embark with us, and deſirous of examining our ſhips, that we had like to have been overſet with their weight. We took into our boats as many as we could ſtow: a vaſt number attended us, ſwimming all the way to our ſhips, which they entered in prodigious numbers, but naked and unarmed. They were ſtruck with the greateſt aſtoniſhment at the magnitude of our veſſels, as well as by the ſtrange ingenuity of our apparatus. In the midſt of their wonder, we diſcharged, at a ſignal given, ſeveral of our guns: terrified with the exploſion, the greater part of them dived under water like frightened frogs, while thoſe who remained aboard were convulſed with terror, inſomuch that we began to condemn ourſelves for trying ſo imprudent a frolic. We ſucceeded however in allaying their fears, and relieved them from a ſtate of ſtupid aſtoniſhment, by informing them that with ſuch arms we deſtroyed our enemies. After having entertained them aboard with our beſt cheer for the whole courſe of that day, we admoniſhed them to depart, for we intended to ſet ſail that very night. On hearing this they left us with the warmeſt demonſtrations of friendſhip and good will.

"I obſerved among this tribe a great many very curious cuſtoms, which at preſent I ſhall not inſert at much length, ſince your majeſty will ſometime hence have an opportunity of learning their manners and local rites, in a book entitled "Four Journals," in which I have given a geographical deſcription of the country, as well as a particular and minute account of their more remarkable cuſtoms, but which I have not yet ſufficiently corrected for the preſs. The country is extremely populous, and abounds with an immenſe number of various animals, many of which are not to be found among us. There are lions, boars, ſtags, ſwine, goats, and deer, but diſtinguiſhed by ſome deformities from ours. As to horſes, aſſes, mules, dogs, and the leſſer cattle, ſuch as ſheep and the like, there are none to be found in that country, nor even any ſpecies of the cow whatever; but yet they have abundance of other unknown animals, which I cannot eaſily deſcribe, but which are all wild and unſubjected to the human will. The woods abound with the moſt amazing multitudes of birds, various in form, feather, and colour. The face of the country is covered with foreſts, which are green all the year round, and which never caſt their leaves. They produce fruits in the greateſt plenty, but totally different from ours in ſhape and flavour.

This region is ſituated in the torrid zone, directly under the parallel which deſcribes the tropic of Cancer, in twenty-three degrees latitude, at the extremity of the ſecond climate. While we remained among thoſe people, we were viſited daily by immenſe numbers of the natives, wondering at our features and the whiteneſs our ſkin; they were alſo curious to know from whence we came: to which we replied, that we had deſcended from heaven to viſit the earth, and this they readily believed. We conſecrated at this place a number of baptiſmal fonts, in which a great many of the natives cauſed themſelves to be baptiſed, calling themſelves in their language Charaibi, that is, men of great wiſdom. The country is by them called Parias.

"After we left this place we run along ſhore about eight hundred and ſeventy leagues, doubling many capes and points of land, and from time to time holding a conference with the natives. In moſt places we diſcovered gold, but in no great quantity; for it was ſufficient for us to diſcover the country, and to know, in general, whether it produced that metal; and as we had now been thirteen months at ſea, and our naval ſtores and apparatus almoſt conſumed, and the ſeamen worn out with toil, we agreed unanimouſly to repair our veſſels, which let in water at all quarters, and to return

return to Spain. When we formed this reſolution, we were near a port the very beſt in the whole world, which we entered, and found on the ſhore an infinite number of people, who received us with much friendſhip. Here we built with the relics of our ſmall craft a little veſſel, and diſembarking our cannon, which was nearly deſtroyed by ruſt, occaſioned by the leakineſs of our ſhips, we unloaded our veſſels, hauled them aſhore, and gave them a thorough repair. In effecting this we were greatly aſſiſted by the natives. They alſo of their own accord ſupplied us moſt abundantly with proviſions, by which means we conſumed very little of our own ſtock, which was indeed ſufficiently ſlender for our paſſage home.

" We remained in this port thirty-ſeven days, frequently viſiting the habitations of the natives, who paid us the greateſt reſpect; but when we were preparing to ſet ſail, the natives came to us, complaining that there was a certain ferocious and deſtructive nation, who at a certain ſeaſon of the year, coming by the way of the ſea, landed clandeſtinely on their coaſt, and carried away by force or fraud a great many of their tribe, whom they killed and devoured, excepting ſome, whom they kept as ſlaves: they repreſented to us that they were hardly able to defend themſelves againſt thoſe invaders, who inhabited, they ſaid, an iſland diſtant from their ſhore an hundred leagues, or thereabout. Moved by their diſtreſs, and the pathetic manner in which they implored our aſſiſtance, we promiſed to vindicate them from ſuch inhuman barbarity. Rejoiced by the promiſe of our aid, they offered voluntarily to attend us on the expedition, which for many reaſons we refuſed, and only conſented to take with us ſeven of their number, on condition that they ſhould go and return in their own boats, for we would not take upon ourſelves the care of returning them to their native country; and to this condition they very gladly agreed. We now departed, leaving the natives in the moſt friendly diſpoſition towards us. For the ſpace of ſeven days we continued our courſe N. E. by E. in open ſea, ſailing before the wind. We then fell in with ſeveral iſlands, ſome of which were inhabited, others deſert. We ſtood in to one of them, called Ity by the natives, and obſerving on land a great number of people, we manned our boats and ſmall craft with able men, and three pieces of cannon.

" On approaching pretty near the ſhore, we remarked on the beach about four hundred men, and a great number of women, all naked, like thoſe already deſcribed: the men were ſtrong in body, and warlike in appearance; they were all armed with bows, arrows, and lances; many of them had alſo ſhields of a ſquare form, with which they defended themſelves ſo dexterouſly as not to be in the leaſt impeded by them in the uſe of the bow and arrow. When we were within the flight of an arrow to the ſhore, they ruſhed ſuddenly into the ſea, and pouring on us a thick ſhower of arrows, endeavoured to prevent our landing. Their bodies were painted with various colours, and decorated with feathers of every dye, which when thoſe who came with us from the main land perceived, they informed us that it was their practice to adorn themſelves in that manner whenever they prepared for battle. They defended themſelves with ſo much vigour, that we were obliged to diſcharge upon them our ſtone-vomiting engines*. Struck with the exploſion, the velocity of the ſhot, and the havock made by them, they retired to the land. We agreed that forty-two of our number ſhould

* By this expreſſion, Veſputius muſt mean the cannon.

land

land and engage them courageouſly: we accordingly jumped aſhore; the natives met us, and for the ſpace of almoſt two hours we maintained a conſtant fight, and gained at length over the enemy a complete victory in cloſe combat, except that ſome few of them were killed by our muſqueteers, which was done becauſe they had a practice of evading with much ſubtlety the point of our ſwords and ſpears. At laſt, however, we ruſhed upon them with ſo much violence, that they could no longer play with the point of our weapons. When they ſaw this, they turned their backs, and fled into the wood, leaving on the field a conſiderable number of killed and wounded. We declined to purſue them that day, becauſe we were very much fatigued, and returned aboard with thoſe ſeven men who had followed us from the main land, and who could hardly contain themſelves for joy.

"On the morning of the following day, however, we obſerved a large body of the enemy marching towards us, to the ſound of horns and other warlike muſic; and like thoſe whom we had fought the preceding day, they were decorated with paint, and various coloured feathers. After deliberating ſome time among ourſelves, we agreed that if they ſhould come down upon us in an hoſtile manner, we ſhould in the firſt place endeavour, as much as lay in our power, to make peace with them; but that if they refuſed our friendſhip, we ſhould then treat them like enemies indeed, and make ſlaves of all whom we took priſoners. We then formed our ſhips in a ſemicircle round the ſhore. Deterred, however, I ſuppoſe by the fear of our cannon, they did not attempt to prevent our landing. We then landed in four diviſions, fifty-ſeven men in each diviſion, and began a long and cloſe engagement with the enemy; but after an obſtinate and bloody reſiſtance, we put them to flight, and purſued them to their village, where we took twenty-five captives, ſet fire to their habitations, and returned to our ſhips. The enemy had a great many killed and wounded: of ours only one was killed, but we had twenty-two men wounded, who were all, by the bleſſing of God, reſtored to health.

"Having now determined to return to our native country, we made a preſent of a boat which we took on the iſland, together with ſeven captives, that is, three men and four women, to the ſeven natives of Parias who accompanied us, and who returned home with much joy, and a moſt exalted opinion of our power. Purſuing our courſe to Spain, we arrived at length at Cadiz, with two hundred and twenty-two captives, on the 15th day of October. There we were moſt gladly received, and ſold our ſlaves. And this is the ſubſtance of the moſt remarkable occurrences of our firſt voyage."

A. D. 1499.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER V.

Preparations made for a third voyage, under the command of Columbus: powers granted to him. Tranſactions in Hiſpaniola during his abſence. Peter Alonſo Nino arrives from thence. Columbus ſails from St. Lucar: touches at Port Santo, Madeira, and Hierro diſcovers Trinidad: arrives at Hiſpaniola: endeavours to reduce the mutineers. Complaints made againſt him to the king and queen: is recalled, and reconciled.

THE admiral offering to diſcover many provinces and the continent, demanded eight ſhips, two of them to carry proviſions to Hiſpaniola, and the other ſix to go with him. It was reſolved, with the advice of the admiral, that there ſhould always be three hundred and thirty men in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, in the pay of their highneſſes, all volunteers; and that among them ſhould be forty eſquires, one hundred foot for ſoldiers and pioneers, thirty ſailors, thirty boys, twenty workers in gold, fifty huſbandmen, one hundred gardeners, twenty handicrafts of all ſorts, and thirty women, each of them to receive ſix hundred maravedies pay monthly, and a buſhel of wheat, and twelve maravedies more a day for diet. They ordered ſome perſons to be found that would carry proviſions to the iſland, the king advancing money for that purpoſe, ſetting a fixed price upon the proviſions they were to ſell. They ordered religious men to be ſent over to adminiſter the ſacraments, and endeavour to convert the Indians. They alſo directed the ſending of a phyſician, medicines, and a ſurgeon; and muſic to make the people merry. Their highneſſes gave the admiral commiſſion, in caſe he thought fit, to carry five hundred men, provided that all above the aforeſaid three hundred and thirty ſhould be paid ſome other way, and not out of the king's revenue. They directed care ſhould be taken to till the land, and breed cattle, lending the huſbandmen what was requiſite to that effect; and that ſufficient proviſion of all things ſhould be made in the archbiſhopric of Seville.

Their majeſties likewiſe granted to all thoſe that would with leave go to the Indies, not receiving their pay, to have to themſelves the third part of all the gold they ſhould get out of the mines, provided it was not procured by way of exchange or trade, and that they ſhould carry the other two to the king's officers; and that of all other things they ſhould find, of which an advantage might be made, excepting gold, they ſhould only pay the tenth to their highneſſes. And becauſe the admiral conſidered how hard it was to pleaſe the Spaniards, and that it was requiſite they ſhould continue in the Indies; fearing alſo that their majeſties might grow weary, alledging that they ſpent more than they received, or that they ſhould leſſen the pay, he obtained leave to tranſport all criminals into the Indies, to ſerve there a certain number of years. They alſo gave the admiral power to divide lands, mountains, waters, and plots for houſes, in the iſland of Hiſpaniola, among ſuch as would ſettle their dwellings there. Their majeſties reſerved for themſelves all the gold, ſilver, or other metals, and braſil wood, that ſhould be found in thoſe countries, and ordered that he ſhould not diſpoſe of any of them, or other things belonging to the crown. The admiral was allowed for this expedition ſix millions of maravedies, four for the proviſions to be put aboard the fleet, and two for the pay of the men; which he found much trouble to receive, by reaſon of the ſcarcity of money on account of the marriages of the king's children,

and the wars. And it was now alſo provided that none of any nation but Caſtile ſhould go over to the Indies, that being her catholic majeſty's will; to the end that ſince the Caſtilians bore the burden and the fatigue, they ſhould reap the benefit. Some affirm, that the admiral aſked it of the queen, with whom he was in ſpecial favour.

A. D. 1496. The three ſhips from Cadiz arrived at Iſabella the beginning of July, to the great joy of the people on account of the proviſions they brought, and the news of the admiral's ſafe arrival in Spain. Bartholomew Columbus diſpatched them back with three hundred Indian ſlaves; for their majeſties being informed that ſome caziques had killed the Spaniards, they ordered that all who were found guilty ſhould be ſent to Spain.

And as the admiral had acquainted their majeſties that as he ſailed along the ſouth coaſt of Cuba, it appeared to him a beautiful country, with many fine inlets, which he judged might be good harbours, and were near the mines he had called St. Chriſtopher, their majeſties directed him to do as he thought beſt in that caſe. He writ therefore to his brother, ordering him to go over to the ſouth ſide and find a convenient harbour, and if the place was good, to abandon Iſabella, and carry all with him. Bartholomew leaving his brother James, ſet out with the ableſt men for the mines of St. Chriſtopher, and arrived at a river called by the Indians Ozama, very agreeable, and inhabited on both ſides. He ſounded, and found that ſhips of three hundred tons might come into it; he therefore reſolved to build a fort of earth on the eaſt ſide, at the mouth of the harbour. He ſent for men from Iſabella to begin the ſettlement, and called it St. Domingo: the admiral always called it New Iſabella, but the former name prevailed. There remained at old Iſabella the people who were building two caravels, and ſome few others.

The work being begun, don Bartholomew took a progreſs to view the kingdom of Bohechio, (called Xaragua) of whom, and his ſiſter Anacoana, he had heard much talk. That prince met him with an army, but after he was informed he came with a peaceable intention, he received him with great honour. Bartholomew told the king and his ſiſter, that his brother, the admiral, was gone to Spain, to viſit his ſovereigns, to whom many lords of the iſland were become tributary, and required them alſo to own and pay tribute to them. Bohechio anſwered, that he had no gold in his dominions, and could not pay tribute. Bartholomew told him, his deſign was that they ſhould pay tribute only in what their country afforded, to which Bohechio conſented.

Don Bartholomew having ſettled this, returned to the mines of Cibao, to the royal plain, and to the colony of Iſabella: he found near three hundred men ſick, and no ſhips were arrived with proviſions. The ſick he diſtributed among the forts and the Indian towns, and went on towards St. Domingo, gathering the tribute as he paſſed.

This tribute the Indians bore with impatience, and the cazique Guarinoex was perſuaded to begin a war with the Spaniards. Bartholomew advanced againſt him with all his Spaniards, defeated and took him priſoner, but above five thouſand Indians following and ſoliciting the releaſe of their king, it was granted.

After this don Bartholomew reſolved to go to Xaragua, to gather the tribute; though the ſoldiers were in ſuch want of cloaths, and other things, from Spain, that they grew very uneaſy. Bohechio, his ſiſter, and thirty-two lords, who had been ſummoned to that effect, came out to meet don Bartholomew, and they had ordered many loads of cotton ſpun, and unſpun, to be brought, with abundance of utias,

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and roaſted fiſh. A large houſe was filled with cotton, for which don Bartholomew returned many thanks, and they offered to give him as much cazabi as would fill another houſe or houſes. He ſent orders to Iſabella for one of the two caravels to come to the port of Xaragua, to carry it away, that harbour being a large bay, or inlet of the ſea, dividing the iſland into two parts; one of which forms Cape St. Nicholas, ſtretching out thirty leagues; the other, which is much larger, ends in the cape called Tiburon, which the admiral had named St. Raphael; and the bottom of the bay reached within two leagues of Bohechio's palace. Thoſe at Iſabella ſent the caravel with much joy, and when it came into the port, Anacaona perſuaded her brother to go to ſee the Spaniſh canoe, as ſhe called it. They lay that night at a little village about half way, where Anacaona had many things made of cotton; as alſo chairs, veſſels, and other things of wood, wonderfully wrought, of which ſhe made don Bartholomew a preſent: the chairs were of ſuch fine wood, that it looked like jet: and among the reſt, four bottoms of cotton, ſo big, that a man could ſcarce lift one of them. Though Bohechio had two very fine canoes, Anacaona would not go aboard in them, but in the pinnace. The cannon was fired, which put the Indians into ſuch a conſternation, that they were ready to leap into the water with the fright, but ſeeing don Bartholomew laugh, they compoſed themſelves. When they were aboard, the ſeamen played on a tabor and pipe, and other inſtruments, which very much pleaſed the Indians. They looked all about the head and ſtern, went aboard the caravel, into the hold, and were amazed. Don Bartholomew ordered the ſails to be ſpread, and the caravel to take a turn about the ſea, and return to the ſame place; the cazique admiring that ſo great a veſſel ſhould make way without oars, and go forward and backward with the ſame wind. When they returned to Xaragua, the caravel was loaded with cazabi and cotton, and the other things, and went away to Iſabella, as don Bartholomew did by land.

Whilſt don Bartholomew was at Xaragua, Francis Roldan, the head alcalde, a turbulent man, deſiring to get into authority by raiſing commotions, and uſing for his pretence don James Columbus's having ordered the caravel which had carried bread and wine to Iſabella, to be laid dry, to prevent its being ſtolen by ſome malecontents and carried to Spain; began to talk among the labouring men where he had ſome reputation, becauſe he had been their overſeer, with the ſeamen, other mean people, and thoſe that were moſt diſcontented, ſaying, that the caravel would be better in the water, and ought to be ſent into Spain with letters to their catholic majeſties, ſince the admiral was ſo long away; that their wants might be relieved, and they not periſh with hunger, or be deſtroyed by the Indians. That the adelantado don Bartholomew, nor his brother don James, would not ſend it, becauſe they deſigned to revolt, and ſecure the iſland to themſelves, keeping them all as ſlaves, employing them in building their houſes and forts, to attend them in gathering the tributes, and enriching themſelves with gold. The men finding themſelves encouraged by a man in authority, ſuch as the chief alcalde, had the impudence to ſay thoſe things in public, which before they ſcarce durſt utter in corners. Francis Roldan perceiving that the men had declared their minds, required they ſhould all ſign a paper, importing that it was for the public good that the caravel ſhould be ſet afloat, thus to engage them farther, and becauſe he was very ſenſible it was not fit that their catholic majeſties ſhould know he had been the ringleader of ſuch a mutiny, he ſought plauſible pretences to ground his deſigns. He proceeded farther to perſuade the people that the beſt way to

ſecure the friendſhip of the Indians to the Spaniards, was to quit them of the tribute; and advice being brought that Guarinoex's Indians did not pay the tribute, and that they gave tokens of uneaſineſs, don James Columbus, thinking to put Roldan out of the way of advancing his deſign, ſent him with a conſiderable part of the men to the Conception, where he better carried on his mutiny, and abuſed and diſarmed thoſe that would not follow him. Returning to Iſabella, having by force taken the key of the royal magazine, he broke the locks in pieces, and crying, "Long live the king," took all the arms and proviſions he thought fit for his followers.

Don James Columbus came forth with ſome honeſt men, to appeaſe the mutiny, but Francis Roldan behaved ſo inſolently, that he thought fit to retire into the fort; and every time he had occaſion to talk to him, when he was at Iſabella, Roldan was to give him hoſtages. The mutineers went away where the king's cattle was, and having taken what cows, mares and colts they thought fit, they went about the Indian towns, giving out that they had quarrelled with the admiral's brothers on account of the tribute they exacted, perſuading them not to pay any, and they would defend them. Many cauſes are ſaid to have moved Roldan to that inſolence, but the chief was ambition of command, and to be ſubject to no man, nor to the rules obſerved at Iſabella; and believing that the admiral would not return becauſe of the informations John Aguado had carried againſt him, he had a mind to place himſelf in authority. He had with him ſeventy men well armed, with whom he poſted himſelf in a town of the cazique Marque, who had taken the name of James Marque, two leagues from the fort of the Conception, deſigning to make himſelf maſter of it, and then to get don Bartholomew Columbus into his hands, and to kill him, being more afraid of him than of any other, becauſe he was a man of ſingular valour. From Marque he drew near to the town where Guarinoex lived, whoſe wife he was ſaid to have debauched; and becauſe captain Garzia de Barrantes, who was there with thirty ſoldiers, ſhut himſelf up in a houſe, that he might not talk to them, and bid him to go about his buſineſs, for thoſe thirty men were in the king's ſervice, and he ranged about as he thought fit. Roldan threatened to burn him and his men, and ſeizing on his ſtores of proviſions, went away to the Conception, which was leſs than half a league diſtant.

The alcalde or governor, Michael Balleſter, ſhut the gates againſt him, and don Bartholomew Columbus, who about this time came to the fort of the Magdalen, where he heard of Roldan's inſurrection, went away to Iſabella, where he kept himſelf cloſe, perceiving that the number of Roldan's men increaſed, being afraid that they were all of the ſame mind, becauſe James de Eſcobar, alcalde or governor of the Magdalen, Adrian de Mexica, and Peter de Valdivieſſo, principal men, had already joined the rebel; but the alcalde Balleſter adviſing him to go away to the Conception, that they might not kill him, he got into it, the ſame being about fifteen leagues from Iſabella. He thence ſent Malaber to bid Roldan conſider the confuſion he put the iſland into, the diſſervice he did their majeſties in it, and in obſtructing the payment of the tribute, as alſo the danger he brought the Chriſtians into by encouraging the Indians againſt them. The effect of this meſſage was his having an interview with don Bartholomew at the Conception, upon ſecurity given. They ſpoke to one another at a window, and don Bartholomew aſking him, why he led about thoſe people in ſuch ſcandalous manner, to the obſtructing of their majeſties ſervice; he anſwered, he only drew them together to defend himſelf againſt him, becauſe it was

reported,

reported that he deſigned to kill them all. The adelantado anſwered, that he had not been truly informed. Roldan replied, that he and his companions were in the king's ſervice, and he might ſay, where he would have them ſerve him. Don Bartholomew ordered him to go to the towns of the cazique James Columbus. He anſwered, he would not, becauſe there were no proviſions. Don Bartholomew commanded him to quit the office of chief alcalde, and required him not to act as ſuch, or bear the name, ſince he did the king diſſervice. Hereupon Roldan went away haughtier than he had been before, to the lands of the cazique Manicotex, from whom he drew the three marks of gold and upwards, he was to pay to the king, and called him brother; and to keep him the more ſubmiſſive, he led about with him a ſon and a nephew of the cazique, allowing all that followed him to live lewdly, in a libertine, arrogant manner, becauſe the Indians dreading them, were ready at their command. Roldan had now got ſome horſes, and ever ſince John Aguado went away, had provided many horſe-ſhoes, which had not been neceſſary till then; whence it was inferred, that Aguado's indiſcretion, and his ill behaviour towards the admiral, were the occaſion of this revolt, and that Roldan had intended it ever ſince that time.

Men daily reſorting to him, he grew more haughty and obſtinate, reſolving to get don Bartholomew into his hands, and intending to beſiege him in the Conception; of which Gonzalo Gomez Collado gave him notice, by means of Gonçalo de la Rambla, who adhered to don Bartholomew. Don Bartholomew received advice that Peter Hernandez Coronel, chief alguazil of the iſland, who went into Spain with the admiral, was arrived in the port, with the two caravels of proviſions, on
A.D. 1498. the 3d of February, which the admiral had ſent, of the eight he had demanded of their majeſties; wherein he had been expeditious to relieve the want he judged there was in the iſland.

The adelantado reſolved to repair to Santo Domingo, to ſecure the caravels, and Francis Roldan being informed of it, he alſo reſolved to go with his men to that city, but being afraid of don Bartholomew, becauſe the inhabitants of the place were well affected to him, and with thoſe he had in the caravels, he might be able to oppoſe him, he halted five leagues from Santo Domingo. As ſoon as don Bartholomew received his diſpatches, he publiſhed the honour their majeſties had done him, in confirming to him the title of adelantado, or lord lieutenant of the Indies, conferred on him by his brother, and the many favours their majeſties had conferred on the admiral, who was preparing to come over with ſix ſail, which gave much ſatisfaction to all thoſe that continued in the ſervice of their majeſties. The adelantado being deſirous that the admiral, at his return, ſhould find the iſland in a peaceable condition, ſent Peter Harnandez Coronel to perſuade Roldan to ſubmit himſelf to their majeſties, and to offer him a pardon for all paſt crimes and offences. At his arrival, thoſe who were upon guard preſented their croſs-bows, and ſtopping him, ſaid, "Stand off, "traitors, for if you had ſtaid away one week longer, we had been all alike." He conferred with Roldan, repreſented to him the miſchiefs he occaſioned, the danger he was in, and how much better it was to live in peace; but was ſent away with haughty and ſcandalous anſwers, and Roldan with his gang went away to the province of Xaragua, where, by reaſon of the deliciouſneſs and fertility of the country, they had the opportunity of living in a licentious manner.

The adelantado finding Roldan incorrigible, proceeded againſt him in due form of law, made proclamation for him and all his followers to come in and ſubmit themſelves,

ſelves, and in concluſion declared them rebels and traitors. The two caravels had brought over ninety labouring men to work in the mines and cut brazil wood, of which there was thought to be a great quantity, upon condition that they ſhould pay to the king a certain proportion every day of the gold they found, and the reſt ſhould be for themſelves; and of that number fourteen were appointed to ſow and till the land. The Indians of the plain, though they were much moleſted by the rebels, and had ſome vexations from thoſe that continued loyal, (the adelantado being obliged to connive a little, for fear they ſhould deſert) bore all patiently, without making any commotion, notwithſtanding they were encouraged to it by the mutineers: becauſe Guarinoex was naturally of ſo peaceable a diſpoſition, that he rather choſe to leave his country, and retire with many of his people into the lands of Mayobanex, who gave Guarinoex, his wife and children, a good reception: thoſe of the Conception miſſing him, ſent word to Santo Domingo that he was revolted. Don Bartholomew on this went away with ninety of the ableſt men, and ſome horſe, to the Conception, and found out that he was among the Ciguayos. He marched thither, and having paſſed the great mountains, came down into the vale, through which a great river runs, where he underſtood that a mighty army of thoſe Indians were ready to engage him. Soon after they appeared ſhouting in an hideous manner, and ſhooting vaſt flights of arrows; but the horſemen wounded ſo many with their ſpears, that they fled into the mountains.

The Indians loſing no courage, lay about the mountains, and when they thought the Spaniards were not upon their guard, ſhot at and wounded ſome with their arrows; but the Chriſtians purſuing, killed many, and took ſome priſoners. By one of them don Bartholomew ſent word to Mayobanex, that he was not come to make war on him, but if he would deliver up Guarinoex to him, he would be his friend, otherwiſe he would ruin him. The anſwer Mayobanex returned was this: "Tell the "Chriſtians, that Guarinoex is a good and virtuous man; that he has never done harm "to any man, and therefore deſerves compaſſion; and that they are wicked uſurpers "of the lands of others, and thereſore I do not value their friendſhip, but will pro-"tect Guarinoex." Upon this anſwer, the adelantado did much harm in the country. He then again ſent to acquaint Mayobanex, that as he was not willing quite to deſtroy him, he ſhould ſend ſome perſons to treat of peace. He ſent a prime man, attended by two others. Don Bartholomew told him, he required nothing but Guarinoex, who was guilty of an offence, in having abſconded, and refuſing to pay the tribute to the king of Spain, and that he would be his friend if he delivered him into his hands. Mayobanex acquainted his people with this demand, who anſwered, that he ſhould deliver up Guarinoex, to avoid a war. He replied, it was not reaſonable to deliver him up to his enemies, ſince he was a good man, and had wronged no body, had always been his friend, and he was much obliged to him, for having taught him and the queen his wife to make the areyto of the maguá; that is, to dance the dance of the plain, where Guarinoex's kingdom was, which was highly valued; and above all, becauſe he had fled to him and his kingdom for protection, and he had promiſed to defend him, ſo that whatever the conſequence might be, he would not abandon him. He called Guarinoex to him; they both wept; he comforted, and promiſed to protect him, though he ſhould loſe his kingdom by it. He then ordered ſpies to lie on the ways, and poſted guards to kill all that ſhould offer to paſs.

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The adelantado again ſent two meſſengers to Mayobanex, following them himſelf ſome way with ten foot and four horſemen, and ſoon found them both killed, which much grieved him: he thereupon reſolved to ruin Mayobanex, and proceeded accordingly to fight him; but as ſoon as he came up, all the Indians forſook their king, being unwilling to expoſe themſelves to the croſs-bows, ſpears, and ſwords. When Mayobanex perceived none would ſtand by him but ſome of his friends, kindred, and relations, he thought fit alſo to betake himſelf to the mountains. The Ciguayos being incenſed againſt Guarinoex, becauſe he had been the occaſion of their ruin, they reſolved to deliver him up; but he being ſenſible of it, fled alſo into the mountains, where the Spaniards were not at their eaſe, for they endured much hunger and thirſt during three months they ſpent in this war; for which reaſon they importuned the adelantado to permit them to return to the plain, ſince the Indians were routed. He gave them leave, and ſtaid himſelf with thirty men, with whom he went about ſeeking after thoſe two caziques from town to town, and from hill to hill. He accidentally met two Indians, who were going to get ſome proviſion for Mayobanex, and though they wonderfully kept the ſecret they were entruſted with by their lord, after having been much racked, they confeſſed where he was, and twelve Spaniards offered to fetch him. They ſtripped, and anointed their bodies with a ſort of black dye, and ſome part red, being the fruit of a tree they call biſa, which is practiſed by the Indians when they are in war, or about the country, to preſerve themſelves from the ſun by the cruſt it makes on them. They took guides, and came to the place where Mayobanex lay very ſecurely with his wife, children, and ſmall family. Thew drew their ſwords, which they carried covered with the leaves of thoſe palm-trees they call yaguas, and took him, his wife, and children, whom they carried to don Bartholomew, and he went away with them to the Conception. With Mayobanex was taken a very beautiful kinſwoman of his, whom he had given in marriage to a lord of a certain part of the province of the Ciguayos. When her huſband, who was alſo abſconded on the mountains, heard of it, he was ſo much concerned, that he went and with many tears intreated don Bartholomew to give him his wife, which he very freely did. The Indian was ſo thankful, that he brought four or five thouſand Indians with coas, which are ſtaves hardened in the fire, uſed by them inſtead of ſpades, for him to appoint where he ſhould ſow corn for him. The place was accordingly appointed, and they made ſuch a plantation as would be then worth thirty thouſand ducats. All the Ciguayos conceited that ſince don Bartholomew had ſet that lady at liberty, ſhe being very famous in the country, they might obtain the ſame for their king. Many of them went with preſents of utias and fiſh, which was what their country afforded, to beg him, promiſing that he ſhould ever after continue in obedience. He ſet the queen, the children and ſervants at liberty, but would not releaſe the king. Guarinoex being diſtreſſed with want in the place where he lay hid, went out to ſeek ſomething to eat, and being ſeen by the Ciguayos, they going to viſit Mayobanex, acquainted don Bartholomew, who immediately ſent ſome men, and they conducted him to the Conception.

Peter Alonſo Nino, who ſailed from Hiſpaniola with three ſhips freighted with ſlaves, arrived at Cadiz the 29th of October, and writ to court that he had brought much gold. This being believed, the ſix millions of maravedies that had been appointed for fitting out the admiral, were applied to ſome other uſe, and he was ordered to take up that ſum out of the gold Peter Alonſo Nino ſaid he had brought. Upon this

this notion things continued till the end of December, when he arrived at court with the letters, and they were undeceived, that by the gold he meant the ſlaves he had brought. Juſt as the admiral was upon the point of being diſpatched, happened the death of king John II. of Portugal; he was ſucceeded by don Emanuel, duke of Beja: and ſoon after died don John, heir to the crown, to the extraordinary affliction of the whole kingdom, and all people from the higheſt to the loweſt, clad themſelves in white ſerge, which was the laſt time that ſort of mourning was worn in Spain. Theſe and ſome other accidents, obſtructed the admiral's diſpatch.

At length he ſailed over the bar of Sanlucar on Wedneſday the 30th of May, with ſix ſhips, deſigning to diſcover new lands; and as there was intelligence that a Portugueſe fleet lay in wait for him at Cape St. Vincent, giving them the ſlip, he ſtood away for the iſland of Madeira; touched at Puerto Santo on the 7th of June, and found it in an uproar, imagining that his ſhips had been French. He heard maſs, wooded and watered, and then proceeded to Madeira, which is fifteen leagues diſtant, where he was joyfully received. Tueſday the 19th he arrived at La Gomera, where he found a French ſhip, with two Spaniſh it had taken. He retook one of them, and ſent after the Frenchman; and ſix Spaniards that were aboard the other, ſeeing their relief at hand, drove the French that guarded them under hatches, and ſailed away to the admiral. He reſolved to ſend directly from Gomera the three ſhips with proviſions for Hiſpaniola, believing the people there muſt be in want, and appointed Alonſo Sanches de Carvajal, of Baeça, a worthy man, captain of the firſt of them; Peter de Arana, a native of Cordova, a diſcreet perſon, kinſman to captain Arana, who had been left governor of the fort of the Nativity at the firſt diſcovery, commander of the ſecond; and over the third he placed John Antony Columbus, a relation of his own, of much capacity and judgment. He gave them their inſtructions, and ordered that each of them ſhould command a week in chief, as to the ſailing part, and carrying the light: that they ſhould ſail weſt and by ſouth eight hundred and fifty leagues, and then they would fall in with the iſland Dominica, whence they ſhould ſteer weſt-north-weſt, to fetch the iſland of St. John; then keep along the ſouth ſide of it, that being the true courſe for the new Iſabella.

The admiral being furniſhed with what he wanted, ſet ſail on the 12th of June for the iſland of Hierro, which is fifteen leagues from Gomera, and one of the Canary Iſlands, the fartheſt to the weſtward. He deſigned, in the name of the moſt holy Trinity, as he always was wont to ſay, to ſail to the ſouthward of them, till he came under the equinoctial, and ſo proceed to the weſtward till the iſland of Hiſpaniola ſhould bear north-weſt from him, to ſee what iſlands or continent were in that part. He ſaid it was his opinion, that no man had ever ſailed that courſe, and that the ſea there was utterly unknown. Having paſſed the iſland Hierro, he diſmiſſed the three ſhips, and with one ſhip and two caravels ſtood away for the iſlands of Cape Verde, which he ſaid bore a falſe name, for he had always found them dry and barren. Wedneſday the 27th of June, he diſcovered the firſt of them, called De la Sal, or of ſalt, which is ſmall: he proceeded to that of Buena Viſta, and that is extraordinary barren. He anchored cloſe by a ſmall iſland, whither all the lepers in Portugal went to be cured, by eating the fleſh of the tortoiſes, and frequently waſhing with their blood; for in the months of June, July, and Auguſt, abundance of them reſort thither from the continent, which is the country of the blacks, to lay their eggs in the ſand, where they ſcratch a hole, and leave above five hundred eggs, as big as a hen's, which being

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covered with ſand, are hatched by the ſun, and the little tortoiſes run into the ſea. The men there wait for the tortoiſes, turn them on their backs, and then they cannot recover themſelves.

The healthy people living on this iſland did not exceed ſix or ſeven, whoſe whole employment was to kill wild goats, and ſend their ſkins ſalted to Portugal: ſometimes they killed ſo many in a year, that the ſkins were worth two thouſand ducats. Thoſe creatures were ſo much increaſed from only eight head of them: thoſe men that killed them were ſometimes four or five months without drinking any wine, or eating bread, or any other thing beſides the fleſh of thoſe goats, ſome fiſh, and tortoiſes. The admiral ſailed from thence on the 30th of June, for the iſland of Santiago, where he arrived on Sunday, being twenty-eight leagues diſtant; it is the chief of them. He thought to have taken cows aboard, to carry to the iſland Hiſpaniola, becauſe their majeſties had ordered him ſo to do, but was obliged to deſiſt, for the air of that iſland being very unhealthy, the men began to ſicken. Beſides that he reſolved to ſail to the ſouthward, to find out whether king John of Portugal had been miſtaken, who affirmed that there was a continent that way. Wedneſday the 4th of July, he gave orders to ſteer ſouth-weſt, having never ſeen the ſun or ſtars ſince his arrival at the iſlands of Cape Verde, the ſky being continually covered with a thick fog. He alſo ſaid, he deſigned by holding that courſe, to find out the truth of what the Indians of the iſland Hiſpaniola reported, viz. that there had come thither from the ſouth and ſouth-eaſt, a black people, who had the heads of their javelins of a ſort of metal which they call guanin, ſome of which he had ſent to their majeſties, and the aſſay of it being taken, it appeared, that of thirty-two parts, eighteen were gold, ſix ſilver, and the other eight copper.

Holding on his courſe ſouth-weſt, he found ſome of thoſe weeds he had met with in the direct way to Hiſpaniola. Having ſailed one hundred and twenty leagues, as ſoon as it was night he took the latitude, and found the north ſtar was in five degrees; and Friday the 13th of July, the heat was ſo violent, that he was afraid the ſhips would take fire, and the men periſh: the wind ceaſed ſo ſuddenly, and the exceſſive heat enſued, that no man durſt go down between decks, to take care of the caſks of wine and water that were falling in pieces, the hoops flying off them. The wheat burnt like fire; the bacon and ſalt meat fried, and was ſpoiled. This heat continued eight days; the firſt of them was fair, ſo that the ſun parched them; the other ſeven it rained, and was cloudy, yet they found no relief, but were almoſt melted. Saturday the 14th of July, he found himſelf in ſeven degrees of north latitude, and they ſaw ſome black and white daws, being birds that do not go far from land. The 15th the admiral fell ill of the gout for want of ſleep, and yet he ſtill watched. This day they ſaw ſome fiſhes they call botos, which have very ſhort chubby heads. Thurſday the 19th, the air was ſo burning hot, that they thought they ſhould have been burnt in the ſhips; but immediately there enſued a fair gale that delivered them from that heat, and they ſailed ſeventeen days to the weſtward, deſigning to turn again to the ſouth, ſo that Hiſpaniola might bear north, where the admiral believed he ſhould find land, either before or after he came to that point; and there he hoped to refit his ſhips, which were very leaky, occaſioned by the late heat, and to recover the proviſions in order to carry them to Hiſpaniola, though they were already damaged.

Sunday the 22d of July, a vaſt multitude of birds was ſeen flying from the weſt-ſouth-weſt towards the north-eaſt, and the like on Monday following: ſoon after a

gull came aboard the admiral, and by theſe tokens he hoped to ſee the land very ſoon: but the 31ſt of July being come, no land appearing, and water growing ſhort, he reſolved to alter his courſe, and ſtood to the weſtward, ſtill inclining to the right hand, to come in upon Dominica, or ſome one of the iſlands of the canibals, now called Caribbee Iſlands, ordering to ſteer north and by eaſt, which courſe he held till noon. A ſailor, being a ſervant to the admiral, whoſe name was Alonſo Perez, born at Huelva, went up to the round top, and ſpied land to the ſouth-eaſt, about fifteen leagues diſtant, and ſeemed to be three mountains. They immediately ſung the hymn Salve Regina, with other devotions to the bleſſed virgin. Having thus ſpied land, he altered his courſe from the Caribbee Iſlands, where he deſigned to have watered, and ſtood for a cape that appeared to the weſtward, which he called De la Galera, or the galley point, on account of a great rock on it, which at a diſtance looked like a galley under ſail. When they came to land, they found a good port, but could not enter, becauſe it had not water enough. He paſſed on to the point he had ſeen, being ſeven leagues to the ſouthward, without finding any harbour, and obſerved that the woods reached down to the ſea, all along the coaſt. Some men were ſeen in a canoe at a diſtance, but they fled, and it appeared that this was an iſland, which he called La Trinidad, or the Trinity, having promiſed to give that name to the firſt he ſhould diſcover. The land was high, pleaſant, and well cultivated. Wedneſday the 1ſt of Auguſt, the admiral advanced five leagues along the coaſt to the weſtward, and came to a point, where he anchored with his three ſhips, and took in water from ſprings and brooks, to the great ſatisfaction of the men. They found the track of people, fiſhing tackle, and the fooſteps of goats, as they thought, which proved to be of deer, there being many in that iſland. Having ſeen many towns in this iſland, they ſaw another iſland to the ſouthward, which ſeemed to be twenty leagues long, and he called it Iſla Santa, or holy iſland. All the way from Punta de la Galera to the point where they watered, which he named Punta de la Playa, or the point of the ſtrand, though the land was good, there was no harbour, but there were many rivers and thick woods, very agreeable: the length of the holy iſland ſeemed to increaſe ſtill. Seeking out for a harbour, on Thurſday the 2d of Auguſt, he arrived at the point of the iſland of the Trinity, which he called Punta del Arenal, or ſandy point, being to the weſtward, and he was then got into the bay he called De la Ballena, or of the whale, without knowing that he was near the continent.

He gueſſed that the iſland of Trinity extended in length from Cape de la Galera to Punta del Arenal, thirty-five leagues, though it is above forty-five; but the admiral proceeding along it at ſeveral times, could not make an exact computation. At Punta del Arenal he ordered the men to go aſhore to refreſh themſelves, becauſe they were much tired and fatigued. A cazique of the iſland was come thither, and obſerving that the admiral had a cap on of crimſon velvet, he paid him great reſpect, took off a circle of gold he had on his own head, and put it on the admiral's, and with the other hand took off his cap, and put it on his own, being very much pleaſed with it. This day a great canoe, carrying twenty-five men, came from the eaſtward towards the ſhips, and being about muſquet ſhot from them, they gave over rowing, and cried aloud, uttering many words, which the admiral ſuppoſed imported to aſk who they were, as uſual among thoſe people. By way of anſwer he ſhewed them ſome little braſs baſons, and other glittering things, to entice them to come near the ſhips; but they advancing very little, the admiral ordered his men to play on a tabor

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and pipe, and the youths to dance, thinking to pleaſe them, which proved quite contrary, for they took it for a ſignal of war, and quitting their oars laid hold of their targets and bows, and ſhot a great flight of arrows. The admiral directed the muſic to ceaſe, and ſome croſs-bows to be brought, but only two of them to be ſhot; on which the Indians immediately laid down their arms, and ran in cloſe under the ſtern of another caravel, the pilot whereof went into the canoe, entertained them, and gave one that ſeemed to be a principal perſon a red cap. They deſired him to go aſhore, and they would give him ſuch as they had; but as he was going in his boat to aſk leave of the admiral, becauſe it was not the direct way, the Indians went away. They were all young, well adorned after their way, of agreeable countenances, and whiter than the Indians of the iſlands. Their hair was long and ſmooth, cut after the Spaniſh manner. About their heads they tied a cotton cloth, curiouſly wrought, and of ſeveral colours, and another about their waiſt to cover their nakedneſs. The admiral wondered, that being there ſo near the equinoctial, he felt cold every morning, though it was in the dog days; as alſo, that the water ran ſtronger to the weſt than the river of Seville, that the ſea-water ebbed and flowed above ſixty-five paces more than at San Lucar de Barrameda, and that the current ſet ſo ſtrong between the iſlands of Trinity and Santa, by him afterwards called Gracia, which are two leagues aſunder, not knowing as yet that it was the continent, and that the ſtream run like a rapid river.

They found the ſame ſorts of fruits as in Hiſpaniola, and the trees, ſoils, and climate were alike. They alſo found very large oyſters, an infinite quantity of fiſh, parrots as large as pullets, of a light green, ſome whitiſh, and others with ſome red and yellow, beſides others all red, except ſome blue feathers in their wings, and ſome black; but ſuch as do not talk, and are only agreeable to the eye. The admiral being at Point Del Arenal, which is the laſt of the iſland of Trinity, he ſaw towards the north-weſt, at about fifteen leagues diſtance, the point of that he till then called Iſla Santa, or Holy Iſland, which proved to be the province he afterwards called Paria; and believing it to be another iſland, he gave it the name of Gracia, or Grace, as has been ſaid, and he thought it extraordinary high land, and ſo it is, for a vaſt ridge of mountains runs along there. He reſolved to ſee that iſland of Grace, and by reaſon that the ſtreight through which he paſſed into the bay De Le Bellana, or of the Whale, was but two leagues over, there ſet ſo ſtrong a current from Punta del Arenal, that is from the ſouthward, out of the river Yuyapari, which lay to the ſouthward, and was not yet known to the admiral, that it made ſuch a mighty noiſe and roaring, that they were all frightened, and thought they ſhould not have eſcaped that danger. The ſea water on the other hand oppoſing that which came from the land, ſwelled up, forming a ridge of a conſiderable height, which lifted the admiral's ſhip to the top of it, the like whereof he had never ſeen or heard before. The other ſhip, which had not yet weighed, was forced out to ſea from its anchors, and the admiral ſailed on till he got out of that ſwell in ſafety; and in reſpect to the danger he had been there in, he called that place Boca del Drago, that is, the Dragon's Mouth.

Being come up to the continent, which he ſtill thought to be an iſland, he ſaw near the aforeſaid point, two ſmall iſlands in the midſt of another mouth, or entrance, forming that cape which he called Boto, that is, Blunt, becauſe it appeared ſo; and another cape of the iſland of Trinity he called De Lapa, the diſtance between them being five leagues, with two little iſlands in the middle, one of which he named El Caracol, or the Snail, and the other El Delfin, or the Dolphin. The narrowneſs of the place,

the violence of the great river Yuyapari, and the waves of the ſea made the going into and out of this bay very dangerous; and therefore the admiral, as has been ſaid, called the ſtreight the Dragon's Mouth, which name it holds to this day. This river, which falls into the bay of La Ballena, or of the Whale, runs through the country above four hundred leagues, and as it brings back an immenſe quantity of water, eſpecially in July and Auguſt, about which time the admiral was there, the rains falling then as they do in Spain in October and November, and the paſſage between the continent and the iſland of the Trinity being too narrow for ſuch a quantity of water, when they meet there is a mighty ſtruggle between them.

As the admiral lay at the point of Cape de Lapa, he diſcovered very high land to the north-weſt, at twenty-ſix leagues diſtance, which he named Bellaforma, becauſe it looked well, and not knowing he was ſo near the continent, as there were ſo many outlets, he took them to be iſlands. Sunday the fifth of Auguſt he ſailed five leagues from Cape Lapa, and ſaw very good harbours cloſe to one another. He ſent the boats aſhore, and the men found fiſh, fire, the track of people, and a great houſe uncovered. He proceeded eight leagues farther, ſtill diſcovering good harbours, much land tilled, and many rivers. Going aſhore they found well taſted grapes, mirabolans, apples, and a ſort of fruit that looked like oranges, and within were like figs, and ſaw many monkeys.

Monday the 6th of Auguſt he ſailed five leagues. A canoe, with five men in it, came towards the caravel that was neareſt to the land; the pilot called the Indians, giving them to underſtand, that he would go on ſhore, and as ſoon as he got into the canoe he overſet it, and ſwimming about, took and carried the Indians to the admiral. Their complexion was like the others in thoſe parts. Some of them had very long hair, and others ſhort, as was then the faſhion in Spain, but none clipped cloſe as in Hiſpaniola and the other iſlands. They were of a proportionable ſtature, had their private parts tied up and covered, and the women all ſtark naked. The admiral gave thoſe Indians hawks bells, glaſs beads, and ſugar, and ſent them on ſhore, becauſe a great number of people appeared; and as ſoon as they underſtood how well the others had been entertained, if there had been canoes enough they would have all gone on board. The admiral uſed thoſe that came well, gave them toys, and aſked them queſtions; they anſwered, but they did not underſtand each other. They brought him bread and water, and a ſort of liquor like wine. All of them had targets, bows, and poiſoned arrows. Before they entered, they ſmelled the boats, and afterwards the men. On Wedneſday the ſeventh, abundance of peaceable Indians came, bringing bread, Indian corn, and eatables, as alſo pitchers of liquor, ſome of it as white as milk, taſting like wine, and ſome green made of fruit and mayz. They valued not the beads the admiral gave them; but were highly pleaſed with the hawks bells; they had a great value for tin, and were fond of as much as a tag, and the like they were in Hiſpaniola. They called it Turey, as if it were come from heaven, for they called heaven Turey, and found a certain ſcent in it that much pleaſed them, and whatever was given them they ſmelled to. They carried abundance of parrots of three ſorts, and bits of cotton cloth well wrought, and wove of ſeveral colours. The admiral would willingly have taken half a dozen Indians to carry away with him, but could not, for before night came on they left the ſhips. The next morning a canoe with twelve men went on board the admiral's ſhip, ſix of whom he took, and ſent the reſt on ſhore.

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He proceeded to Punta del Aguja, or Cape Needle, whence he could ſee moſt delightful lands, well peopled, and being come before a town, which for its beauty he called the Gardens, having a vaſt number of houſes and people, he anchored, and many reſorted to the ſhips, with their wrought clouts about their heads and private parts, like the little veils worn by Mooriſh women. They wore ſome little plates of gold about their necks, and the Indians that were on board ſaid there was plenty of it in thoſe parts, and ſhewed how they gathered it. The admiral conſidering it was above three hundred leagues from Hiſpaniola, and that his proviſions were decaying, made no long ſtay in that country, which he thought very agreeable, full of good houſes, and inhabited by a polite and warlike people. Being come to point Aguja, he eſpied another to the ſouthward, which he thought to be an iſland, running out ſouth-eaſt and north-weſt, very large, and the land high. He gave it the name of Sabeta, and in the afternoon ſaw another; theſe were parts of the continent. He anchored at the Gardens; many canoes, great and ſmall, came to the ſhips with abundance of people, wearing pieces of gold about their necks, in the ſhape of a horſe-ſhoe; and though they ſeemed to value it, they would have given all for the hawks bells; but he had none, his ſtock being ſpent. However he got ſome gold, which was very low, and they told him there were iſlands thereabout that yielded much ſuch, but that the men were canibals: they ſaw an Indian with a piece of gold as big as an apple. More canoes came ſtill, all the people wearing gold collars, and beads of abundance of ſorts, their clouts tied about their heads, and their hair cut ſhort, which looked well. There fell very much rain, which hindered many more going aboard. Some women went, who had ſtrings of little beads about their arms, and among them ſome ſeed, as alſo ſome large pearl, which made the Spaniards very deſirous to have ſome of them. The admiral aſked where they found them? They ſhewed him the mother of pearl, and by very intelligible ſigns gave him to underſtand, that they were found to the weſtward, behind that iſland, which was Cape Lapa, being the point of the province of Paria, and the continent, which he ſtill believed to be an iſland. He ſent the boats aſhore, and they found the people ſo tractable, that though the ſailors went not with a deſign to land, two prime men obliged them to go, and conducted them with abundance of people to a houſe, where they entertained and gave them to eat bread and fruit of ſeveral ſorts, and to drink that ſort of white liquor before-mentioned, and another red, of a good taſte; the men all the while keeping together at one end of the houſe, and the women at the other. When they had been ſo treated in that houſe by the eldeſt of thoſe two prime men, the youngeſt carried them to another, and treated them in the ſame manner. It ſeemed to them that one was the cazique, and the other his ſon: the ſailors returned very well ſatisfied to their boats. They thought thoſe people of a very good ſtature, whiter than any other Indians, their hair better, well cut, and very ſociable; the country delightful and cool, which was admired, on account of its being ſo near the equinoctial. The admiral called this, which he thought to be an iſland, Paria.

Friday the tenth he ſailed to the weſtward, ſeeking ſome paſſage to get clear of thoſe which he took to be iſlands, and named them Yſabeta and Tramontana, being part of the continent, and the Indians he had on board ſaid the pearls were found farther weſtward. He ſailed on in that bay, and ſent the little caravel to ſee whether there was any paſſage out to the northward, becauſe oppoſite to Yſabeta, and the continent, there appeared a very high and beautiful iſland.

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The caravel returned, and brought an account that they had found a large bay, and in it four ſpacious openings, that looked like ſmall bays, and a river at the end of each of them; this he called the Bay of Pearls, though there are none in it. The admiral believed thoſe four openings were four iſlands, which formed that bay of forty leagues all of a freſh ſea, but the mariners affirmed they were mouths of rivers, and ſo it proved, at leaſt two of them; for the great river Yuyahari ran out at one, and that of Caurari at the other; and though the admiral would have diſcovered all very particularly, he could not ſtay for the reaſon before-mentioned, but reſolved to ſail for Hiſpaniola, to ſend for men and proviſions into Spain, and order his brother the adelantado to continue this diſcovery; to which purpoſe, on the 11th of Auguſt he ſtood over to the eaſtward, in order to paſs through between the point of Paria and the continent. He advanced to a good harbour, which he called Puerto de Gatos, or Cat's Port, which is near the mouth where the two iſlands Del Caracol and Del Delphin lie, between the capes of Lapa and Boto. There he came to an anchor on Sunday the 13th, intending to ſail out at the mouth on Monday following. The boat was ſent to take a view of another harbour cloſe by, which was alſo good, and near it were ſome fiſhermen's houſes, for which reaſon he called it Puerto de las Cabanas, or the Port of Cottages. Near the ſea they ſaw many mirabolan trees, with abundance of oyſters ſticking to the branches that hang over the ſea, and open to receive the dew.

Monday the 14th he advanced to Cape Lapa, which is that of Paria, to paſs out northward, through the opening, which he called the Dragon's Mouth, between Point Lapa to the weſtward and Cape Boto, being the utmoſt of Trinity Iſland to the eaſtward, the diſtance between the two capes being a league and an half beyond the ſmall iſlands that lie in the middle; for from Point Lapa to Cape Boto is five leagues. Being come to the Dragon's Mouth before noon, he found a great ſtruggle between the freſh water to get out to ſea, and the ſea water to paſs through into the bay; and this contention was ſuch that it raiſed the water to high ridges, ſo that they were in the ſame danger of periſhing, as they had been at their firſt coming into that ſtreight. Their peril was now the greater, becauſe the wind failed them; and when they would have come to an anchor they found no bottom, which made them apprehenſive of being drove upon the rocks. Here the admiral ſaid, if they eſcaped with their lives, they might ſay they had been ſaved out of the Dragon's Mouth, and therefore that name has continued. We ſhall not ſpeak here concerning the currents and the motions of the ſeas, or the quantity of freſh water that runs into it, to avoid interrupting the ſeries of the hiſtory. It pleaſed God that the freſh water prevailing over the ſalt, inſenſibly carried the ſhips out, and ſo ſaved them.

Being got out of that bay, extending full fifty leagues from the firſt land of Trinity, to the bay he called De las Perlas, or of Pearls, he wafted along the continent, which he thought to be the iſland of Grace, deſigning to have gone round it to obſerve whether the immenſe quantity of freſh water proceeded from rivers, as the ſeamen affirmed, and he could not believe, as thinking that no river in the world could carry ſo much water, or thoſe lands he ſaw, produce it, unleſs they were a continent. He found along this coaſt many good harbours and capes to which he gave names, as Cabo de Conchas, or Cape Shells; Cabo Luengo, or Long Cape; Cape Sabor; and Cape Rico, or Rich. Coming out of the Dragon's Mouth, he ſaw an iſland twenty-ſix leagues to the northward, which he called the Aſſumption, another the Conception,

three

three other ſmall ones Los Teſtigos, or the Witneſſes; another near them Romero; other ſmall ones Las Guardas; another Margarita, which is fifteen leagues in length, and ſix in breadth, very green, delightful, and well inhabited. Not far from it are the other ſmall iſlands, and among them Cubaque, where a conſiderable quantity of pearls has been found; but few of the names the admiral gave them have continued. Having ſailed forty leagues farther, and ſeeing the land ſtill in extent to the weſtward, he was convinced that was no land but the continent, which he had firſt diſcovered on Wedneſday the 1ſt of Auguſt 1498.

The admiral was much ſurpriſed at the immenſe quantity of freſh water before ſpoken of, and no leſs at the extraordinary coolneſs of the air ſo near the equinoctial; and he particularly obſerved, that the people thereabouts were whiter, their hair long and ſmooth, more ſubtle and ingenious than thoſe he had before ſeen. Theſe things made him conceit that the terreſtial paradiſe might be in thoſe parts. He was very deſirous to return to the iſland of Hiſpaniola, his mind giving him, that his preſence was neceſſary there; and he reſolved to ſend his brother don Bartholomew to continue the diſcovery. Beſides that, the men were fatigued and grew uneaſy, becauſe he had not told them at his coming from Spain that he was going upon diſcovery. For theſe reaſons, on Wedneſday the 15th of Auguſt, he ſteered his courſe accordingly, ſtill diſcovering vaſt high mountains on the continent; and that day he ran ſixty-three leagues, between ſun and ſun, the great currents ſetting him forward as much as the wind.

Whilſt the admiral laboured under the aforeſaid difficulties, the three ſhips he had ſent from Spain to Hiſpaniola, under Carjaval, Arana, and Columbus, through the ignorance of the pilots, and by reaſon of the currents that ſet downwards on the ſouth ſide of that iſland, inſtead of going to the port of St. Domingo, ſailed on above one hundred and ſixty leagues below it, and not knowing where they were or where to go, arrived at the place where Francis Roldan was with the mutineers, living without any regard to God or man. Had they done it deſignedly, it could not have happened worſe; and if the revolt of Francis Roldan had been known in Spain, it would readily have been concluded to be a miraculous contrivance, either of the captains or the pilots.

Francis Roldan and his followers being informed of the arrival of the ſhips, and dubious between hope and fear, went away to the harbour, which was two leagues off, and concealing the revolt, aſked how they happened to come to that place, and what news there were of the admiral. They anſwered, that they had been carried by the currents through a miſtake, and that the admiral would ſoon be there with three ſhips more, having ſome days ſince ſteered away to the ſouthward from them. They went aboard the ſhips, were merry together, and had ſome of the proviſions carried from Spain. When they were gone, the captains thought fit, becauſe of the difficulty of returning to St. Domingo, by reaſon of the currents and breezes, that the labouring men who were in the king's pay ſhould go away by land, and agreed, that captain John Anthony Columbus, who commanded one of the ſhips, ſhould conduct them. Forty men, with their croſs-bows, lances, and ſwords, went aſhore, and Francis Roldan inculcated in them that they were going to lead a very painful life, as they would be obliged to labour and dig, with much hunger and want, eaſily perſuaded them to ſtay with him, telling them at the ſame time, that they ſhould live with him, which was only going about from one town to another, taking the gold, and what elſe they thought fit; and though thoſe forty men were all criminals, and ill livers, yet

eight

eight of them were true to their captain. Thus the three captains underſtood that Francis Roldan had deſerted the king's ſervice, and captain Columbus being moſt concerned at it, he went to him, and bid him reflect that thoſe men had received the king's pay for ſix months before-hand, and that he ſent them to dig gold, and perform other ſervices; that he very much obſtructed the king's affairs by detaining them after that manner, and therefore he adviſed him not to act ſo ſcandalouſly: but Francis Roldan not regarding what he ſaid, becauſe by the addition of thoſe who had joined him, he had above one hundred men to defend himſelf againſt the admiral, John Antony returned aboard his ſhip.

Peter de Arana and John Antony Columbus reſolved to go away to Santo Domingo with the ſhips, captain Alonſo Sanchez de Cavajal ſtaying behind to go by land, and endeavour to bring Roldan to his duty. By this time the adelantado had notice, by means of the Indians, that there were three ſhips to the weſtward, and gueſſing that they might be come from Spain, and had overſhot themſelves, he ſent out a caravel in queſt of them. Before the ſhips arrived, or Roldan had got ſo many men, he had writ to ſome of thoſe that were with the adelantado, deſiring them, in caſe the admiral ſhould come, to endeavour to make his peace for him.

The admiral the ſecond day of his ſtanding for Hiſpaniola, ſailed twenty-ſix leagues north-weſt and by north, and on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, which was the 19th of Auguſt, he ran one hundred and nine leagues, and arrived at the iſland Beata, which lies fifteen leagues from the port of Yaquimo, and twenty-five from Santo Domingo; and near the iſland Beata is that of Altovelo. It troubled him that he had fallen away ſo much, but did not wonder at it, becauſe all the night he lay by, or plied backwards and forwards, for fear of being upon the many iſlands or ſhoals thoſe ſeas were full of, which at that time were little known, and for that reaſon the currents, which are there very ſtrong, and ſet towards the continent weſtward, had inſenſibly carried the ſhips ſo far towards the iſland Beata and Hiſpaniola, the diſtance between them being two leagues. The 20th of Auguſt, he ſent the boats to the neighbouring towns to call the Indians, and writ to acquaint the adelantado with his arrival. Six Indians went aboard, and one of them carried a croſs-bow with all its furniture, which did not a little ſurpriſe the admiral, believing it to have belonged to ſome ſoldier that was dead. The ſhips having been ſeen to paſs down the current from Santo Domingo, the adelantado ſet out in a caravel to ſeek the admiral. It was a great ſatisfaction to both brothers to meet, though the admiral's was much abated with the advice of Roldan's revolt. The 22d of Auguſt they arrived at Santo Domingo, it being but a few days leſs than two years ſince the admiral departed from Hiſpaniola with John Aguado.

All the people went out with don James Columbus to receive the admiral, expreſſing much joy for his arrival; but when he thought he had gone to take ſome reſt, he found himſelf involved in new troubles on the revolt. He immediately examined the progreſs made by the adelantado againſt the mutineers, and not liking it, made another, wherein it was ſufficiently proved that the inſurrection had proceeded from the wicked inclination of Francis Roldan, ſince neither the adelantado, nor any other perſon, had ever given him any juſt cauſe to complain, or wronged him in the leaſt. Some days after the admiral, arrived the other three ſhips, with Arana and John Antony Columbus, as did the caravel don Bartholomew had ſent in queſt of them. One of them had ſtruck on a ſhoal, loſt the rudder, and was in a very bad con-

condition, and having ſtaid away very long, by reaſon of the currents and contrary winds, almoſt all the proviſions were ſpoiled; and the account they brought of the forty men ſtaying with Roldan, much troubled the admiral, believing it had made him the more haughty: however, he reſolved to try him by fair means, and forgive him all his offences, being ſenſible that his enemies in Spain would make a great noiſe of that revolt; for he was poſitively told, that as ſoon as he arrived, he would come and ſubmit himſelf to him. At this time captain Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal arrived from Xaragua, and gave certain advice of the obſtinacy of Francis Roldan, all that he had been able to ſay to him proving ineffectual.

Francis Roldan having advice of the admiral's arrival, either by the Indians, or by letters from ſome friends he had at Santo Domingo, reſolved to draw near, and accordingly went away to Bonao, a moſt fruitful and delicious plain, well inhabited, where ſome Spaniards dwelt, after the fort of Bonao was built: it is twenty leagues from Santo Domingo. The admiral fearing leſt any thing ſhould come to the ears of their catholic majeſties that might give them uneaſineſs, and at the ſame time diſcredit the affairs of the Indies, which had coſt him ſo many fatigues, and gave his enemies occaſion to revile him; tried to bring the mutineers to an accommodation after this manner. Moſt of the Spaniards in the iſland were deſirous to return into Spain; he therefore, on the 12th of September, cauſed proclamation to be made, that he would give leave to all that were willing to depart, with their paſſage and proviſions, which was very acceptable to them in general, becauſe of eight ſhips there were in the harbour, five were almoſt cleared, and two ready for the adelantado to proſecute the diſcovery of the coaſt of Paria. In the mean time, the admiral being informed that Francis Roldan was going to the Conception, near which ſome of the mutineers had eſtates, he gave notice of it to Michael Balleſter, the governor of the fort, that he might be upon his guard, and endeavour to diſcourſe Francis Roldan, and tell him how much it troubled him, that ſuch a man whom he left in ſo conſiderable a poſt, to whom it appertained to keep all in peace, ſhould range about in that ſcandalous manner, ſo much to the prejudice of the king's ſervice; however, for the good will he had always bore him, he would pardon him, if he ſubmitted, and if he required any ſecurity, he ſhould have ſuch as he demanded. The governor Balleſter went to the fort of Bonao, where he found no perſon, but was informed that Roldan, Moxica, Gamiz, and Riquelme, were going to the houſe of the latter.

Before the admiral went away to Spain, about March, in the year 1496, or ſoon after his departure, ſome towns were charged, inſtead of their tribute, to till the lands belonging to the Spaniſh colonies, as they had been wont to do for their caziques; and by this method it was thought the Spaniards might be induced to ſtay the more willingly in the Indies, taking a kindneſs to the country, and that merchants would come over from Spain, ſo that the royal revenue would increaſe, without obliging their majeſties to be at ſo great an expence as they were at the beginning, or elſe to quit that enterpriſe, which the admiral much dreaded, ſo many being againſt it. The Indians that did not comply in performing this duty, were puniſhed, and thoſe that fled were held as ſlaves when taken. The other improvement, in order to produce ſome profit, was that of the brazil wood, which the admiral ſaid was in the province of Yaquimo, on the ſouthern coaſt, near eighty leagues from Santo Domingo to the weſtward. By theſe two improvements, including four thouſand ſlaves,

and four thouſand quintals, or hundred weight, of brazil wood, he writ to their majeſties that they would receive forty millions of marvedies. [Note, that this great ſum of marvedies amounts to little above twenty thouſand pounds, which was much more conſiderable in thoſe days than at this time.] Hereupon, ſoon after his arrival at Santo Domingo, being informed that a cazique, who had been appointed for the ſervice of the fort, leaving the ſame, was fled to the mountains; ſoldiers were ordered thither, who took a great number of people, that were ſent away in theſe laſt ſhips, the admiral reckoning that their catholic majeſties ſhould make their advantage of thoſe Indians, as the kings of Portugal did of the Guinea blacks.

When Francis Roldan, Peter de Gamiz, and Adrian de Moxica, were come together, as was before hinted, the alcalde or governor, Michael Balleſter, went to diſcourſe with them, as the admiral had appointed him, and having told them all he had been directed, offered them pardon, and repreſented the diſſervice they did the king by going about after that manner. They ſoon ſhewed they had quite different deſigns, uttering many haughty and diſreſpectful words againſt the admiral, and among other things, ſaid they came not to ſeek peace, but war, and that Francis Roldan had the admiral and all his followers in his power, either to ſupport or deſtroy them; that they ſhould not talk of any accommodation till the admiral brought back that number of Indians which had been ſent away as ſlaves, becauſe he had taken them into his protection, and it was his duty to deliver them from the oppreſſion they were under. Beſides, they writ a letter to the admiral, laying all the blame of their revolt on his brother.

The governor Balleſter went to Santo Domingo with Francis Roldan's anſwer, in which, among other things, he ſaid, that his followers would treat with no man but Alonſo Sanchez de Carjaval; and though the admiral had juſt cauſe to ſuſpect that perſon on ſeveral accounts, he thought it beſt to make a virtue of neceſſity, and to ſend him with Michael Balleſter, to endeavour to reduce them to reaſon. He alſo writ an affectionate and courteous letter to Roldan, in a moſt obliging manner, inviting him to return to his duty.

The alcalde Balleſter and Carvajal being come to Bonao, the latter of them diſcourſed the rebels ſo effectually, that he inclined Roldan and the other ringleaders to treat with the admiral, by which means it was thought all would have been adjuſted; but the meaner ſort, being unwilling to quit that libertine licentious life they led, unanimouſly cried out aloud, that it ſhould not be ſo, but that if any accommodation was to be made, it ſhould be in public before them all, ſince they were all concerned; and Carvajal and Roldan trying all ways to reduce them to reaſon, but not being able to prevail, Roldan writ a letter, demanding a ſafe conduct under the admiral's and his brother's hands, and ſignyfying that he was fully convinced all his men would forſake him, except ſuch as were gentlemen. The admiral was much concerned at this advice, and ſoon found it was true, for having made a muſter in order to march to Bonao, only ſeventy of thoſe that were with him ſaid they would obey his orders, and he had no confidence in many of them. In this diſtreſs he cauſed proclamation to be made, that all thoſe who would return to their duty within thirty days, ſhould be kindly received, and no notice ſhould ever be taken of what was paſt: beſides, that ſuch as deſired to return into Spain ſhould have their paſſage gratis. At the ſame time he ſent a ſafe conduct to Francis Roldan for himſelf, and all thoſe that ſhould come with him to treat at Santo Domingo.

Whilſt

Whilſt this treaty was in agitation, the ſhips having been detained eighteen days beyond the month agreed on when they were hired, and many of the ſlaves aboard them dying, the admiral was forced to diſpatch them, and by them writ to their majeſties, acquainting them with the rebellion of Francis Roldan, and the miſchief his men did in the iſland. He alſo prayed to have religious men ſent to inſtruct the people, and an able lawyer for the execution of juſtice. He added, that though at firſt the men had ſickened by reaſon of the change of air and water, they were all then healthy, inured to the country, and did better with the Indian bread than with that of Spaniſh corn; and that there was an infinite number of ſwine, poultry, and other things, which had multiplied wonderfully, ſo that they wanted nothing but wine and cloaths: that it would be very convenient every fleet to ſend him ſixty or ſeventy men, and he would return as many of the libertines and common diſturbers. Much more he writ to their majeſties, in vindication of himſelf and his brother, and to other purpoſes, and ſent them ſome of the painted cloths of the coaſt of Paria, one hundred and ſeventy pearls, and ſome pieces of gold; alſo a draught of his laſt diſcovery, and a relation of his voyage. Francis Roldan and his followers wrote by the ſame ſhip, to vindicate themſelves.

After ſeveral meſſages backwards and forwards, it was at length concluded that all the mutineers ſhould have two ſhips with proviſions, to carry them into Spain, and every one to take a ſlave with him, and the women they had got with child, and to have certificates of their good behaviour. The admiral ſigned theſe articles on his part, as did Roldan for the mutineers. However, all this came to nothing, the rebels not daring to go into Spain, for fear of being puniſhed for their crimes. Thus ended the year 1498, and half 1499, when captain Carvajal having acquainted the admiral that Roldan earneſtly deſired to ſubmit himſelf, he went away to Azua, fifteen leagues from Santo Domingo, to be nearer to the rebels. Roldan went thither to him, where a new contract was concluded, by virtue whereof all his followers were to be reſtored to whatever they had enjoyed before their revolt, and he to be alcalde-major, or chief judge of the iſland.

Accordingly Roldan began again to exerciſe that office with the greateſt inſolence, and all his followers behaved themſelves in the ſame manner. The admiral diſpatched two ſhips for Spain, and purſuant to his agreement, permitted ſuch as would of the mutineers to embark, allowing ſome of them three ſlaves, and others
A. D. 1499. one. In October, Roldan delivered to the admiral a petition of all his followers, being one hundred and two men, ſtill adhering to him, wherein they all deſired to have lands aſſigned them in the province of Xaragua; but becauſe it was not convenient that they ſhould be all together, for fear of another rebellion, ſome were ſettled at Bonao, whence that town took its original; others in the plain, on the bank of the river called Verde, or Green River; others ſix leagues from thence, at Santiago; at which places the admiral gave them lands, ſome more and ſome leſs. This was the firſt diſtribution made in the Indies, which ſet an example to all the others that followed, that is, of aſſigning ſuch a number of Indians to ſuch a perſon, becauſe the admiral in his grants ſaid, that ſuch a cazique, or his people, ſhould till the ground for the Spaniard to whom he gave it. Roldan had lands given him near the town of Iſabella, with two cows, two calves, twenty ſows, and two mares, all of them the king's, for him to begin to breed.

The admiral's meſſengers arrived at the Spaniſh court, with an account of the inſurrection of Francis Roldan, and the perſons ſent by him, gave their complaints againſt the admiral. Having heard both parties, their majeſties reſolved to remove the admiral from the government, under colour that he himſelf deſired a judge ſhould be ſent over to enquire into the inſolencies committed by Roldan and his followers, and a lawyer that ſhould take upon him the adminiſtration of juſtice; and in the ſame letter he prayed that they would have regard to the ſervice he had performed, and that no encroachment ſhould be made upon his rights, which ſhews he was afraid of what happened. Their majeſties made choice of Francis de Bovadilla, commendary of the order of Calatrava, a native of Medina del Campo, and gave him the title and commiſſion of examiner, under which he was to enter the iſland, as alſo of governor, to make uſe of and publiſh them in due time. Though this reſolution was taken in the year 1499, and the diſpatches were then begun to be drawn up, they were not delivered till the month of June, 1500. Among the other diſpatches delivered to Francis de Bovadilla, there were many blank warrants, ſigned by their highneſſes, that he might fill up, and make uſe of them as he ſhould think fit.

The two ſhips that brought over the meſſengers from the admiral and Roldan, at the ſame time alſo brought the ſlaves the admiral had divided among them, being about three hundred, at which her catholic majeſty was highly offended, and ſaid, the admiral had no power from her to give any one her ſlaves; and ſhe cauſed proclamation to be made in Seville, Granada, and other places, that all thoſe who had any Indians given them by the admiral, ſhould ſend them back to Hiſpaniola, upon pain of death, and that the ſame Indians in particular ſhould return, and not the others that had been brought before, becauſe ſhe was informed that they had been fairly taken in war. Francis de Bovadilla being embarked, with ſome men
A. D. 1500. in pay, ſent by their majeſties for his greater ſecurity, ſet ſail with two ſhips, about the end of June.

Whilſt theſe things were doing in Spain, the admiral, and his brother the adelantado, went about ſeizing ſome of the mutineers, and the adelantado carried a prieſt with him, to hear their confeſſions, and then hanged them, wherever they were found, to puniſh the rebellion, and ſettle the iſland in peace, that the Indians might be again brought to pay their tributes, to the end that their majeſties might have wherewith to defray the expences they were at, and the admiral's enemies might give over railing. Thus he brought the iſland into ſuch a condition that any man might travel through it in ſafety. The admiral had entertained thoughts of bringing the Indians to live in great towns, that they might be the better inſtructed in the Chriſtian faith, and ſerve their majeſties as the Spaniſh ſubjects did, by which means he moderately concluded that the royal revenues there would amount to ſixty millions of maravedies, [about thirty thouſand pounds] and that they might help to build a fort on the coaſt of Paria, to make a great advantage of the trade of pearls.

At the time that the admiral was at the fort of the Conception, in the royal plain, and his brother the adelantado at Xaragua, with Francis Roldan, ſeizing ſome of thoſe that would have murdered the ſaid Roldan, and ſending them to Santo Domingo to be hanged, on the 23d of Auguſt, the two caravels arrived from Spain with the new judge, Francis de Bovadilla. The next day he landed with all his men, went to the church, and after maſs, in the preſence of don James Columbus, and all the other people, read a commiſſion ſigned by their majeſties, appointing him to enquire into all

all offences committed in the iſland, and to puniſh ſuch as he ſhould find guilty. Having publiſhed his commiſſion, he required don James Columbus, and the reſt that were in command, to deliver up to him five priſoners that were kept in the fort to be hanged for the inſurrection, alledging, that he came to examine all thoſe affairs. They anſwered, that the admiral's authority was above the judges, and that they had no power to comply with what he demanded. Bovadilla perceiving that the name of judge was of no authority there, he reſolved to make uſe of that of governor, to ſhew them that the admiral's power was ceaſed, and that he could command him as well as them. Accordingly the next day, being the 25th, coming out of the church, where all the people were aſſembled, he, in the preſence of them, took out another commiſſion, which he cauſed to be read, the purport of it being, that their majeſties appointed him governor of all their dominions in thoſe parts, and as ſuch, commanded all perſons to obey him.

When this commiſſion was read, he took his oath, and commanded don James Columbus, and all others to obey him, and in purſuance thereof to deliver up to him the priſoners that were to be hanged. They again anſwered, that they obeyed the king's orders, but that the admiral had others of greater force, and they had no power from him to make any innovation. Upon their refuſal, thinking to draw the people to him againſt the admiral, he cauſed another order to be read before them, commanding the admiral and all others to deliver up to him the arms, ſtores, proviſions, horſes, cattle, or other things belonging to their highneſſes; and then another order, enjoining him to pay all perſons that had any thing due to them from the crown out of the revenue of thoſe iſlands. This order was very agreeable to all that were in the king's pay, who readily offered to ſtand by Francis de Bovadilla, and he again required thoſe who had poſſeſſion of the fort, to deliver all things into his hands, threatening, in caſe of refuſal, to make uſe of force; accordingly, being aſſiſted by moſt of the people, and meeting with no oppoſition, he broke open the gate of the fort, which was of no ſtrength, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the priſoners.

The admiral being informed of all that had happened, could not imagine that their majeſties, whom he had ſerved ſo ſucceſsfully and faithfully, had given any ſuch orders againſt him, but not knowing what to think, he reſolved to draw nearer to Santo Domingo, and accordingly came ten leagues forward to Bonao, where ſeveral Spaniards were ſettled, and began to build a town. Bovadilla ſent the admiral a letter from the king and queen, the contents whereof was only to order him to confer with the ſaid Bovadilla, who whilſt this letter was going to him, and the anſwer returning, poſſeſſed himſelf of all that the admiral had in the world, and took up his habitation at his houſe, ſeizing his papers, and all things whatever, no part whereof he ever reſtored; and though he pretended he did it to pay the men, it was ſuſpected that he kept very much for himſelf. The Spaniards that were in all parts of the iſland, haſted away to ſee the new governor, and he, to gain their affections, made proclamation, that all perſons who would go and gather gold, ſhould pay to their majeſties only the eleventh part for the ſpace of twenty years to come, and that all ſuch as were in the king's pay ſhould receive it. Having thus ingratiated himſelf with the people, ſeveral went with complaints to him againſt the admiral, ſome doing it to gain his favour, and others out of prejudice to that great man. Hereupon Bovadilla began to examine witneſſes againſt him, and, as is uſual when a man begins to be unfortunate, the accuſations came in againſt him without meaſure. They ſaid he had miſuſed the

Spaniards

Spaniards, compelling them to work, though they were ſick and ſtarving; that he had refuſed to allow them proviſions; that he had cauſed ſeveral to be whipped for ſtealing corn, when they were periſhing for want; that he had hanged many for going away to ſeek ſuſtenance without his leave, when he had refuſed to grant it them, at a time when they had nothing to ſupport them; that he would not permit the clergymen and friars to baptize Indians that were willing, becauſe he would rather have ſlaves than Chriſtians; that he made war on the Indians unjuſtly, and took many ſlaves to ſend into Spain; that he would not grant leave for digging of gold, becauſe he was willing to conceal the wealth of the Indies, that he might make himſelf maſter of them, with the aſſiſtance of ſome other Chriſtian king; the falſehood of which article was eaſily diſcovered, becauſe it had always been his moſt earneſt endeavour to diſcover rich mines, and ſend over gold to anſwer the expences their majeſties were at. They alſo charged him with having gathered a number of armed Indians to oppoſe Bovadilla; but as to his private converſation, no one objected any thing againſt him. Much more was alledged againſt the admiral and his brothers, a great part whereof was falſe, ſuppoſing that they had been too ſevere in their government over the Spaniards.

In ſhort, Bovadilla ſeized the admiral, and both his brothers, don Bartholomew and don James, without ſo much as ſeeing or ſpeaking to them. They were all put into irons, and no perſon permitted to converſe with them; a moſt inhuman action, conſidering the dignity of the perſon, and the ineſtimable ſervice he had done the crown of Spain. The admiral afterwards kept his fetters, and ordered they ſhould be buried with him, in teſtimony of the ingratitude of this world. Bovadilla reſolved to ſend the admiral and his brothers priſoners into Spain, aboard the two ſhips that had brought him over. Alonſo de Vallejo was appointed to command thoſe two caravels, and ordered, as ſoon as he arrived at Cadiz, to deliver the priſoners to the biſhop, John Rodrigues de Fonſeca; and it was always reported, that Bovadilla had put this affront upon the admiral, to pleaſe that biſhop. It was never heard that Francis Roldan, or don Hernando de Guevara, or any other of the mutineers who had committed ſo many outrages in that iſland, were puniſhed, or any proceedings made againſt them. The caravels ſailed about the beginning of October, and it pleaſed God to ſhorten the admiral's confinement, for they arrived at Cadiz the 25th of November. Alonſo de Vallejo, and the maſter of the caravel Gorda, aboard which the admiral was brought over, treated him and his brothers very well, and would have knocked off his fetters, but he would not conſent to it himſelf, till it was done by order of their majeſties.

When the admiral arrived, their majeſties were at Granada, where hearing how he had been treated, they ſeemed to be concerned at it, ordered him to be releaſed, and to have one thouſand ducats to carry him to court. He came thither on the 17th of December, and was favourably received, both the king and queen comforting him, declaring it had never been their deſign that he ſhould be any way moleſted, and promiſing to redreſs all his grievances; but more particularly the queen, who had always been much more favourable to him than the king. He knelt a while before them, not being able to utter a word, for the greatneſs of the concern he had upon him. They bid him riſe, and then he made a lamentable ſpeech, proteſting that it had always been his intention and deſire to ſerve them with the utmoſt fidelity; and that if he had been guilty of any miſtakes, they had been occaſioned through want of knowing better, having always believed that what he did was for the beſt.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

Ojeda fits out three ſhips at Seville, and takes John de la Coſa and Americus Veſputius with him: they come in ſight of land, which they judge to be the continent of America: ſail along the coaſt making diſcoveries: proceed to Hiſpaniola, where Ojeda endeavours to raiſe a mutiny: is compelled to depart. Americus Veſputius's account of this voyage.

ALONSO de Ojeda was at court, and ſaw the draught the admiral had made of his diſcovery, and the ſample of pearls and gold brought from thence, and being a favourite of the biſhop, John Rodrigues de Fonſeca, who was near the perſons of their majeſties, and had charge of the affairs of the Indies, he aſked leave to go into thoſe parts, to diſcover iſlands, or the continent, or what he could. The biſhop gave him a licence ſigned by himſelf, and not by their majeſties, upon condition that he ſhould not touch upon any land belonging to the king of Portugal, nor that the admiral had diſcovered before the year 1495. Upon this licence, ſome perſons at Seville fitted out four ſhips, for many were now intent upon making
A.D. 1499. diſcoveries, and he ſailed from port St. Mary on the 20th of May. John de la Coſa, a Biſcayner, and a bold man, went his chief pilot, and Americus Veſputius as merchant, being ſkilful in coſmography and navigation. They firſt ſtood to the weſtward, and then ſouth, and in twenty-ſeven days came in ſight of land, which they judged to be the continent. They ſounded at a league's diſtance from it, for fear of ſtriking upon ſome ſhoal, and ſent their boats on ſhore, drawing near, ſpied a multitude of naked people that looked on as amazed, but preſently fled to the mountains, and though the Spaniards allured them, would not return; whereupon being in an open road, and fearing ſome ſtorm, they thought fit to follow down the coaſt to ſeek ſome harbour.

After two days ſail, they found a good one, and vaſt numbers of natives flocking to ſee ſo great a novelty as the ſhips and the men. Forty ſoldiers well armed went aſhore, calling the Indians by ſigns, ſhewing them hawks bells, little looking-glaſſes, and other baubles, but they would not truſt them; only ſome of the boldeſt drew near and took the hawks bells; but night drawing on, the Spaniards returned to their ſhips, and the Indians to their houſes. In the morning the ſtrand was covered with people, and among them the women with children in their arms, very quiet. The Spaniards went aſhore, and the Indians, without any miſtruſt, ſwam to meet the boats.

[Here follows an account of the natives, ſimilar to that given before by Veſputius in his firſt voyage.]

Alonſo de Ojeda proceeded along the coaſt weſtward, often landing and trading, till they came to a place where they ſaw a town in the water, much in the ſame nature as Venice, containing twenty-ſix large houſes, like bells, raiſed on pillars, with draw bridges to go from one houſe to another. The Indians were in great conſternation at the ſight of the ſhips, drew up their bridges, and retired into their houſes. In the mean time twelve canoes came towards the ſhips, and having made a ſtand to view them, went round full of amazement, to obſerve all things. The Spaniards made ſigns of friendſhip, and drew near; but they would not ſtay, though they ſeemed to promiſe to come again. When landed, they went towards a wood, and returned

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to the ſhips with ſixteen girls, four of which they gave to every ſhip, and then became tractable. Many of the people came out of thoſe houſes they had ſeen, and ſwam to the ſhips. When they came near, certain old women cried out in an hideous manner, and tore their hair, whereupon the girls leaped into the ſea, and the Indians that were in the canoes drew back from the ſhips, ſhooting their arrows. The Spaniards made after them in their boats, overſet ſome canoes, killed twenty Indians, hurt many, and five Spaniards were wounded, having taken three Indians and two of the girls; but one of the priſoners dexterouſly got looſe, and leaped into the ſea.

They ſailed eighty leagues down the coaſt, along the province of Paria, which the admiral had diſcovered, where they found other people of a different language and behaviour. The Spaniards landed where there were above four thouſand perſons, who all fled to the mountains, leaving what they had behind them. Going farther up into the country, they came to ſome cottages, which looked as if they had belonged to fiſhermen, with many fires and fiſh roaſting, and among them an yvana, called in other parts of the Indies ycotea, which they thought had been a large ſnake. The bread they eat was made of fiſh boiled in water, then pounded, moulded, and being formed into ſmall loaves, was baked on the embers. They found other eatables of fruit and herbs, but touched nothing; and on the contrary, left them ſome ſmall Spaniſh toys, to induce them to become more tractable. The next day, at ſun-riſing, many Indians appeared; the Spaniards went aſhore, and the Indians, though much afraid, ſtaid. By degrees they grew bolder, and by ſigns gave to underſtand that thoſe were not their houſes, but only cottages for fiſhing, deſiring they would go to their houſes, and preſſing them to it. Twenty-three men, well armed, went, and ſtaid with them three days, being well entertained, though neither ſide underſtood one word of what the other ſaid. The Indians danced, ſung, and continually made other demonſtrations of joy; and it is incredible what plenty of meat they laid before them, and how much they made of them, offering them their women ſo freely, and with ſuch importunity, that they could ſcarce withſtand them. The town to which the twenty-three Spaniards were carried was three leagues from the ſhips, and ſo many people flocked from others to ſee them, that it was wonderful to obſerve how they walked about, and with what aſtoniſhment they touched, and gazed on them. Certain ancient men intreating them to go to their towns, they could not refuſe it, and there they ſtaid nine days; thoſe aboard the ſhips being all the while very uneaſy, for fear ſome diſaſter had befallen them, but they fared very well. At laſt they thought fit to return to the ſhips, being accompanied by a vaſt number of men and women; and when any Spaniard was tired, they carried him in a hammock, as if he had gone in a horſe-litter, but with more eaſe and leſs danger.

For paſſing of rivers, they made uſe of floats and other conveniences. Some of them were loaded with ſeveral things which they gave to the Spaniards, as bows, arrows, curioſities made of feathers, and parrots; and every Indian thought himſelf happy, when they came to ford rivers, if he could carry a Spaniard over on his ſhoulders; and he that oftenеſt carried any over, looked upon himſelf as moſt fortunate. As ſoon as they came to the ſea ſhore, the boats made to them, and ſo many Indians ſtrove to get in, that they were ready to ſink; and above one thouſand either went in, or ſwam along by them. They went aboard the ſhips, and admiring their bulk, rigging, and other appurtenances, were never ſatisfied with gazing. One of the

ſhips,

ſhips, to fright them, fired the cannon, and they like ſo many frogs, leaped into the ſea, in the greateſt conſternation, till the Spaniards laughing, they perceived that it was only a jeſt. They then returned, and ſtaid all that day aboard the ſhips, being ſo highly delighted, that they could ſcarce get rid of them; but when the Spaniards were departing, the Indians went away very joyful, and well pleaſed. This land appeared very pleaſant, fruitful, and yielding flowers all the year, with a wonderful variety of moſt beautiful birds. The ſhips got out of that freſh water bay that is formed by the iſland of the Trinity and the land of Paria, within the Dragon's Mouth, and it being very notorious that admiral Columbus had before diſcovered it, Herrera ſays Americus Veſputius has deſignedly ſuppreſſed the name of the Dragon's Mouth; and though he ſaid he had ſpent thirteen months in thoſe parts, that was the ſecond voyage he made with Alonſo de Ojeda; for at the firſt he was only five months, as was afterwards proved; which ſhews what artifices (ſays he) Americus Veſputius uſed to aſſume to himſelf the honour of having diſcovered the continent, which the admiral had done before.

Leaving Paria, they made for the iſland Margarita, where Alonſo de Ojeda landed, and proceeded to the province and bay of Coquibocoa, now called Venezuela, and thence paſſed on to Cape de la Vela, diſcovering ſome rows of iſlands that lie eaſt and weſt, ſome of which he named De los Gigantes, or of the giants, and it was he that gave the name of Cape de la Vela, which ſtill continues: ſo that he coaſted four hundred leagues; two hundred to the eaſtward of Paria, where he firſt ſaw land, and two hundred from Paria to Cape de la Vela. Paria and the iſland Margarita had been already diſcovered by the admiral, with a conſiderable part of the two hundred leagues from Margarita to Cape Vela. All along this coaſt that Alonſo de Ojeda was upon, from Margarita forward, they bartered for gold and pearls. They proceeded to Cumaná, and Maracapana, which is ſeven leagues from Margarita: theſe are towns on the ſea coaſt. Short of Cumaná is a bay, making a great inlet of ſea water fourteen leagues into the land. It was formerly encompaſſed with towns, containing abundance of people, and Cumaná was the firſt of them, almoſt at the mouth of the bay, near which town a mighty river empties itſelf, and in it there is an infinite multitude of thoſe the Indians call caymanes, and the Engliſh alligators, being much the ſame as the crocodiles in the Nile. The ſhips wanting to be refitted, they anchored at Maracapana, where they were received and attended as if they had been angels, by abundance of the neighbouring people.

They unladed the ſhips, brought them up to land, and careened them, with the aſſiſtance of the Indians. They alſo built a new brigantine; and all the time they ſpent in this work, being thirty-ſeven days, the Indians ſupplied them with their bread, veniſon, fiſh, and other ſorts of proviſions; without which ſupply, they had fallen ſhort to return into Spain. From that town they went up the country to ſeveral places, where they were joyfully entertained. When they were upon ſailing for Spain, thoſe Indians complained to them of the inhabitants of an iſland who made war on them, took them priſoners, and ate them. They told this in ſo lamentable a manner, that the Spaniards offered to revenge them: the Indians would have gone, but they would take only ſeven, upon condition that they ſhould not be obliged to bring them back, but that they ſhould return in their canoes. They ſailed thence, and finding many iſlands by the way, ſome inhabited, and ſome not; which it is likely were Dominica, Guadaloupe, and the reſt that are thereabout; they arrived in ſeven days at the place they

were bound to, where they ſaw many people, who perceiving the men and boats making for the ſhore, with the ſoldiers well armed, drew on to the edge of the water, being about four hundred Indians, with bows, arrows, and targets; their bodies painted of ſeveral colours, and with great plumes of feathers. As ſoon as the boats drew near, they let fly their arrows, and the Spaniards fired their artillery and muſquets, which killed many, and put the reſt to flight with the terror. Forty Spaniards landed, and the Indians returning, fought reſolutely, and having held it about two hours, not being able to do any more, they betook themſelves to the mountains.

The next morning a very great number of Indians appeared painted, or daubed over with red, making a moſt hideous noiſe with their cries, horns, and cornets. Fifty-ſeven Spaniards reſolved to meet them, in four brigades, each under its peculiar commander. They landed without any obſtruction, under the ſhelter of their fire arms. The fight laſted a long time very obſtinate, an immenſe number being killed; the reſt fled, and were purſued for a conſiderable ſpace to a town, where twenty-five were taken: but one Spaniard was killed, and twenty wounded. Then dividing the ſpoil with the Indians they had brought, (for they gave them three men and four women) they diſmiſſed them very joyful, much admiring what feats the Spaniards had performed, and their mighty ſtrength. Americus Veſputius (continues Herrera) ſays, that they returned to Spain from that iſland, and arrived at Cadiz with two hundred and twenty-two Indian ſlaves; which was not ſo, for they firſt went to Hiſpaniola, which, he ſays, was at Ojeda's ſecond voyage; and thus he confounds the paſſage of the two voyages, in order to conceal the admiral's having before diſcovered the continent; but the king's attorney proved by the oaths of Ojeda and others, that they went to Hiſpaniola the firſt voyage, which ſhews the falſehood of Americus Veſputius.

The fifth of September, Alonſo de Ojeda arrived at Hiſpaniola, and anchored near the place where the brazil wood is, in the province of Yaquimo, or ſomewhat lower, in the territory of a king called Haniguayaba. The Spaniards in thoſe parts had ſoon notice of it by the Indians. They preſently ſent to acquaint the admiral, and that Alonſo de Ojeda was the commander. He immediately ordered Francis Roldan to go with two caravels and hinder him from cutting brazil wood, or doing any other harm, as knowing Ojeda to be a very bold man. Roldan went at the time when he was aſhore, and ſent for him: he complied, and being aſked why he came into thoſe parts without acquainting the admiral, anſwered, he had been upon diſcovery, and being in great want of proviſions, had touched at the firſt place he could come at.

Much more diſcourſe paſſed between them, and Alonſo de Ojeda gave Roldan good words, promiſing he would wait upon the admiral. Roldan believed him, and went aboard his ſhips to ſee his commiſſion, where they ſhewed it him, as alſo the gold they had got, ſtags horns, a tyger's ſkin, and a collar made of the claws of beaſts. Roldan then returned to the admiral, but Alonſo de Ojeda having done what he thought fit, went away to the province of Xaragua, where the Spaniards furniſhed him with all he wanted; and he in return perſuaded them to follow him, and he would lead them to the admiral to demand their pay, which they complained they wanted, ſaying, he had authority from their majeſties ſo to do. Thus moſt of thoſe people conſented with him, and thoſe that would not, he fell upon in the night, and there were ſeveral killed and wounded on both ſides, which was the beginning of another commotion, worſe than the former.

Roldan

Roldan was ſent again, and James de Eſcobar ordered to join; but when they came, Ojeda was gone aboard his ſhips. Roldan ſent to admoniſh him to deſiſt from thoſe wicked courſes, and to invite him to repair to the admiral, who would put up with all that was paſt, and be his friend; but he proved deaf to all admonitions, and having ſecured two of the meſſengers ſent him, ſwore he would hang them both, if they did not deliver up to him one of his men that had deſerted. This done, he ſailed away to the province of Cahay, twelve leagues from Xaragua, where landing with forty men, he took as much axi and batatas as he thought fit. Roldan went thither, and Ojeda being again aboard his ſhips, he ſent to intreat him to come to a conference, which he refuſing, he offered to go aboard to him, if he would ſend his boat. Ojeda thinking to ſeize him, ſent the boat, but Roldan taking ſix brave men with him, when he came to the boat, ordered the men to go aſhore, which they refuſing, he fell upon them, and ſecuring thoſe men, returned aſhore with the boat. At length Ojeda having loſt his boat, and not knowing how to return to Spain without it, had a conference with Roldan, each of them in a boat at a diſtance; and it was agreed that his men ſhould be reſtored, in exchange for the two meſſengers he had ſeized, and no mention to be made of his deſerter.

Thus Ojeda ſailed away from Hiſpaniola, and at the iſland of St. John he took the two hundred and twenty-two Indians that he carried into Spain. Roldan being a crafty man, ſtaid ſome days at Xaragua, to ſee whether Ojeda would return: but he being gone, the Spaniards thinking they had done ſignal ſervice in oppoſing him, demanded to have lands diſtributed among them. Roldan would willingly have firſt acquainted the admiral with it, but they refuſing to ſtay, he gave them thoſe he had himſelf in the province of the cazique Bohechio, which ſatisfied them, and the admiral was very thankful to him for this good ſervice in ſending away Ojeda, who might otherwiſe have raiſed great troubles in the iſland.

[We muſt obſerve that the above account is nearly the ſame as Veſputius has given of his firſt voyage. His relation of his ſecond voyage, in 1499, is as follows.]

A.D. 1499. "I come now to relate the more remarkable occurrences of our ſecond voyage. We left Cadiz on the 11th of May, on the ſame deſign that was the object of our firſt expedition. We directed our courſe to the iſland of Cape de Verde, and running within view of the great Canary iſlands, we caſt anchor at one of them that is called the iſland of Fire. Here having laid in a proviſion of wood and water, we again ſet ſail, going by the ſouth-eaſt wind. After a courſe of nineteen days we arrived at a new country, and what we ſuppoſed to be the main land, oppoſite to that which I mentioned in the preceding voyage, and ſituated in the Torrid Zone, five degrees to the ſouthward of the equinoctial line. It is diſtant from the above-mentioned iſlands about five hundred leagues, which we proved by the ſouth-weſt wind. Here we found that the days and nights were of an equal length on the 27th of June, where the ſun is in the tropic of Cancer. The country appeared to us to be entirely marſhy, interſected with great rivers, extremely green, covered with tall woods, and without inhabitants. We caſt anchor, and embarking in our boats, attempted to go onſhore; but after running along the land, and trying repeatedly every opening, we could find no place that was not covered with deep water. We diſcovered, however, by the rivers that emptied themſelves into the ſea, a great many proofs that the interior country was abundantly inhabited. Unable to find a landing-place, we returned to our ſhips. We then weighed anchor, and run along ſhore, courſe ſouth-eaſt and by eaſt,

eaſt, for the ſpace of forty leagues, trying frequently to get acceſs to the iſland. But all our attempts were fruſtrated; for we found the current running ſo ſtrongly north-weſt that it was impoſſible to bear up againſt it. Having conſidered theſe inconveniencies, we agreed in council to change our courſe to the north-weſt, after which we ſailed along the land till at laſt we reached a port which embraced in its entrance a very beautiful iſland, and a noble bay, to which directing our courſe, we obſerved, about four leagues from the ſea ſide, an immenſe concourſe of the natives—a circumſtance that inſpired us with much joy. Having therefore got ready our boats to go aſhore, we obſerved, coming from the main ſea, a canoe, in which there were ſeveral perſons. We reſolved to ſeize them, and for that purpoſe began to wheel round them, and to hem them in on all ſides. They endeavoured to avoid us, and we obſerved them all at once to raiſe their oars erect, ſignifying by that action, that they were firm, and determined to reſiſt us; but when they obſerved that we gained upon them, they plunged their oars in the water, and began to row towards ſhore. We then hoiſted out our cutter, remarkable for its ſwiftneſs, as well as ſeveral boats, well manned, and after a chace of two hours, with difficulty came up with them. When they ſaw themſelves ſurrounded, the whole, to the number of twenty, jumped overboard, and although the land was two leagues diſtant, eſcaped ſafe to ſhore, all except two, whom we took up, after chaſing them till night. In the canoe, which they abandoned, we found two young men, not of their nation, but captives, whom they had carried from a foreign country, and from each of whom they had recently cut the private parts. When we had got the wretched young men into our boats, they acquainted us, by ſigns, that their enemies were carrying them to be devoured, and that thoſe people, ſavage and cruel enough to live upon human fleſh, were called canibals.

Soon after this we made towards the ſhore, caſt anchor within half a league of the land, and then, carrying with us the captives whom we had found in the canoe, we proceeded with great expedition in our boats towards ſhore, where a vaſt number of people were aſſembled. No ſooner, however, had we ſet foot on land, than the natives fled with trepidation to the neighbouring foreſts. Having overtaken ſome of them, we ſet at liberty one of the number, and loaded him with abundance of trinkets, ſuch as nails, mirrors, &c. we requeſted him to tell his countrymen not to be afraid of us, for that we wiſhed nothing more than to obtain their friendſhip. The man punctually fulfilled our requeſt, and brought with him from the woods, where they had taken refuge, the whole nation, conſiſting of about five hundred men, and a great number of women. They came forward to us unarmed, and we formed with them a league of friendſhip, reſtoring to them the fugitives we had taken, together with the canoe they had abandoned. This canoe was made of the trunk of a ſingle tree, ſkilfully hollowed, about twenty-ſix paces in length, and two yards in breadth. But no ſooner had they got poſſeſſion of their canoe, and laid it up in ſome ſecure birth up the river, than they all of a ſudden deſerted us, nor would ever after approach us. This barbarous action of theirs convinced us, that they were a vile people, without principle or good faith. We ſaw no gold among them, except the ornaments which they wore in their ears.

" Leaving this place, and running about eighty leagues along the land, we diſcovered a port, well adapted for ſmall ſhipping, which we entered. On the ſhore we found a prodigious concourſe of people, with whom we formed a band of friendſhip; and afterwards went, at their entreaty, to viſit ſeveral of their villages, where we were

received

received with great civility and kindneſs. In the mean time we purchaſed pearls of them, at the rate of five hundred for a ſingle nail and a little gold, which we paid them at pleaſure. In this country the natives extract a vinous liquor from various fruits and grains, ſuch as barley, both white and red, but the beſt is made of myrrh apples. As we arrived in the ſummer ſeaſon, we had the pleaſure of eating plentifully a great variety of fruits, grateful to the palate, and at the ſame time ſalubrious. This iſland abounds with the bleſſings of nature and the productions of art; the people are very converſible, and more pacific than any other nation we found in thoſe parts. We remained with them with much ſatisfaction for the ſpace of ſeventeen days, during which time we were daily viſited by great numbers of the natives, who came to admire our features, the whiteneſs of our complexion, our dreſs, our arms, and above all the magnitude of our ſhips. They informed us, that there was a certain nation inhabiting to the weſtward, with whom they waged war; that that nation poſſeſſed an immenſe quantity of pearls, and that the pearls which they themſelves poſſeſſed, were obtained in the hoſtile incurſions which they made in the territories of their enemies. They alſo acquainted us with the manner in which the pearls were generated, and how they were caught in the ſea. This information, as your majeſty will afterwards learn, we found to be ſtrictly true.

"Having left this place, we ran along the ſhore, on which we ſtill diſcovered a great conflux of people, till after a pretty long courſe we were obliged to put into a certain port to refit one of our ſhips. Here we met a very numerous tribe, with whom we could obtain no converſation either by force or friendſhip, for when we attempted to land, they oppoſed us with great bitterneſs, and when they found themſelves unable to ſuſtain our attack, they fled into the woods. Diſguſted with the conduct of this people, we ſet ſail. We then fell in with an iſland about fifteen leagues diſtant from the main land, and reſolved to ſee whether it was inhabited or not. Upon this iſland therefore we landed, and there diſcovered a people the moſt animal-like, ſimple, and benevolent in their manner, that can poſſibly be imagined. Here follows ſome account of their manners and cuſtoms.

"In feature, and in the carriage and geſticulation of the body, they are the moſt uncultivated people that can be imagined, and all of them have their mouths always filled with a certain green herb, on which they chew the cud like cattle, ſo that they can hardly articulate a ſyllable: and from their necks depend two little dried gourds or calabaſhes; one of them filled with the green leaf which they chew; the other contains a kind of white flour, reſembling ſtucco: they have alſo a little ſtick, which after wetting and chewing in their mouth for ſome time, they dip into the calabaſh, which contains the white flour, and then return it again into their mouths, ſcattering the white flour on the green leaf above mentioned, and turning it in either chap, which they do every now and then. This practice of theirs filled us with aſtoniſhment, nor could we at all underſtand the cauſe or meaning of it, till walking and converſing on the ſhore with the natives, who mixed with us as familiarly as if they had been acquainted with us a great while. We began to aſk them for freſh water, but they replied by ſigns that they had none; offering us at the ſame time ſome of the green leaf and flour which they chewed in their mouth: then we underſtood that for want of water they were obliged to chew the above-mentioned materials, in order to allay their thirſt. After walking along the coaſt, and ſearching every place with the natives for the ſpace of a whole day, we could find no water whatever, and we learned that

the water which they drank was collected from certain leaves, in ſhape like the ears of an aſs, and which received the dew that fell in the night; and of this dew, which is indeed excellent, theſe people drink, but then the leaves on which it is collected are very rare. They are totally deſtitute of land animals fit for food, but live on the fiſh which they catch in the ſea. They are excellent fiſhermen, and have abundance of very good fiſh, of which they brought us a great plenty of their own accord, and among the reſt a large number of turtle. The women make no uſe of the green herb which the men chew, but each of them carries a ſingle calabaſh full of water, of which they drink. Theſe people have no houſes nor habitations whatever, except certain large leaves, which protect them from the rays of the ſun, but not from rain; but that, we may ſafely ſuppoſe, very ſeldom falls in this part of the world. When they repair to the ſea ſide to fiſh, each of them carries with him one of thoſe large leaves, which being fixed in the ground, and turned towards the ſun, covers him entirely with its ſhade. In this iſland there are a great many animals of various kinds, all of which drink nothing but muddy water.

" Seeing therefore that there was no good to be got in this iſland, we ſet ſail, and ſoon arrived at another. Here we began to ſearch for freſh water, and as we met with nobody, we imagined that the country was uninhabited, till we obſerved on the ſand the veſtiges of feet extremely large, from whence we concluded, that if their other members correſponded with their feet, the natives of the country muſt be of a prodigious ſtature indeed. While we were walking on the ſand, we diſcovered a path that led up the country: into this path nine of us entered, determined to inſpect the iſland, for we did not as yet know how ſpacious it was, nor that it was inhabited by a great many different tribes. Having travelled about a league, we obſerved in a valley five cottages that ſeemed to be inhabited: into theſe we entered, and found five women, two old, and three young; all of ſo lofty a ſtature that we were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment. They on their ſide were ſo ſurpriſed at ſight of us, that they had not power to run away. Then the old women began to talk to us kindly in their language, and entering all into one cottage, they ſet before us a variety of eatables. Every one of the women were taller than the talleſt men, and indeed they were equal in ſtature to a giant, but better formed than the human race amongſt us. We then agreed together to carry away by force the young women, in order to exhibit the wonderful creatures in Caſtile, but before we could put our ſcheme in practice, behold! about thirty-ſix men, much taller than the women, and ſo elegantly formed, that it was a pleaſure to look at them, began to enter into the cottage. This accident threw us into much perturbation, and we began to wiſh ourſelves aboard, rather than in ſuch company; for they carried in their hands bows and arrows of an immenſe ſize, together with poles and fiſhing rods ſo large, that they looked like huge clubs. When they came in, they began to talk to each other as if they had a mind to ſeize us. Obſerving the danger which we were in, we began to offer amongſt ourſelves different opinions: ſome propoſed that we ſhould fall upon them in the cottage where they were; others, that we ſhould rather attack them in the open air; while ſome again contended that we ſhould not fall upon them at all, till ſuch time as we were certain of their intention. Amidſt this diverſity of opinion, we began to ſteal out of the cottage, and to return to our ſhips: they followed us at the diſtance of a ſtone's throw, talking with each other mean while, and, as I imagine, not leſs actuated by fear than ourſelves, for when we ſtopped, they alſo ſtood ſtill, nor did they move

forward

forward till we began to walk on: but when we had reached our ſhips, and began to enter them in order, then they ruſhed into the ſea, and let fly at us a ſhower of arrows, but we now cared very little for them. We fired at them a couple of ſhot, with a deſign rather to frighten than to hurt them. Terrified with the exploſion, they fled inſtantly to a neighbouring hill. Thus we eſcaped from them, and by leaving them at the ſame time, ſaved them from farther moleſtation. Theſe people go entirely naked. We called this place the Iſland of Giants, on account of the prodigious ſtature of the natives. But as we continued to ſail along their coaſt, and ſometimes went aſhore for proviſions, we were ſeveral times under the neceſſity of fighting them, for they would not ſuffer us to carry any thing away but by force.

"And now we began to think of returning to Caſtile, becauſe we had been almoſt a twelvemonth at ſea, and our ſtock of proviſions and neceſſaries was become very ſlender. Theſe too were exceedingly ſpoiled by the vehement heat of the ſun, for ſince our departure from the iſlands of Cape Verde, our navigation had been entirely in the torrid zone, and, as I have already mentioned, we had twice croſſed the equinoctial line. It pleaſed the moſt Holy Spirit to bleſs our perſeverance in this reſolution, and to aid us in our labours; for while we were looking out for a fit place to repair our ſhattered ſhips, we arrived at a country where the natives received us with much kindneſs, and who poſſeſs, as we found, an immenſe quantity of Oriental pearls. For this reaſon we remained amongſt them the ſpace of forty-ſeven days, and purchaſed of them about an hundred marks of pearls for a ſum, according to our computation, not exceeding forty ducats: for we gave them nothing but nails, mirrors, glaſſes, and ſome ſlight leaves of electrum. We learned alſo of them where and how they fiſhed the pearls: they gave us alſo a great many of the ſhells in which they grow. Some of the ſhells which we bought of them, contained one hundred and thirty pearls, but in general they did not produce ſo many. But your majeſty muſt know, that except the pearls are very mature, and fall of themſelves from the ſhells in which they were generated, they are not reckoned perfect, but, as I have often experienced, they wither in that caſe, and are reduced to nothing; but when they are ripe, they ſeparate themſelves in the ſhells, only ſticking lightly to the fleſh; and theſe are the beſt. Having, therefore, paſſed forty-ſeven days with thoſe people, whoſe friendſhip we had found means to acquire, we left them on account of our being in want of many things, which we expected to find at the iſland of Antilia, which Chriſtopher Columbus had diſcovered ſome years before, and where we arrived and remained for the ſpace of two months and two days, refiting our veſſels, and ſuffering from time to time from the Chriſtians there reſident, a number of injuries and indignities, which, to avoid prolixity, I paſs over at preſent.

"On the 22d of July we left this iſland, and after a paſſage of a month and an half, we entered on the 8th day of September the port of Cadiz, where we were received with much honour. And thus it pleaſed God to bring to an honourable and profitable period our ſecond voyage."

CHAPTER VII.

Voyage of Peter Alonſo Nino and Chriſtopher Guerra to the continent of America. Voyage of Vincent Yanez Pinzon: he diſcovers ſix hundred leagues along the coaſt to Paria. Voyage of James de Lepe.

THE inhabitants of Seville perceiving that Alonſo de Ojeda was gone out upon diſcovery, being directed by the draught the admiral had made of what he had found, ſeveral others preſumed to follow the example ſet them, and the firſt of them were Peter Alonſo Nino, an inhabitant of Moguer, or Palos, who was with the admiral when Paria was diſcovered, and Chriſtopher Guerra, of Seville. Peter Alonſo Nino having obtained the king's licence, upon condition that he ſhould not come to an anchor, nor land any where within fifty leagues of what the admiral had diſcovered: being himſelf unable to fit out a ſhip, he propoſed it to Lewis Guerra, of Seville, to defray that expence; and the ſamples of gold and pearls the admiral had ſent having ſtirred up the avarice of many, Guerra accepted of the overture, provided that his brother Chriſtopher ſhould go as captain; and accordingly they ſet ſail, not long after Alonſo de Ojeda, whoſe voyage has been before ſpoken of. They ſailed two or three hundred leagues to the ſouthward, diſcovered land, and keeping down the coaſt, arrived at the province of Paria a few days after Ojeda, where finding the Indians peaceably diſpoſed, they, contrary to their inſtructions, cut brazil wood, and holding on their courſe, came to that which Ojeda had called the Bay of Pearls, formed by the iſland Margarita, where they bartered for many pearls. They advanced ſeven leagues beyond the town of Cumaná, where they ſaw people ſtark naked, except that their privy parts were put into little calabaſhes, or gourds, tied about their waiſt with a cord, and they chewed a certain herb all the day, the which, though their teeth were naturally very white, made them as black as jet; and this they ſaid they did for their health, to make them ſtrong, and for the ſuſtenance it afforded.

Theſe people went aboard the ſhips without any fear, carrying necklaces of pearls, and had ſome of them in their noſes and ears. The Spaniards allured them with hawks bells, bracelets, rings, pins, and ſeveral trifles made of tin, which they took, and very freely gave their pearls. Having got a conſiderable quantity of them, they paſſed by Coro near the province now called Venezuela, one hundred and thirty leagues below Paria and the Dragon's Mouth, and anchored in a bay like that of Cadiz, where they were very well received by fifty men, who came from a place a league off, and very earneſtly preſſed them to anchor at their town. The Spaniards gave them ſome of their toys, and the Indians taking off all the pearls they had about their necks and arms, in the ſpace of an hour gave them as many as weighed fifteen ounces. The next day they came to an anchor before a town called Curiana, where the Indians intreated them to go aſhore, but the Spaniards being no more than thirty-three in all, durſt not venture, and made ſigns to them to come aboard, which they did in their canoes, carrying pearls to exchange for ſome Spaniſh toys. At length, being convinced of their ſincerity, the Spaniards went aſhore, and being courteouſly entertained,

ſtaid

ſtaid there twenty days. They plentifully ſupplied them for food with veniſon, rabbits, geeſe, ducks, parrots, fiſh, bread made of mayz and Indian wheat, and other things, and brought them all the game they aſked for. By ſeeing ſo many deer, they concluded that the ſame was the continent. They perceived that they kept markets or fairs, and that they made uſe of jars, pitchers, pots, diſhes, and porringers, beſides other veſſels of ſeveral ſhapes; and that in their pearl necklaces they had frogs and other vermin made of gold. Being aſked where that was gathered, they anſwered, ſix days journey from thence. They reſolved to ſail thither, and it was the province of Curiana Cauchieto, where the people came aboard in their canoes without any jealouſy. They carried ſome wrought and unwrought gold, which they bartered away; but would not part with the pearls they had, like thoſe of Curiana: however, they gave ſome very fine monkies, and parrots of ſeveral colours.

Departing hence, they proceeded farther, where above two thouſand naked men came out with bows and arrows, to hinder their landing; and though they endeavoured to appeaſe them by ſhewing hawks bells and other trinkets, they could not prevail, and therefore returned to Curiana, and were received with the ſame ſatisfaction as before, and earneſtly entreated for pins and needles; for whereas at firſt they had underſtood that they were things to ſew and tack things together, and therefore ſaid they had no uſe for them, going naked: the Spaniards ſhewed them that they were uſeful for drawing thorns out of their feet, there being many in that part; at which they ſmiled, and aſked for them. All that country lies in ſeven or eight degrees of north latitude, and there is no cold in November and December. The Indians were highly pleaſed, thinking they had cheated the Spaniards, who carried away above one hundred and fifty marks of pearls, and ſome of them as large as ſmall hazel nuts, very beautiful and oriental. [Note, that by a mark here, is meant eight ounces weight.] But they were ill bored, the Indians having no iron.

The Spaniards thought fit to return home, and ſo came back to Paria and the Dragon's Mouth; running along the coaſt eaſtward, they came to Cape Araya, which lies north and ſouth with the weſtern point of Margarita. Here were found the ſalt pits, which continue to this day, for on that point of land there is a pool, about ten or twelve paces from the ſea ſhore, being all ſalt water, and always under it full of ſalt, as it is ſometimes above, when it has not rained for a long time. Some have fancied that the wind throws that water out of the ſea into the pool, becauſe it is ſo near; but it has paſſages to let it in from the ſea. This ſalt is very white, and there is much of it, and when the weather is very hot, many ſhips are laden with it. At the proper ſeaſon of the year there is an infinite multitude of ſkates at that point, being good fiſh; and there is no leſs quantity of pilchards. Two months after A. D. 1500. they left Curiana, they arrived in Galizia on the 6th of February, where Ferdinand de la Vega, lord of Grajal, was then governor, before whom Alonſo de Nino and Chriſtopher Guerra were accuſed by their own ſhip's crew of having concealed pearls, and defrauded the king of his fifth part, which was the duty.

After the aforeſaid voyage performed by Chriſtopher Guerra, Vincent Yanez Pinzon, who had been with the admiral in his firſt diſcovery, being a wealthy man, ſailed from Palos with four ſhips, fitted out at his own coſt, and ſteering firſt for the Canaries,

Canaries, and thence for the iſlands of Cape Verde, departed from that of Santiago, which is one of them, on the 13th of January, 1500. He firſt ſtood away to the ſouth, and then to the weſt, and having ſailed ſeven hundred leagues, loſt ſight of the north ſtar, and croſſed the equinoctial line. When paſſed the line, they met with ſuch a dreadful ſtorm, that they expected to periſh: he ran two hundred and forty leagues farther to the weſtward, and on the 26th of February they diſcovered land at a great diſtance, being that which is now called Cape St. Auguſtine, though Vincent Yanez called it Cabo de Conſolacion, or Cape Comfort, and the Portugueſe call it the province of Santa Cruz, or of the Holy Croſs, now a part of Braſil. They found the ſea thick and whitiſh, like a river, and ſounding, had ſixteen fathoms water. They went aſhore, and no people appeared, though they ſaw the track of men, who fled as ſoon as they ſaw the ſhips, and there Vincent Yanez took poſſeſſion of that country for the crown of Caſtile, with all the uſual formalities. At night they perceived many fires thereabout, and the next day, after ſun-riſing, forty Spaniards, well armed, landed, and went to the place where they had ſeen the fires, being ſenſible that there were people: thirty-ſix Indians, with bows and arrows, advanced towards them, as if they would engage, being followed by many more.

The Spaniards uſed all means to appeaſe them with ſigns, ſhewing them hawks bells, looking-glaſſes, beads, and other things; but they regarding nothing, appeared very fierce. They affirmed thoſe men were of a larger ſize than the Spaniards; however, they parted, without coming to blows. At night no Indian appeared all along that coaſt, for which reaſon they hoiſted ſail, and went on farther, till they anchored near the mouth of a great river, which being ſhoal, the ſhips could not go in. Some men went up it in the boats to get information, who ſaw many naked people on a hill, towards which they ſent one man, well armed, and he by his actions and ſigns endeavoured to perſuade them to draw near. He threw a hawks bell to them, and they threw him a ſtaff about half a yard long, of a gold colour, and as he was ſtooping to take it up, they ran to ſeize him, hemming him in; but he laid about him with ſuch fury and dexterity, making uſe of his ſword and target, that he wounded many, and the other Spaniards admiring him, becauſe they had no great conceit of him before, ran in to his aſſiſtance. However, the Indians ſhot ſo many arrows, and with ſuch force and dexterity, that they killed eight or ten, and wounded many more. They went up to the very boats, encompaſſing them in the water, and laying hold of the oars, killed a man that looked after them, and took one of them; though the Spaniards with their ſwords and ſpears, ripped up the bellies of many, and killed a vaſt number, whereupon they retired, and the Spaniards, much concerned for having loſt ſo many of their companions, ſailed away along the coaſt to the weſtward, and finding great plenty of freſh water in the ſea, filled all their veſſels. Vincent Yanez affirmed, that the ſaid freſh water ran out forty leagues into the ſea. Being therefore curious to diſcover the reaſon of it, they drew near to land, and found many iſlands very agreeable and delightful, inhabited by great numbers of painted people, who reſorted in as friendly a manner to the ſhips, as if they had been well acquainted with them. The water above ſpoken of, came out from the much talked of river Maranon, the mouth whereof is thirty leagues wide, and ſome ſay more. When the ſhips were at anchor in it, the freſh water meeting with the ſalt, and both contending together, made a dreadful noiſe, and raiſed the ſhips four fathoms in height, to their great danger,

danger, much like what the admiral had met with when he entered at the Serpent's Mouth, and came out at the Dragon's.

Vincent Yanez perceiving that his diſcovery as yet turned to no account in thoſe parts, took thirty-ſix men, and proceeded towards Paria, and by the way met with another mighty river, though not ſo large as the Maranon, yet they took up freſh water twenty-five or thirty leagues out at ſea, for which reaſon he called it Rio Dulce, or the freſh river, which has been ſince ſuppoſed to be a branch of the great river Yyupari, that makes the freſh bay between Paria and the iſland of Trinity. Upon this freſh river found by Vincent Yanez, it is ſuppoſed that the people called Aruacas have their dwellings. They proceeded to Paria, and there took in brazil wood: from Paria, Vincent Yanez ſtruck over to the iſlands that lie in the way to Hiſpaniola, and the ſhips being at anchor, there aroſe ſuch a dreadful tempeſt, that two of them ſunk in the ſight of the others, with all the men. A third was forced from its anchors with eighteen men, and carried out of ſight. The fourth, which it is likely had the beſt anchors and cables, riding it out, beat ſo furiouſly upon the ſea, that the ſailors believing it would be daſhed in pieces, went all aſhore in the long boat, without hopes of its eſcaping, and for their own ſecurity, had thoughts of killing all the Indians thereabout, to prevent their calling in their neighbours to deſtroy them; but the ſhip that had been drove away with the eighteen men, returned, and that which had rode it out, when the ſea grew calm, was ſaved. In thoſe two ſhips they went away to Hiſpaniola, where they refitted, and returned into Spain about the latter end of September, having diſcovered ſix hundred leagues along the coaſt of Paria.

About the latter end of December, the ſame year 1499, after the departure of Vincent Yanez Pinzon, James de Lepe, a native of Palos de Moguer, a town belonging to the earl of Miranda, ſailed from thence upon diſcovery, and moſt of his men were of the ſame place. He ſet out with two ſhips for the iſland Fuego, one of thoſe of Cape Verde; then proceeded firſt to the ſouthward, and then weſt; arrived at Cape St. Auguſtin, and doubled it, running along that coaſt, and every where taking poſſeſſion for their majeſties of Caſtile. He alſo cut his name upon a tree of ſuch an extraordinary magnitude, that ſixteen men holding hands, and ſtretching out their arms, could not compaſs it. He went up into the river Maranon, but the people there being exaſperated on account of thirty-ſix men Vincent Yanez had carried away from thence, he found them in arms. They ſlew ten Spaniards, who alſo deſtroyed and took many of them. Thence he proceeded along the coaſt of the continent, the ſame way that Vincent Yanez had gone before; arrived at Paria, where the people being alarmed, they came to blows, and took ſome priſoners; which is all we have of this voyage.

BOOK

BOOK III.

PORTUGUESE VOYAGES

DURING THE REIGN OF

KING EMANUEL.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction. Pedro Alvarez Cabral ſails with a fleet to India: a ſhip returns: he diſcovers the coaſt of Brazil: ſails from thence: four ſhips founder: arrives at Quiloa: tranſactions there: ſails to Melinda, and thence to Calicut. Tranſactions at Calicut. Cabral takes a ſhip of the Moors. Portugueſe factory attacked. Arrives at Cochin: ſails back for Portugal: driven to Conanor: arrives at Moſambique. A ſhip of the ſquadron calls at Sofala.

THE voyage of Cabral is recorded in ſeveral authors; in Caſtagneda, Oſorio, and De Barros; Ramuſio alſo has an account of this voyage, written by a Portugueſe pilot; and there are ſome letters reſpecting it in the Novus Orbis of Grynæus. Our firſt extract will be from Caſtagneda, and we ſhall afterwards make extracts from the others of what he has omitted.

THE exiſtence of a navigation to India by way of the Cape of Good Hope, being now certain, king Emanuel determined to avail himſelf of the diſcovery, and as a means to reap a greater benefit from it, both in a mercantile and religious view, he commanded a fleet of ten ſhips and two caravels to be fitted out, and ſuch things to be put on board as Vaſco de Gama judged proper to be ſent to Calicut. There were other ſhips for Sofala and Quiloa, where he alſo deſigned to eſtabliſh factories, not only for the gold which they have there, but alſo as convenient ports where the ſhips might touch.

Pedro

Pedro Alvarez Cabral, of a noble houſe, was appointed captain-general, Sancho de Toar captain under him: the other captains were Nicholas Coello, Lewis Continuo, Simon de Miſerando, Simon Leyton, Bartholomew Dias (who diſcovered the Cape of Good Hope), and Diego Dias, his brother. The captains of the caravels were Pedro de Taide, and Vaſco de Silvera. Alvez Corea was factor to the fleet, and to remain at Calicut; Gonſalo Gyl Barbaſa and Pedro Vaz Caninon, went under him. Two ſhips and a factor were to remain at Sofala. Fifteen hundred men were embarked in this fleet.

Cabral, beſides orders to ſettle the factories, had inſtructions, that if the king of Calicut would not conſent to the ſhips having ſufficient lading, not to leave a factory, but to make war on him, in revenge for the injury he had done De Gama; and if the factory ſhould be quietly ſettled, he was to requeſt the king of Calicut privately not to permit any Moors of Mecca to remain in any of his ports, and to aſſure him that he ſhould be ſupplied with the ſame merchandiſe they brought, and at a cheaper rate. He was alſo to touch at Melinda, to land the ambaſſador which Vaſco de Gamā brought home, and to carry the king a preſent,

In this fleet embarked five Franciſcan friars, of whom father Henrique (afterwards biſhop of Ceuta) went chief, and who was to remain at Calicut, to preach the faith to the Malabars.

The fleet being ready, on Sunday March 8, the king went in pro-
A. D. 1500. ceſſion to hear maſs at the monaſtery of Belem, and the captain-general with him, who had the honour to hear maſs behind the curtain with the king. The biſhop who performed this ſervice afterwards conſecrated a banner or flag, which the king delivered to Cabral to carry at his main-top-maſt head. From the biſhop he received a bonnet or night-cap that had been bleſſed and ſent by the pope, which the biſhop put on his head, and gave him alſo his bleſſing. The king afterwards accompanied him to the water-ſide, where he kiſſed his majeſty's hand and embarked, under a general diſcharge of cannon from the fleet.

The wind prevented their ſailing until the next day, when they went to ſea, all the men being in high ſpirits. On the 14th they made the Canaries; on the 22d paſſed St. Jago; and on the 23d loſt ſight of the ſhip under the command of Vaſco de Taide, who did not join them again.

Cabral lay by two days for the miſſing ſhip, and then made ſail. On the 23d of April they ſaw land, which gave them great joy, as from the bearings they were convinced De Gama had not diſcovered it. Cabral ſent his maſter on ſhore in a ſmall boat to view the country, who reported that the place was fertile, well furniſhed with wood, and that he ſaw many men walking by the water ſide. On this news he brought his fleet to anchor, and ſent the maſter on ſhore again for further intelligence. He found the inhabitants were of a dark complexion, well proportioned, naked, and carrying bows and arrows.

When night came on there aroſe a ſtorm, which obliged the fleet to weigh their anchors, and run along the coaſt till they found a good port, which they entered, and Cabral called it Porto Seguro, or the Safe Port, as it was ſecure from all winds. Here they took two of the natives in an almadia, who were brought on board the general's ſhip; but none could underſtand them, either by words or ſigns. Cabral gave them apparel, to induce their countrymen to be friendly, and ſent them away apparently much pleaſed. Their companions ſeeing their good entertainment, ventured on

board. Cabral took this opportunity to take in water, and to ſay maſs on ſhore, under a pavilion, which was performed by Dr. Henrique. During the ceremony many of the country people aſſembled, and ſhewed themſelves to be in great good humour, playing, leaping, and ſounding muſical inſtruments. The ſame day, after dinner, the general gave his men leave to go on ſhore to traffic, and for paper and cloth they purchaſed parrots and other ſorts of birds, very beautiful, of which the natives had a great number; and with their feathers they made hats and night-caps, very handſome. Some of the Portugueſe went to the town, and reported the country to be well wooded, and plenty of water and fruit, and alſo a great plenty of cotton.

This country is now known by the name of Brazil. While the fleet remained there, a fiſh was caſt on ſhore, larger than a hogſhead, with eyes like a hog, ears like an elephant, no teeth, and under his belly two holes, the tail three quarters of a yard broad and as much in length, his ſkin like that of a hog, and of the thickneſs of a finger. In this iſland the general erected a ſtone croſs, and called the place the Land of Santa Cruz. From hence he diſpatched a caravel (which went out for that purpoſe) with letters to the king, giving an account of what had happened, and that he had left there two of the twenty criminals which he carried out with him, to inform themſelves of the country, which he had not an opportunity to do while he ſtayed. In this ſhip he alſo ſent one of the natives of the country.

The day after the departure of the caravel the fleet ſailed, ſhaping their courſe for the Cape of Good Hope, which was diſtant twelve hundred leagues. On the 12th of May they ſaw a comet, which came from the eaſt, and which was in ſight ten days, always appearing to increaſe in magnitude. On Saturday the 23d of May they were aſſailed by a terrible ſtorm from the north-eaſt, which obliged the fleet to reef their ſails, as the ſea ran very high with much rain; but as the ſtorm abated, the fleet looſed their foreſails, and when the night came on, the wind being quite abated, the ſhips aſtern ſet their ſails and joined the fleet. On Sunday morning the wind began to increaſe, and the fleet again reefed their ſails. When between ten and eleven o'clock, they ſaw a ſpout to the north-weſt; the wind calmed, and the canvas beat againſt the maſts. The ſeamen thought this a ſign of fair weather, and therefore left all their ſails ſtanding, when ſuddenly a terrible guſt of wind overtook them before they had time to hand their ſails, and four ſhips were ſunk without being able to ſave one perſon. One of theſe ſhips was commanded by Bartholomew Dias. The other ſeven ſhips were half full of water, and muſt all have been loſt if their ſails had not given way.

The wind continued to blow a ſtorm all that day and the next night, and they were driven at the mercy of the ſeas. The following day it became calm, and the remaining ſhips of the ſquadron joined. The wind then came round to the eaſt and north-eaſt, which cauſed the ſea to run prodigiouſly high, and for the ſpace of twenty days they were obliged to lay to, in conſtant dread of foundering by every wave that rolled under them. The water in the day time appeared of the colour of pitch, and at night like fire. The ſhips of the captain-general, Simon de Miranda, and Pedro de Taide, were the only ſhips that could make any head againſt it; the others were driven before it and ſeparated.

Cabral purſued his courſe, and during theſe ſtorms doubled the Cape of Good Hope, without having ſight of it, having only two of his ſhips in company. On the 16th of July he made land, in twenty-ſeven degrees latitude, but the pilot did not know

know what land it was. They ſtood cloſe in, but the general would not permit any of his men to go on ſhore. They could perceive many people, but none of them came down to the water ſide to look at the ſhips. Here they had good ſucceſs in fiſhing. After ſome time they ſtood cloſe along ſhore, and ſaw a great quantity of cattle feeding by the ſide of a river, and many people.

They continued coaſting until they reached Sofala, but their pilot did not know it. As they came near it, they ſaw two iſlands and two ſhips at anchor off one of them: theſe, as ſoon as they diſcovered the Portugueſe, run in for the ſhore, were chaſed, and after ſome defence, taken. One of theſe ſhips was commanded by a near relation of the king of Melinda, who was going from Sofala, with gold on board, to Melinda. This perſon confeſſed they were ſo frightened with the idea of being taken, that they threw part of the gold overboard.

Cabral told him he was very ſorry for his loſs, as the king of Melinda was a friend to the king of Portugal. He then ſhewed him every civility, and reſtored him the ſhips and all the gold that remained. This man gravely aſked the general if he had any witches on board who could fetch up the gold that was thrown overboard. Cabral told him they believed in the true God, and put no faith in witches.

This Moor acquainted Cabral that he had rather overſhot Sofala; and as the general was unwilling to ſail back, he diſpatched the Moor, purſued his voyage, and on the 24th of July arrived at Mozambique, where he took in water and a pilot for the iſland of Quiloa, to which place he ſteered along the coaſt. In the courſe of his voyage he paſſed many ſmall iſlands ſubject to the king of Quiloa, who is a great prince, and lord of the coaſt from Cape Correntes almoſt to Mombaſſa, an extent of near four hundred leagues: his revenue, however, is but ſmall. His reſidence is in Quiloa, on an iſland one hundred leagues beyond Moſambique, on the coaſt of Ethiopia. This iſland ſtands in nine degrees ſouth latitude, is full of people; and is fertile in orchards and woods, has plenty of fruit, good water, and great ſtore of ſmall cattle; the ſea alſo is well ſupplied with good fiſh. The city is compaſſed on one ſide with fine gardens, and the other by the ſea, which makes it very delightful. Their houſes are of ſtone, with good rooms in them.

The king and his ſubjects are Moors; the natives are black; the common language Arabic. They dreſs richly, eſpecially the women, who wear many ornaments of gold. They are great merchants for the gold of Sofala, and from hence it is diſperſed through Arabia Felix and other places, and therefore there reſort thither many merchants from other places. There are always in this port many ſhips, which lay aground there. Theſe ſhips have no nails or ſpikes, but are ſewed together with ropes made of Caïre, and pitched over. The winter here begins in April, and ends in September.

The general having entered the harbour, and obtained a ſafe conduct for a meſſenger, diſpatched Alonſo Hurtado with ſeven officers well dreſſed, who repreſented to the king that the general was come hither from the king of Portugal, to ſettle a trade in that city, and for that purpoſe brought great ſtore of merchandiſe, fit for the conſumption of the country, and that the general was deſirous of a conference with him, but had ſtrict orders from his maſter not to go on ſhore till a friendſhip was ſettled. To this the king anſwered, that he alſo was deſirous to ſee the captain-general, and would viſit him on board. This Hurtado informed the general. Next day Cabral went in his boat, covered over, and ornamented with flags, to wait for him, the other captains in their boats in company. At this moment Sancho de Toar with the two other ſhips arrived. The

king at laſt came in an almadia, many gentlemen attending him in their boats, all decorated with flags, and having muſicians, with inſtruments which ſounded like trumpets, cornets, and ſackbuts. The king was ſaluted with a great diſcharge of artillery, at which he ſeemed much alarmed. After this diſcharge the king and captain-general met. The king of Portugal's letter for ſettling a trade in this city being read, the king agreed to it, and alſo that Alonſo Hurtado ſhould be ſet on ſhore the next day, to tell him what ſort of merchandiſe the general had bought, and he would give him gold for the ſame.

Hurtado was accordingly ſent, but found the king making excuſes, ſaying, he had no need of the merchandiſe, and feared the general came to take his country from him. This change was attributed to his being a Moor and the Portugueſe Chriſtians, with whom the Moors do not chuſe to have connection. Cabral being informed of this, waited three or four days to ſee if the king would change his opinion; but he rather ſhewed a jealouſy, preparing himſelf for reſiſtance. The general hearing this, departed, ſteered along the coaſt for Melinda, and on the 2d of Auguſt came to anchor in that port.

Here he found three ſhips belonging to the Mooriſh merchants of Cambaya, but did not moleſt them. On coming to anchor he ſaluted the city with a general diſcharge of ordnance. The king ſent to viſit him, and alſo a preſent of a great number of ſheep, ducks, and hens, and many ſorts of fruit. The general ſent his compliments by one of his officers, to acquaint him that he was come by command of his maſter the king of Portugal, to offer him the ſervice of his fleet, and alſo to acquaint him that he had brought him a rich preſent and a meſſage, which he would ſend by any one the king choſe. The king was much pleaſed with this, kept the meſſenger all night, and ſpent moſt part of it in talking of matters in Portugal.

As ſoon as it was day the king ſent, by two of his principal Moors, a meſſage to the general that he was glad of his coming; that if he wanted any thing in that country, he might command it as his own, and to reckon himſelf as if he was in Portugal. On this Cabral ſent him the king of Portugal's letter, and the preſent, conſiſting of rich furniture for a horſe. Ares Corea, as factor to the fleet, was intruſted with the delivery, who was accompanied with the principal officers of the ſhips, and having trumpets ſounded before him. The king ſent ſome of his nobles to receive him, and ſome women with perfuming pans in their hands, out of which came an excellent perfume. He found the king ſitting in a chair of ſtate, accompanied by many nobles. He was received with great honour and pleaſure, and preſented both the preſent and letter; the latter was written on both ſides, one in the Portugueſe, and the other in the Arabic language; the latter was read, and the king and nobility ſeemed much pleaſed with it, who altogether, with a loud voice, gave God and Mahomet thanks that they had permitted him to have a friendſhip with ſo great a prince as the king of Portugal. The king was greatly pleaſed with the furniture for the horſe, and requeſted Corea to ſtay on ſhore with him while the fleet remained, which the general permitted; and during the three days he was with him, the king ſpent his whole time in enquiring what were the cuſtoms of Portugal and the government of that kingdom. He uſed all his influence to induce the general to go on ſhore, but Cabral always made the ſame excuſe, that his king had commanded him to the contrary.

The king, on his perſiſting in this determination to viſit him on the water, would go on horſeback, and uſe the horſe furniture ſent him; but as none of his ſubjects knew how

how to uſe it, he requeſted one of the Portugueſe to put it on. Many of his noblemen were waiting for him at the foot of the ſtairs; among them they brought a live ſheep, which, as the king was coming down, they opened alive, and having taken out the bowels, laid him at the horſes feet. The king being mounted, rode over the ſheep, being a ſuperſtitious ceremony. He proceeded to the water ſide, his attendants on foot, muttering certain words. He met the general in the water, and gave him a pilot to carry him to Calicut. Cabral left with the king two of his criminals, to inform themſelves of the country: one of theſe, called afterwards Machado, having learned the Arabic language, went to the ſtreights, thence to the kingdom of Cambaya, and thence to Balgarte, where he ſettled himſelf with the lord of Goa, telling him he was a Moor, for which he paſſed in that country. He was afterwards very ſerviceable to Alphonſo de Albuquerque.

The fleet ſailed from hence for Calicut on the 7th of Auguſt, and on the 20th arrived at Anſandiva, where he ſtayed ſome days, waiting for the ſhips from Mecca, with intent to attack them; but not arriving, they ſailed for Calicut, and on the 13th of September anchored within a league of the ſame. Many almadias came immediately on board to ſell victuals, and ſome of the principal nayres belonging to the king of Calicut, with a Guzerat merchant, who brought a meſſage from the king to the captain-general, expreſſing his pleaſure at his arrival, and offering him any thing in the city. The general returned thanks, and finding the king in ſo friendly a diſpoſition, anchored near the city, ſaluting with his ordnance, which gave the people a high idea of the power of the fleet. The next day Cabral, by conſent of the captains, ſent a perſon to demand a ſafe conduct for a meſſenger, and with the ſaid perſon ſent the four Malabars whom De Gama had carried away. Theſe went dreſſed in the Portugueſe manner; their countrymen came out to meet them, and were much rejoiced to ſee them look ſo well. As theſe were of the fiſhermen's caſt, the king would not ſee them, but commanded the Portugueſe to be brought before him, whom he received well; and when he was informed for what purpoſe the fleet was come, told him that any of their men might ſafely come on ſhore. This anſwer being reported to the general, he ſent Alonſo Hurtado to the king, to ſignify to him, that the fleet he commanded belonged to the king of Portugal, and that he came for the purpoſe of ſettling trade and amity with him, but had command from his maſter to take pledges for the ſafety of his perſon while on ſhore, and that theſe pledges ſhould be the cutwal of Calicut and Araxamenoca, one of the principal nayres. An interpreter was ſent with Hurtado.

The king upon this information was ſurpriſed that the captain-general demanded the pledges, and declined to give them, as they were old and ſickly, but proffered others younger and more able to bear the hardſhips of the ſea. At laſt he wiſhed to recede from all his promiſes, by the advice of his council, who diſliked the appearance of the Portugueſe: but Alonſo Hurtado inſiſting on his demand, after three days prevarication, it was complied with, as the king wiſhed to open a trade with the Portugueſe, and the neceſſary pledges were given. The captain-general now prepared to have an audience on ſhore with the king, and every magnificence was diſplayed on the occaſion.

On the 28th of December, the captain-general decked himſelf in his richeſt apparel, and carried with him thirty of the principal men of the fleet, who were to remain with him on land, with others that were the king's ſervants, that were to attend on him as upon the king's own perſon. The furniture for his chamber and kitchen,

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with a rich ſervice of plate, were alſo carried to grace his appearance. Several principal nayres, by command of the king, attended to accompany the captain-general, beſides numbers of people with trumpets, ſackbuts, and other inſtruments.

The captain-general being informed that the king was waiting for him in a gallery erected on this occaſion by the ſea ſide, took his boat, accompanied by the other boats of the fleet, with their flags and trumpets, which being joined by thoſe that came from the city, made a great noiſe: with theſe laſt were the pledges, who being afraid of going aboard, leſt they ſhould be made captives, were aſſured of the contrary by the general's landing himſelf on the ſhore; but on their ſtill expreſſing their doubts, Ares Corea was obliged to inform them, that without any ſuſpicion they might enter the ſhip, as the captain-general was not come to deceive their king, but to obtain his good-will. With this they were in ſome degree contented, though ſtill doubtful of their being detained as captives.

Mean while the captain-general landed, ſeveral caymales, panacales, and other principal nayres, waited his arrival. Before he could ſet his feet on the ground, he was lifted into an andor, or chair, in which he was carried to the ſerame, accompanied with the whole multitude. The palace of the king was hung with carpets, or, as they call them, alcatifas: the king's apartment was formed like a little chapel, and over the place where he ſat, was hung a cloth of ſtate, of unſhorn crimſon velvet: under him were twenty cuſhions of ſilk. The king himſelf was naked, except that about his middle he had a veſt of cotton, wrought over with gold. On his head he wore a cap of cloth of gold, made like a headpiece, or ſkull. On his ears hung diamonds, ſapphires, and pearls, of which there were two bigger than walnuts. His arms were graced with bracelets of gold, intermixed with ſtones; as were his legs from the knees downwards; and on his fingers and toes were rings, eſpecially his great toe, on which was a ring, containing a ruby of ſuch luſtre as to dazzle the eyes of the beholders. Among the ſtones was a diamond larger than a bean. But all theſe were exceeded by his girdle, the richneſs and luſtre of which exceeded imagination.

By him ſtood a chair of ſtate, of gold and ſilver, curiouſly wrought, full of precious ſtones. The andor which carried him from the palace to the audience chamber, alſo ſtood there, of the ſame curious workmanſhip. Twenty trumpets attended him, ſeventeen of which were of ſilver, the others of gold, and their mouths finely ſet with jewels. The baſon in which he ſpat was of gold, and the pans with which the chamber was perfumed, were of ſilver. And to grace the ſolemnity, ſilver lamps were lighted, after the Mooriſh faſhion. Six paces from the king ſtood his two brethren, heirs to the kingdom, and farther off were the nobles, all ſtanding.

The captain-general being entered, and viewing the magnificence of the king, would have kiſſed his hand, had he not been prevented by the information that it was contrary to the cuſtom of that place: a chair of ſtate, however, was appointed for him near the princes ſeat, that from them he might have the audience of the king, which was the greateſt honour that could be conferred on him. Being ſeated, he delivered his credentials, which he brought from the king of Portugal, written in the Arabic tongue, which being read by the king, the captain-general alſo delivered his meſſage, that the king of Portugal was deſirous of his friendſhip, and to ſettle a factory at Calicut, in which ſhould be a ſufficiency of all kind of merchandiſe that ſhould be ſpent there, and in barter for theſe, he requeſted ſufficient lading of ſpices for his ſhips. The king was contented with the embaſſy, and in anſwer, promiſed to grant

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to the king of Portugal all he ſtood in need of. During the converſation, the preſents from the king of Portugal were produced: a baſon of wrought gold and ſilver, a fountain of the ſame, a cup and cover of equal workmanſhip, two maſſes of ſilver, four cuſhions, two of them of cloth of gold, the other two of crimſon velvet, unſhorn; a cloth of ſtate of gold, welted and guarded with the ſame; a beautiful carpet of crimſon velvet; two cloths of arras, curiouſly embroidered, the one with figures, the other of green works. The king ſeemingly pleaſed, gave the captain-general his option, to have lodgings on ſhore, or ſleep in his ſhips; but deſired to have the pledges returned, as they were gentlemen unuſed to the ſea, and would neither eat or drink while they ſtaid there; that if the captain returned to his ſhips, the pledges ſhould be ſent next day, and preliminaries ſettled for opening a trade.

The captain giving credit to theſe propoſals, went as deſired, leaving Alonſo Hurtado and ſeven others, to take care of the baggage. Being on the ſhore ready to embark, a ſervant of the pledges, by means of a pinnace, went on board, by command of the clerk and comptroller of the king's houſe, to adviſe them to eſcape, which they immediately did, thinking to take to the pinnace; but Ares Corea ſeeing theſe proceedings, leaped into his own boat, and retook two of the hoſtages, and three or four of thoſe with them in the pinnace. On the captain-general's returning on board, and underſtanding what had paſſed, he put the priſoners under confinement, and ſent to complain of the comptroller; at the ſame time declaring in what ſituation they were with him: adding, that if they returned him his men and baggage, he would reſtore the pledges. Next day the king came to the ſhore, accompanied by twelve thouſand men, and ſent with the men and baggage thirty almadias, that were to return with the pledges; but though they appeared ſo formidable, they durſt not approach too near the ſhips. This the captain-general perceiving, ſent in his own boats next day the pledges he had detained, commanding them to be delivered at a diſtance from the boats that brought his men and baggage. While they were upon the delivery, Araxamenoca, the eldeſt of the pledges, leaped into the ſea to eſcape, but ineffectually; the others attempted the ſame, but with equal bad ſucceſs. The captain-general ſurpriſed at ſuch perfidy, commanded Araxamenoca to be ſtrictly watched: but after three days, finding the king did not ſend for him, and pitying his condition, as not having eaten during that period, of his own accord ſent him to the king; at the ſame time requeſting the king to ſend for thoſe he ſtill had in his cuſtody; which the king, aſhamed of his conduct, conſented to. Three days elapſed without any agreement being ſettled, the captain ſent Franciſco Corea to know whether there was any intention of ſettling a trade, and that he would ſend Ares Corea as his factor. To this meſſage the king ſent a favourable anſwer, that he was willing to negotiate with Ares Corea, or any other that ſhould be ſent; but firſt he would ſend two nephews of a rich merchant of Guzerat as pledges. Upon their appearance, Corea went aſhore, and by the king's command, lay in the merchant's houſe. The king alſo commanded that as Corea was unacquainted with the prices and order of merchandiſe in that country, the Guzerat ſhould give him inſtruction. But the merchant having a greater liking to the Moors of Mecca, controverted the king's command, and inſtead of inſtruction, rendered Corea more ignorant reſpecting the barter of goods. The merchants of Mecca alſo monopoliſed the trade, and rendered themſelves ſo obnoxious, that the Chriſtians were in fear to come out of their doors.

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The captain-general perceiving the evident injuſtice of theſe proceedings, and at the ſame time ſuſpecting ſome traiterous proceedings, commanded to weigh anchor and quit the harbour, as he feared his ſhips would be ſet upon by the king of Calicut's fleet. The king underſtanding theſe meaſures were purſuing, enquired of Corea the cauſe, who acquainted him that he imagined the treatment he had received was the cauſe of the captain-general's departure. Upon this the king ſent for the captain-general, and ordered that the Moors ſhould not uſe ſuch treachery. The captain-general returned to his ſhips. The king took away the Guzerat from the company of Ares Corea, and placed in his room Coſebequin, an honeſt and creditable merchant, the head of the natural born Moors, and who were always at variance with the Moors of Mecca and Caïro. The king alſo commanded, that for the better convenience of the Portugueſe merchants, they ſhould remove their factory to a houſe of Coſebequin. Of this grant a deed was made to the king of Portugal, to have poſſeſſion for ever, which the captain-general cauſed to be incloſed in a gold tablet, and to it the king ſet his firm and ſeal: the king alſo ordered, that a flag with the arms of Portugal ſhould be diſplayed on the top of the houſe, as a token of poſſeſſion. The captain-general upon this returned thanks to the king for his condeſcenſion. Coſebequin advanced their trade; and the community ſeeing how the Portugueſe were countenanced by the king, alſo encouraged them, which was productive of ſuch harmony and friendſhip, that the Portugueſe could travel in this country with as much ſafety as at Liſbon.

During this friendſhip, there appeared a great ſhip of the Moors at a diſtance, ſailing from Cochin to Cabaya. As ſoon as it was diſcovered, the king ſent a requeſt to the captain-general, that he would take the ſaid ſhip for his ſake; that there were on board ſome elephants, more particularly one, which he had offered more than the price for, and was refuſed, though the owner dwelt in Cochin; he, therefore, repeated his requeſt, as his honour and credit were at ſtake. The captain-general acceded very willingly, but as he was informed the ſhip was large, and contained many mariners and ſoldiers, who could not be taken without loſs of his men, it was requiſite that his men ſhould kill thoſe that were in the ſhip: to this the king agreed; whereupon the captain-general commanded Pedro de Tayde with his caravel, to take the Mooriſh ſhip, and that a valiant young gentleman, named Eduarte Pacheco, with ſixty men, ſhould accompany him. The king alſo ſent ſeveral Moors in the caraval, that they might ſee the order of fighting. The caravel being under ſail, gave chaſe till it was night, when they loſt ſight of the ſhip, and going along the coaſt all the quarter of the moon, they diſcovered where it was riding at anchor. Eduarte Pacheco now commanded to bear down upon her, but found the Moors in readineſs to receive him. As they were hoiſting up their ſail, they eaſily computed the ſhip to be of ſix hundred tons, and three hundred fighting men, well armed with bows. Pacheco upon this deferred to board her, as he was commanded; on the contrary, determined to ſink her, if poſſible. Having brought her under way, he commanded an attack, at which the Moors mocking him, ſhouted; and played upon their inſtruments. After this they diſcharged ſome of their ordnance and arrows, declaring their readineſs to defend themſelves. They were anſwered by the fire of the Portugueſe, one of whoſe bullets entered their ſhip between wind and water, and cauſed a conſiderable leak: a ſecond diſcharge from the Portugueſe did great execution, many of the enemy being killed and wounded, and the ſhip ſo much diſabled that they were obliged

obliged to bear away towards Cananor, where were four other Mooriſh ſhips. Eduarte Pacheco quickly followed, and commanded his ordnance to play againſt them: they would all have been taken, had not ſome Mooriſh paroas that were in the port, come to their ſuccour: the approach of night ſaved their deſtruction. In all theſe engagements the Portugueſe had but nine men hurt, and theſe by the arrows.

At night Eduarte Pacheco anchored near an iſland, to prevent their firing his ſhip, which he ſuſpected, as well as for greater ſecurity, and in the morning, though contrary to his commiſſion, he again joined the enemy, who were preparing to eſcape; but he attacked them with his ordnance, as they were beginning to ſail, and at laſt obliged them to yield. Thoſe of Cananor would have aſſiſted the Moors, but the Portugueſe artillery obliged them to ſeek their own ſafety.

Pacheco arrived at Calicut next day; the king came to the ſhore to view the ſhip, which he beheld as a miracle. The captain-general preſented it to the king, together with ſeven elephants that it carried, which in Calicut were worth thirty thouſand crowns, beſides other conſiderable merchandiſe, and the priſoners of war. The king made many acknowledgments, and beſtowed great commendations on Eduarte Pacheco. Unfortunately, however, in the end, this act, inſtead of giving the Portugueſe greater credit, excited the jealouſy of the king, who connived at treaſon, to diſpatch them out of his country.

The fears of the Moors of Calicut were alſo evident, and they ſhewed their diſlike of the Portugueſe in a long oration, in which, after depreciating their good qualities, they conſidered them only as pirates, that came to make prey of their country; and putting in the balance againſt them, the conſiderable profits ariſing from their traffic with the other Moors.

The king ſeemed to coincide with theſe repreſentations, and informed them that he had only uſed the Portugueſe as neceſſary for his purpoſe, and promiſed by no means to forſake the Moors. This did not ſatisfy them; they determined to aſſaſſinate the Portugueſe, which done, the king would be led again to countenance them.

By theſe perfidious meaſures the Portugueſe factor could obtain no more in two months than would lade two ſhips. This gave great diſſatisfaction to the captain-general, who perceived that the king was full as perfidious as he ſuſpected. Upon this he appealed to him to remember the promiſes he had made to the factor, that within twenty days he would furniſh cargoes for his whole fleet, and that now two months had elapſed, and only two ſhips loaded: he underſtood the reaſon: he had been patient to little effect, and now ſaw the matter was not near a concluſion. He had been promiſed a cargo before every ſtranger, and he with ſorrow ſaw the Moors preferred: it was neceſſary, therefore, he ſhould return to Portugal. The king returned a prevaricating anſwer, and ſeemed to expreſs great indignation that his orders were diſobeyed, alledging that the Mooriſh traffic was without his concurrence, and threatening puniſhment on the offenders; and immediately commanded the contraband ſhips to be ſeized. The Moors willing to involve the Portugueſe in difficulties, impoſed upon them the taſk of ſeizing the ſhip which was openly loaded by a principal Moor, and it was hinted to the factor, that he could not obtain his wiſh without this meaſure was adopted.

The factor, impoſed upon by theſe deluſive propoſals, ſent word to the captain-general of what he had been informed; adding, that as the king had given his licence, it would be proper to ſeize the Mooriſh ſhips. The captain-general finding what kind

of people he had to deal with, therefore anſwered the factor, that this meaſure would be a pretext for the Moors to riſe againſt them. The factor however, urged the danger of the merchandiſe they had already gotten; at the ſame time promiſing to anſwer all the expence and damage himſelf. The captain-general, unwillingly, at laſt acceded to his propoſal, and December 16, ſent to the Mooriſh ſhip a command to depart, in purſuance of the will of the king.

Theſe meaſures falling in with the wiſh of the Moors, offered a fit opportunity of breaking with the Portugueſe: they began by the moſt furious outrages and tumultuous proceedings; they ran to the king with complaints, declaring the covetouſneſs of the Portugueſe to be greater than that of thieves and pirates. The pretended friends of the factor alſo joined in the complaint, and after blaming the king for licenſing them, demanded to make retaliation. The king, as inconſtant as unfaithful, granted their requeſt, and the whole city was in an inſtant confuſion. They took to their arms, and ranged about like wild beaſts; they then attacked the factory, which was walled round like a caſtle, about the height of a man on horſeback. In this place were about ſeventy Portugueſe, among whom were friar Henrique and his company of friars. The Portugueſe were poſſeſſed of only eight croſs-bows, beſides a few rapiers. As ſoon as they perceived the approach of the Moors, they reſorted to the gate of the factory, and perceiving only a few of the enemy, they imagined them only to be wranglers, and prepared to defend their gate with their cloaks and rapiers only; but ſeeing the power of the Moors increaſe, and annoyed by their weapons, the factor ordered the gate to be ſhut, imagining this would be ſufficient to diſperſe the rabble, whom they might attack from their wall. At the ſhutting of the gate, ſeven of them were ſlain, fighting valiantly. In this conflict ſeveral of the Portugueſe were hurt, and four ſlain: however, thoſe that remained, healthy and wounded, went upon the wall of the factory to defend themſelves, and attack the enemy with their croſs-bows. The Moors however increaſing, and aſſiſted by the preſence of ſeveral nayres, Ares Corea found it impoſſible to make head againſt ſuch numbers, and cauſed a flag to be diſplayed on the top of the factory, to inform the captain-general of his ſituation. As ſoon as the ſignal was perceived by him, he was much grieved, having been let blood, and therefore could not perſonally aſſiſt them; but he ſent Sancho de Toar, with all the boats of the fleet, who perceiving the force of the enemy, durſt not go too near ſhore, leſt their almadias ſhould overpower him, and make his men priſoners. However, he perceived the bravery of the Portugueſe on ſhore, who, though few, bravely withſtood the enemy, till a machine was brought that battered down their wall, and they were obliged to flee at a back door of the factory. They ſought to gain the ſhips boats, but the enemy perceiving their intention, intercepted them, and in the conflict Ares Corea and fifty men were killed and taken priſoners; twenty only eſcaped by ſwimming, among whom was friar Henrique, and a ſon of Ares Corea, about eleven years of age.

The captain-general, compleatly exaſperated againſt the king, and imagining a poor reception at Cochin, on account of taking their ſhip, ſeriouſly reſolved to revenge himſelf of theſe Moors, if the king did not make ſome compenſation for the late outrage. He found the king diſinclined to do this, and, on the contrary, not only countenanced what had been done, but ſeized all that remained in the factory to his own uſe, to the amount of four thouſand ducats, and all the Portugueſe that remained alive in his poſſeſſion, he made captives.

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The neglect of ſending any apology, determined the captain-general, in a council of war, immediately to do himſelf ample juſtice, before the Moors could be in a readineſs to retaliate. He ordered his fleet to board ten great ſhips which lay in the harbour full of Moors. Theſe at firſt defended themſelves, but ſo ineffectually, that they were overpowered, and many of them killed and wounded by the Portugueſe. Several of thoſe that remained, leaped into the ſea, and were drowned; others hid themſelves in the ſhips, and were taken alive, to ſerve as mariners in the fleet. The ſhips thus ſeized, were laden with merchandiſe, which had been hidden in them, beſides three elephants, which the captain-general cauſed to be killed and ſalted for proviſion. Upon examination, ſix hundred Moors were found to be killed.

The ſhips being lightened of their contents, were ſet on fire in the face of the city, and in the ſight of the Moors, who approached in their almadias to ſuccour them; but ſo weak were their efforts, that they were bravely repulſed by the Portugueſe, who drove them to their city with conſiderable loſs. The king was much grieved at the loſs of the ſhips, more eſpecially as he could not ſend to ſuccour them.

The captain-general, not contented with burning the ſhips, cauſed his fleet to be anchored in the night as near the ſhore as poſſible, with their boats before them, that they might come as cloſe as poſſible to command the city. As ſoon as morning appeared, the great ordnance were diſcharged againſt the town, which the enemy perceiving, returned vollies of ſhot from their ſmall artillery, but with ſuch little execution, that their whole town was one ſcene of confuſion. The palace, temples, and chief buildings were among the devaſtation. The king fled with precipitation, and narrowly eſcaped being ſhot, a nayre being killed cloſe to his heels. This deſtruction laſted a day, and whilſt it was tranſacting, two ſhips of war made their approach, but on the formidable appearance of the Portugueſe fleet, they departed without fighting. The captain-general made after them with all his fleet to Panderane, a port at a ſmall diſtance, where there were ſeven others of the Moors to aſſiſt them. As the fleet could not come near the ſhore, they left them; and the captain-general contenting himſelf with the exploit at Calicut, and being late for his voyage to Portugal, ſailed towards Cochin, with the idea of taking in his lading there, as it abounded with more pepper than Calicut.

The captain-general being under ſail for Cochin, took two Mooriſh ſhips that had ſailed as near the ſhore as poſſible, for fear of the Portugueſe. Having emptied them of rice, which they contained, he ſet fire to them, and continuing his voyage, arrived on the 20th of December at Cochin, which ſtandeth in the province of Malabar, nineteen leagues ſouth of Calicut, and nine degrees towards the north.

Its ſituation is along a river, in which the ſea enters, by which means the city ſtands upon a ſort of iſland, and is difficult of acceſs but by particular ways. It has a large and ſafe port, which lies before the mouth of this river. The ſurrounding land is watry and low, and formed into iſlands. The proviſions are ſcarce, but in general freſh. The city is built after the manner of Calicut, and is inhabited by ſeveral conſiderable Mooriſh merchants.

Except in pepper this country is inferior in merchandiſe to Calicut. The king is a Pagan, and very poor, nor can he coin money in his city. It is tributary to the king of Calicut, for at every ſucceſſion of the kings of Calicut, the king of Cochin is obliged to hold his kingdom at the diſcretion of the other. He is alſo bound to fight the enemies of the king of Calicut, and embrace his religious perſuaſion.

The

The captain-general having anchored, ſent Michael Jogue a baptiſed Pagan, to inform the king of Cochin of what had paſſed at Calicut, and offered to traffic with him for the commodities which Cochin offered; and if this did not meet with the king's approbation, he would purchaſe for ready money whatever he wiſhed to diſpoſe of; he therefore wiſhed he would give him lading for four of his ſhips.

The king's anſwer was very amicable: he was happy the Portugueſe were arrived at his port; he had heard of their valour, and they might traffic on their own terms; without fear they might ſend aſhore whom they pleaſed, who might travel over his country, without moleſtation, to provide their lading: and for the aſſurance of the rectitude of his intentions, he deputed two principal nayres as hoſtages, upon condition that every day they ſhould change them for two others, as all ſuch as fed on ſhip-board were not ſuffered any more to approach the king's preſence. The captain-general was much pleaſed with this meſſage and conduct, and therefore immediately ſent Gonſallo Gil Barboſa, whom he had ſent with Ares Corea, as his factor. For his ſcrivener he ſent Lorenço Moreno, and Maderade Alcuſia for interpreter; he alſo appointed them four baniſhed men as attendants.

The king having notice of the approach of the factor, ſent the rogidor of the city to receive him, accompanied by many noblemen to conduct him to the king. There was much difference in the circumſtances and magnificence of this king and the king of Calicut. His houſe was nothing but bare walls, wherein he ſat cloſed by a ſort of grating, in the form of an amphitheatre, with which the whole houſe was alſo encompaſſed. The factor, on being preſented, gave the king the gift which the captain-general had ſent, which was a baſon of ſilver to waſh his hands in, full of ſaffron; a large ewer of ſilver, full of roſe-water; and a number of branches of coral. The preſent was joyfully received, and many acknowledgments made to the donor; and after the king had talked ſome time with the factor and Lorenço Moreno, he commanded them to be lodged, as well as the three baniſhed men. The captain-general, however, would not conſent that any more ſhould diſembark; for he judged the fewer there remained on land, the loſs would be leſs conſiderable, ſhould a like diſaſter happen at this place as at Calicut. But his fears were ill founded; the king of Cochin ſeemed a man inclined to virtue, and this idea was not ill-founded, as afterwards, by his means, not only the king of Portugal, but the whole Chriſtian faith were profited.

Whilſt the captain-general ſtaid in this place, two Chriſtian Indians, natives of Crangalor, near Cochin, and brothers, paid him a viſit, and expreſſed a deſire to ſee Portugal, and from thence to go to Rome to viſit the pope, and the ſepulchre at Jeruſalem. Being pleaſed with their converſation, and their account of the Chriſtian religion profeſſed among them, he gladly received them, and ordered them a good cabin in his ſhip, to conduct them to Portugal.

There came alſo to him meſſengers from the kings of Cananor and Coulan, great potentates in the kingdom of Malabar, inviting him to traffic with them at a much cheaper rate than at Cochin. He received the meſſengers very amicably, but informed them he could not at this time viſit them, as he had begun his merchandiſe at Cochin; but at his next return he would pay them proper attention. As ſoon as he had taken in his lading, a fleet of twenty-five great ſhips were diſcovered, beſides ſmaller veſſels. The king of Cochin having notice of this, immediately acquainted the captain-general that the fleet conſiſted of fifteen thouſand men, who came with the ſole purpoſe of ſeeking him out, and therefore, if he ſtood in need of aſſiſtance, he

he would be ready to ſupply him. The captain-general declared he ſtood not in need of his offer; that with the power he already had, and the divine aſſiſtance, he would give them to underſtand the ill advice they had taken, for that he had well experienced their ſtrength. The captain-general now prepared to attack the enemy, who had been ſcouring up and down the ſeas, and having his ſails ſpread, he departed with the pledges from the king of Cochin, but with the intent of reſtoring them on his return.

A.D. 1501. At his departure a great ſtorm ſuddenly aroſe with a contrary wind, ſo that he was obliged to return. The day following, January 10, the wind veered about: the captain-general wiſhing to attack the enemy, again prepared for battle, but ſuddenly miſſed one of his largeſt ſhips, the captain of which was Sancho de Toar, who had been miſled through the darkneſs of the night. The want of this ſhip counteracted his intention of attacking the Mooriſh fleet, and for good reaſon, his fleet being ſickly, and men few; and that of the Moors as many in number as had been repreſented by the king of Cochin.

The wind being fair for the voyage to Portugal, and contrary for Cochin, he ſet ſail, making way into the ſea with his whole fleet. The fleet of the enemy followed all that day till night, when they loſt ſight of each other. Purſuing his courſe, it was neceſſary to comfort the two nayres that were delivered to him for pledges, who at laſt fell to their victuals, having eaten nothing for five days. On the 15th of January he came within ſight of Cananor, lying north from Cochin on the coaſt of Malabar, thirty-one leagues.

Cananor is a great city, conſiſting of houſes made of earth, and covered with broad ſtone or ſlate: it is a place of conſiderable merchandiſe; has a good bay, but no great trade in pepper; yet they have great quantities of ginger, cardamums, tamarinds, mirobolans, caſſia fiſtula, &c. Belonging to this city are pools of water, in which ſubſiſt lagartos, reſembling crocodiles in the Nile; they deſtroy men; their heads are large, with double rows of teeth; their breath as ſweet as muſk, and their bodies covered with ſcales. This city alſo produces adders, whoſe breath is even poiſonous; and bats as large as kites, reſembling in other reſpects a fox. On theſe bats the natives feed, for they are good and pleaſant eating. Here are alſo plenty of fiſh, fleſh, and fruit: their rice is imported from other places. The king is a pagan and a bramin; he is accounted one of the three of the province of Malabar, but is not ſo conſiderable as the kings of Calicut or Coulan.

Here the captain-general caſt anchor, not only becauſe he had been invited by the king, but that he wanted to lade his ſhips with cinnamon, of which he had none on board. He took in here four hundred quintals, (each about one hundred weight) and refuſed more: the king ſuppoſed he was in want of money, and acquainted him he would truſt him much more, if he would take it, for he had heard of the fair dealings of the Portugueſe, and held them in high reſpect. The captain-general thanked him for his liberal offer, and acquainted him that he would inform the king of Portugal of the good-will he had towards him, and aſſured him of his friendſhip.

After this the king delivered him an ambaſſador, whom he ſent to the king of Portugal to cement the friendſhip thus commenced between them.

In the midſt of that gulph, on the laſt of January, the captain-general took a large ſhip laden with merchandiſe, but perceiving it belonged to the king of Cambaya, he declined to make prize of it, but ſent word to that king, that his coming into the Indies was

not to make war, except with the king of Calicut, for that he had broken the peace made with him. However, he took from the ſhip a pilot to conduct him out of the gulph.

Following their courſe in this tempeſt, they paſſed by Melinda, but could not harbour there, nor at any place, till he arrived at Mozambique, which he took in his way, as well for want of water, as to repair his ſhips, which were all leaky.

Mean time Sancho de Toar was ſent to diſcover Sofala, from whence he was to return to Portugal with an account of the place. The ſhips being all in readineſs, they returned toward Cape Buena Eſperanza, where another ſevere ſtorm overtook them: there was caſt overboard out of a ſhip her great pieces of ordnance, which ſhip was never ſeen again in the courſe of that voyage.

After ſo many and dreadful ſtorms, and other great dangers, he doubled the cape May 22, being Whitſunday, and purſuing the voyage, came to anchor at Cape Verde, where he found Diego Dias, whoſe company he had before loſt, when he went towards the Indies: he had been driven to the Red Sea, where he had been obliged to winter, and loſt his boat. Here moſt of his men died, and as the pilot durſt not venture to carry him to the Indies, returned towards Portugal. Having ventured out to ſea, his company had been reduced to ſeven, through hunger and fatigue, not being able to guide their ſails.

The captain-general ſeeing there came no more ſhips, departed towards Liſbon, where he arrived the laſt day of July. After him arrived the ſhip that had loſt the ordnance at Cape Buena Eſperanza; and Sancho de Toar, who had been ſent to diſcover Sofala. He related that it was a ſmall iſland, ſtanding near to the firm land; that it was inhabited by black men, called Cares; that the land produced gold, and there were mines of that metal: that it was the reſort of the Moors for that merchandiſe, their barter being of ſmall value. He alſo brought a Moor with him, which was given as a pledge for one of his men, who had been ſent to view the inland country. The information of this Moor was very conſiderable. Including this laſt ſhip, there returned to Portugal only ſix of the twelve that had gone for the Indies, the other ſix having been loſt.

Oſorio ſays, that at Braſil, Cabral being pleaſed with the ſtupid, though honeſt ſimplicity of this people, went aſhore. He ordered an altar to be erected under the ſhade of a large tree; here maſs was performed, and a ſermon preached ſuitable to the occaſion: nor were the natives excluded from theſe religious rites. During the whole ceremony, they ſeemed to be wrapt up in ſilent admiration; and, by their outward geſtures, appeared to be moved with a ſenſe of religion.

When Cabral was about to return to the fleet, they followed him with the higheſt joy; this they expreſſed by ſinging, by ſounding trumpets, by throwing arrows into the air; and with uplifted hands, in a kind of rapture, they ſeemed to thank God for the arrival of this people in their country. In ſhort, their tranſport was ſo exceſſive, that it carried them almoſt to a degree of diſtraction: many of them waded after Cabral into the ſea, till they were up to the breaſt; ſome ſwam after him; others went in boats to the ſhips, nor would they move from them without the greateſt difficulty. Whilſt Cabral lay at anchor here, till he laid in a freſh ſupply of water and proviſions, a very uncommon ſort of fiſh was thrown aſhore, which not a little

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ſurpriſed the people. In thickneſs, it was equal to that of a large hogſhead; and, in length, about twice as much. Its head and eyes reſembled thoſe of a hog; its ears were not unlike an elephant's; it had no teeth; the ſkin was about an inch thick, covered all over with briſtles; the tail was about five feet in length.

The admiral ordered a marble pillar to be ſet up, like thoſe which Gama had fixed in ſeveral places. He called the country Santa Cruz, but it afterwards received the name of Brazil.

Oſorio's account of Brazil contains ſome curious particulars unnoticed by others. It lies on the ſouth of the line; is very extenſive, and ſome parts are almoſt adjoining to that tract of land called Peru, which belongs to the kings of Spain. The country is fertile, pleaſant, and ſo healthy, that the inhabitants make no uſe of medicines; for almoſt all who die here, are not cut off by any diſtemper, but worn out by age. Here are many large rivers, beſides a vaſt number of delightful ſprings. The plains are large and ſpacious, and afford excellent paſture. The harbours are extremely commodious, and eaſy of acceſs; and ſhips may ride in ſafety in the moſt boiſterous weather. In ſhort, the whole country affords a moſt beautiful proſpect, being diverſified with hills and vallies, and theſe covered with thick ſhady woods, ſtocked with great variety of trees, many of which the Portugueſe were quite ſtrangers to: of theſe there was one of a particular nature, the leaves of which, when cut, ſend forth a kind of balſam. The trees uſed in dying ſcarlet, grow here in vaſt plenty, and to a great height. The ſoil likewiſe produces the moſt uſeful plants; particularly that one called ſancta, which cures ulcers, removes ſhortneſs of breath, heals feſtered wounds threatening to infect the whole body, and cures many diſtempers when the art of medicine can avail nothing.

The natives, as we have ſaid above, are of a black colour, with long ſoft hair. They appear all to be beardleſs, for with great care they pluck the hairs from their faces, with inſtruments like tweezers. They are ſtrangers to letters, as well as religion; are bound by no laws, nor under the government of any prince; but when engaged in a war, they chooſe for their general the man whom they know to be the braveſt, and moſt ſkilled in warlike affairs. The generality of this people wear no cloaths, though the nobility are covered from the waiſt to the knees with ſkins of parrots, and other birds of various colours. Their heads are alſo adorned with caps made of feathers. The women dreſs and comb their hair with a good deal of nicety: the men ſhave theirs from the forehead to the crown. Thoſe who affect to deck themſelves with ſome kind of elegance, bore holes through their ears, noſtrils, lips, and other parts; there they fix precious ſtones of various colours. The women, in like manner, adorn themſelves with little ſhells, which they account to be of great value. In war they make uſe of bows, and ſhoot with ſo much dexterity, that they ſeldom miſs whatever part of the body they aim at. Their arrows are not pointed with ſteel, but with the bones of fiſh; theſe make ſuch an impreſſion, that they will pierce through the thickeſt boards. They get their food by hunting, but are far from being nice in their eating; for they will often live upon monkies, lizards, ſnakes, and mice. The boats they uſe are made of the bark of large trees, and of ſuch a ſize, that they will contain thirty men. When they go a fiſhing, ſome row the boat, whilſt others beat the water, ſo as to frighten the fiſh, which will then ſwim up to the ſurface, and are caught in large dry hollow pumpkins, placed in the water for that purpoſe. They ſow no corn, making their bread of the root of a certain plant, about the ſize of that

called purſlain; this root, however, is deadly poiſon, if ate before it is properly prepared. In order to extract the poiſonous juice, they pound and ſqueeze it with great violence, then dry it in the ſun: they afterwards grind it in mills to a kind of flour, of which they make wholeſome and well taſted bread. From this likewiſe they diſtil a kind of liquor not unlike ale, of which when they have drunk to exceſs, they will run into the moſt mad and miſchievous actions. They are great obſervers of augury, and believe much in ſorcerers. There are a certain ſet of men amongſt them called pages, whom they hold in high veneration, and conſult in dubious affairs. Theſe men generally carry an arrow, upon the top of which is fixed a gourd, cut in the ſhape of a man's head; within this they often light ſome herbs that ſend forth a ſmoke, which they draw up their noſtrils till they become quite intoxicated; for ſuch is the nature of theſe herbs, that the ſmoke will produce the ſame effect as wine when drank to exceſs: then they will reel, gnaſh their teeth, foam at the mouth, roll their eyes, and by their frantic motions, ſtrike a terror into all around them: every ſpectator imagines all this to proceed from a divine inſpiration; and if any perſon (to whom one of theſe men thus intoxicated, has foretold ſome dreadful calamity) ſhould meet with any diſaſter, they impute it to prediction. Whereſoever theſe bacchanalians go, they are received with univerſal acclamations: the ſtreets are lined with crowds on each ſide to behold them; muſic is performed, and dances led up in their honour. The moſt beautiful women, married as well as unmarried, are given up to their poſſeſſion; for theſe wretched mortals are of opinion, that if they are in favour with theſe men, all things will go on proſperouſly.

In this country daughters are not allowed to be married to their fathers, nor ſiſters to their brothers. All others may be joined in wedlock without diſtinction. The huſbands may upon any ſlight offence, turn off their wives, and if they find them guilty of adultery, have a right to kill them, or ſell them as ſlaves. Parents have no power over their daughters, theſe being under ſubjection to their brothers, who can ſell them whenever they pleaſe: and, there being no money in that country, they barter them for ſuch things as they want for uſe or pleaſure. The natives in general are extremely averſe to labour, and much addicted to luxury and eaſe: when not engaged in war, they ſpend their whole time in feaſting, ſinging, and dancing to a moſt immoderate degree. In their dances they form a ring, but they do not move round, but always remain in the ſame place. In their ſongs they obſerve no notes or rules, for all is performed in a manner that is rude and unharmonious. In theſe they celebrate their warlike exploits, and beſtow the higheſt encomiums on military courage: to ſinging they likewiſe add whiſtling, and at the ſame time with their feet beat the ground in a kind of tranſport. Whilſt ſome are engaged in dancing, others are continually ſupplying them with liquor, till at laſt they become ſo overpowered with drinking, that they fall down in a ſtate of inſenſibility.

Their houſes are built of wood, thatched with reeds, and ſurrounded with a double or triple wall, becauſe of the frequent wars they are expoſed to. In one of theſe houſes (for they are all very long) ſeveral families dwell. Thoſe who live in this manner together, are thought to be connected by a kind of ſacred tie, for with pleaſure they will riſk their lives in defence of each other. When theſe people enter into war, it is not to defend nor enlarge their territories, but to maintain their dignity, when they have been ſlighted by any neighbouring or diſtant nation: then they chooſe a council, compoſed chiefly of men advanced in age, who in their youth have ſignalized

lized themſelves in war. Before theſe enter into conſultation about their affairs, it is the cuſtom for every one to drink a pretty large quantity of liquor. When theſe old men have determined any thing in regard to peace or war, all acquieſce in their determination with the greateſt chearfulneſs. They chooſe for their general, as we have ſaid above, the man who is in the higheſt eſteem for warlike courage: but if the perſon whom they fix upon ſhould betray the leaſt mark of cowardice, they immediately ſtrip him of his honour, and ſubſtitute another in his place. The general goes round all their houſes, calling aloud to the inhabitants, and inviting them to war with encouraging ſpeeches: he tells them in what manner every man ought to be accoutred, and endeavours to animate them with courage and intrepidity. They not only uſe bows and arrows, but alſo ſwords of a very hard wood, with which they cut and maim their enemies in a terrible manner. In war they fight much by ſtratagem, and their chief aim, if poſſible, is to fall upon the enemy by ſurpriſe. The captives taken in battle, eſpecially if old men, they immediately eat; the reſt are put in fetters. They bury their own people who have fallen in battle, with great ſolemnity, lamenting over their bodies, and extolling the deceaſed for their bravery and courage. They allow their captives plenty of all ſorts of proviſions, nay, even furniſh them with women: but upon any grand rejoicing, they bring forth one of theſe unhappy wretches, ſuch as is moſt fat and plump, and tie him with ropes. The woman who has been the priſoner's miſtreſs during his captivity, as a mark of her affection, firſt fixes the rope about his neck, and drags him along to be made a ſacrifice. The men coming next, tie ropes about his waiſt, legs, and arms; then fix him to a pillar, where they paint him with various colours, and adorn him with feathers. But leſt they ſhould appear too cruel, they often looſen the ropes, and chear his ſpirits with abundance of meat and liquor. In the mean time the whole people are publicly feaſting, dancing, drinking, and ſinging, for three days ſucceſſively. On the fourth, the hands and legs of the captive are untied, and he is led in ſolemnity towards a cave. Several women and boys pull him along by the ropes about his waiſt, whilſt others pelt him in his way with oranges and all kind of fruits: in his turn, he picks them up and throws them back again. During the whole ſcene, he ſeems undaunted, nay, appears to be joyful, and drinks plentifully. The ſpectators inſult him with the moſt abuſive language, telling him, that he ſhall now ſuffer puniſhment for all his crimes; that they will kill him, cut him to pieces, and eat him. On the other hand, he replies with boldneſs, that he has always acted the part of a brave man, and will die as ſuch, bidding defiance to all their tortures. If they do kill him, he has likewiſe ſlain many of their people: if they do glut themſelves with his fleſh, it gives him ſome ſatisfaction to think he had been often regaled on the mangled bodies of the friends of thoſe who were to be his murderers: beſides, that he had many brothers and relations, who he knew would not ſuffer his death to go unrevenged.

The captive is at laſt brought to the cave, where the perſon who had kept him in cuſtody, at the ſame time enters with a large ſword in his hand, his body painted, and his neck adorned with feathers; he dances, ſings, whiſtles, and brandiſhes his ſword in a threatening manner. The captive in the mean while tries to catch the weapon from him, but this he is unable to compaſs, being ſo confined by the ropes, which the boys and women pull on each ſide, that he cannot move from the place where he ſtands. Whilſt he remains in this poſture, the executioner ſtuns him with ſeveral blows, and at laſt with one terrible ſtroke cleaves his ſkull, and ſcatters his brains.

He

He afterwards cuts off his hands. The women then advance, and taking up the body, throw it upon a fire of wood, where it lies till all the hairs are ſcorched off: then they open the belly, and take out the entrails; the reſt of the body they cut into ſmall pieces, which theſe barbarians feaſt upon with the higheſt ſatisfaction.

There is likewiſe another ſort of people in this country, of the ſame brutal and ſavage diſpoſition, who live in the woods and mountains, and are continually waging war with thoſe who live in houſes. No crime is puniſhed amongſt them except murder. The relations of the murderer are obliged to deliver him up to thoſe of the deceaſed, who by their nearneſs of blood have a right to demand juſtice: theſe accordingly put the criminal to death; then the relations of both, with mutual ſorrow and lamentation, join in performing the funeral rites over the two bodies: this ceremony being finiſhed, they feaſt together, and all animoſity being laid aſide, they become hearty friends. But if it happens that the perſon who has killed another ſhould make his eſcape, then his daughters, ſiſters, or ſome of his neareſt kinſwomen, are delivered up as ſlaves to the relations of the deceaſed; and thus at laſt the injury is forgot, and all reſentment buried in oblivion.

I thought it might not be improper thus to deſcribe at large the manners of this barbarous nation, that from thence we may ſee what groſs and ſhocking abſurdities mankind will be apt to run into, when uncivilized by letters, but above all, when not enlightened by the ſacred truths of religion.

Oſorio ſays, that after the ſtorm the remaining ſeven ſhips proceeded, but in a ſhort time were again ſeparated by hard weather; however, at laſt they all met together on the 27th of July, except one which had put back to Portugal, with only ſix of her men ſurviving: the reſt of their crew had been cut off by thirſt, hunger, and various other calamities.

The change in the king of Quiloa's conduct Oſorio thus accounts for. When things were about to be ſettled on this amicable footing, the Arabian merchants interfered with their wonted malice, accuſing the Portugueſe of wickedneſs and cruelty: they ſaid they were aſtoniſhed at the ſimplicity of the king, in repoſing confidence in a crew of pirates, who, if their miſchievous ſchemes were not fruſtrated, would, under a maſk of friendſhip, in a few years ſtrip him of all his poſſeſſions. Theſe miſchievous calumnies wrought ſuch an effect on the king, that he not only laid aſide all thoughts of making a league with the Portugueſe, but even contracted the moſt inveterate hatred againſt them. He accordingly ordered the city to be reinforced with ſoldiers, the garriſon to be ſtrengthened, and all ſuch other preparations to be made as are uſual in ſea ports, when the enemy is in the harbour.

The ſame author relates, whilſt the ſhips were taking in their lading with great forwardneſs, two Indian Chriſtians, of the city of Cranganor, about twenty miles diſtant from thence, came to Cochin: theſe men being inſtructed in the goſpel propagated in India by St. Thomas, had for many years adhered to the Chriſtian faith with great zeal and conſtancy; they waited on Cabral, and intreated him to carry them to Portugal, that they might travel from thence to Rome and Jeruſalem, to viſit thoſe places where Chriſt and his apoſtles had formerly preached. The admiral granted their requeſt with great chearfulneſs.

De Barros ſays, that when king Emanuel acquainted his ſubjects with the diſcoveries of Vaſco de Gama, and when they ſaw the rich productions he had brought home,

home, ſuch as pepper, cloves, cinnamon, other ſpices, and precious ſtones, their amazement was great, and the value of the commodities hitherto brought by the Venetians was much leſſened.

That it was determined in council to ſend a powerful fleet in the month of March, which was then known to be the proper ſeaſon for ſailing from Europe to India. He deſcribes the ceremonies at the embarkation much in the ſame manner as Caſtagneda.

He ſays, that the ſhip which ſeparated from the fleet, was commanded by Luis Perez, and was obliged to return to Liſbon. That in order to avoid the calms which prevail on the coaſt of Guinea, and the better to ſecure his paſſage round the Cape of Good Hope, he made a ſtretch out to ſea, and by that means diſcovered a new land. On the 24th of April, when the pilots by their reckoning judged they were four hundred and fifty leagues eaſtward of the coaſt of Guinea, and in ten degrees ſouth, they were ſo prepoſſeſſed with an idea that there was not any continent to the weſtward of Africa, that they concluded it to be an iſland.

He ſays, here Cabral left two criminals to learn the language of the natives, which ſucceeded ſo well, that one of them was afterwards of great ſervice. That after the comet before ſpoken of, diſappeared, a terrible dark cloud aroſe from the north, which obſcured the whole ſky, and falling calm, it ſeemed as if the cloud was abſorbing every breath of air, to burſt with the greater fury. This the fleet fatally experienced, for there was ſuch a dreadful hurricane in a moment, that the ſhips had no time to hand a ſail. The conſequences of which have been already told. Nothing, continues he, could equal the horror of this ſtorm; ſuch darkneſs prevailed, and the noiſe of the ſea was ſo great, that they could neither ſee nor hear each other, and for twenty days were not able to ſhew any ſail, and conſtantly in more or leſs danger of foundering.

Cabral on the 16th of July, found himſelf and ſix of his fleet off Sofala, in ſo deplorable a ſituation, as to require him rather to return, than to attempt new diſcovery or conqueſt. His people murmured at the thoughts of proceeding; however, the general appeaſed them. At Mozambique, to which he proceeded, he was much better received than Vaſco de Gama had been, and during the ſix days he remained there, he repaired his ſhips.

Cabral alſo was well received by the king of Melinda, who beſides his former good intention to the Portugueſe, was highly pleaſed with the civilities ſhewed to the ſcheik Fatima, and alſo to ſee ſo great a force in his port, capable to aſſiſt him againſt the king of Mombaſſa, whoſe enmity he had incurred by his civilities to De Gama. At the interview between the king and Cabral, Barros ſays the king ſubmitted himſelf and country to the will and pleaſure of the king of Portugal.

While Cabral ſtaid at Anchediva, the inhabitants brought ſuch proviſions as the country afforded in great plenty, and although they purchaſed abundance, and gave trifles for them, yet the people were ſo poor, and importunate for the Portugueſe to purchaſe, that they became quite troubleſome. The natives paid great attention to all the ceremonies of devotion which the Portugueſe uſed, but the prieſts not knowing their language, could not convert them.

De Barros ſays, Cabral did not demand hoſtages of the king of Calicut for the people he firſt put on ſhore, to ſhew the confidence he placed in him. And when he fixed on the hoſtages by name, whom he demanded as a ſecurity for his own perſon, the

the king made excuſes, that they were bramins, who could not from a point of religion, eat or ſleep out of their own houſes, and eſpecially on ſhip board. However, from a dread he ſtood in of the ſhips, he at laſt conſented to an interview, which has been already fully deſcribed.

He ſays, that Cabral ſent with Corea father Henry, with the other prieſts, to enter on the converſion of the people, which he recommended might be proceeded on very judiciouſly, as the people were much given to idolatry. But he adds, that thoſe who came, did it only out of curioſity, and therefore there was little done either for converſion or trade.

Of the unfortunate affair of the deſtruction of the factory, De Barros relates that Cabral had arrived in this port three months, and had not yet got more ſpices than to load two of his veſſels, and every quintal of ſuch ſpices had coſt him a great deal more than it ought, by the delays and artifices made uſe of by the king's officers, who had been appointed to load the ſhips, and all inſtigated by the Moors, and principally by Coge Comecery. He ordered Corea to make heavy complaints of theſe delays to the king, and to tell him that the Moors got ſpices in the night to load their ſhips. The king anſwered, if that was the caſe, he gave Cabral leave to ſeize any ſhip that he could find, and if they found any, he would likewiſe ſeverely puniſh his officers for ſuch conduct. With this meſſage Cabral loſt no time to make the ſearch, and the next day he ordered his boats to go on board a veſſel which was ſaid to have ſome, which was on the 16th of November; but on ſearching, none was found, but ſhe was loaded with proviſions. The Portugueſe began to think that the Moors propagated about theſe things merely to make them commit ſome outrage, by which diſputes might ariſe, and ſome fatal conſequences enſue, which, in fact, ſucceeded to their wiſh; for on the Portugueſe rummaging this Mooriſh ſhip, the Moors all left her, and went aſhore in a tumultuous manner, and raiſing the populace, fell upon ſome of Ares Corea's men, who were innocently walking about the city, and murdered them. Purſuing their intent of deſtruction, they made towards the factory, and though thoſe of the Portugueſe that could, got into it, it was not ſtrong enough for defence, to hold out any time: a flag was hoiſted to give intelligence to Cabral of their danger, but before any aſſiſtance could be ſent them, they were moſt of them killed in defending the factory, and of thoſe few that made towards the ſhore, to get on board the ſhips, many were killed before they reached the ſame; for the inhabitants had the night before taken precautions to dig holes near the beach, that thoſe who might run for ſafety towards the ſhips, might fall in them, and be more eaſily deſtroyed. The number that got to the boats, all of which had been ſent to protect their countrymen, did not exceed twenty; amongſt them was friar Henry, and four others of his eccleſiaſtics: he was much wounded.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

Voyages of Cortereal; of Americus Veſputius towards the South Pole; and of De Nova to the Eaſt Indies.

A. D. 1500. EMANUEL this year granted a general licence to Gaſpar Cortereal to diſcover Newfoundland, which Cabot had coaſted about three years before, as will be mentioned in the Engliſh voyages. He ſailed from the iſland of Tercera, with two ſhips, well appointed, at his own coſt, proceeded to fifty degrees north, and came ſafe back to Liſbon. Oſorio relates this ſtory with ſome difference; he ſays, that as almoſt all the places towards the ſouth had been found out by the Portugueſe, Cortereal, or Corberegal, as he calls him, determined to try his ſucceſs towards the north; that he ſailed from Liſbon, and came in ſight of a country, which, from the beautiful verdure of the place, he called Green Land. The inhabitants were barbarous and ſavage, their complexions white, but by age and the exceſſive coldneſs of the climate, is by degrees changed into a brown colour. They are ſurpriſingly ſwift, very expert in archery, and the arrows they uſe being hardened in the fire, will wound as deep as thoſe pointed with ſteel. They clothed themſelves with the ſkins of beaſts, living in caves or little huts, covered with ſtraw. They have no religion, though at the ſame time they are great obſervers of augury. They take wives in marriage, but being of a jealous diſpoſition, are extremely diſtruſtful of their honour and chaſtity.—This was the account which Cortereal gave of that people on his return to Portugal.

A. D. 1501. Being full of hopes that he ſhould ſtill make further diſcoveries on that coaſt, he ſailed on a ſecond voyage, but never returned, nor was it ever known what became of him. His brother Michael, who had a conſiderable place under king Emanuel, being moved with a deep concern for the loſs of ſo near a relation, was reſolved to make ſome enquiry after him; and accordingly ſet out the next year with two ſhips for the ſame country. This gentleman ſuffered the like fate, for he was never more heard of.

The king was much affected with the loſs of two noblemen of ſuch diſtinguiſhed worth, and made all poſſible enquiry after them; but the ſhips which he ſent for that purpoſe returned, without being able to learn any thing concerning thoſe unhappy perſons. There was a third ſurviving brother, Vaſco John Cortereal, who entertaining ſome hopes that his brother might be ſtill alive, wanted to undertake the ſame voyage, but his majeſty would not permit him to go, leaſt he too might meet the like unhappy fate.

The ſame year, Galvam mentions, three ſhips ſailed to diſcover the Brazils; but we rather ſuppoſe in conſequence of the intelligence received by the caravel diſpatched by Cabral; he has preſerved no particulars of the voyage. We may conclude with reaſon that theſe were the three ſhips, in one of which Americus Veſputius went his third voyage.

This celebrated man was ſo little ſatisfied with the recompence he received from king Ferdinand for the important ſervices he conceived he had rendered him, that he retired to Seville much diſcontented; when Emanuel king of Portugal learning the cauſe of his diſcontent, judged of what importance it was to have ſo uſeful a man

in his ſervice. Americus being privately engaged by this prince, went to the court of Portugal, where he formed the bold project to attempt penetrating as near as he could to the antarctic pole. On his return he began to put the relation of his diſcoveries in order, which (as has been ſaid) he dedicated to the king of Sicily. The third voyage, which we are now going to relate, is compoſed of two letters written by him from Liſbon to Peter Soderini, Gonfaloniere of Florence. The original was written in Spaniſh, tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed at Baſle, alſo tranſlated into Italian, and printed by Ramuſio, from whence we have tranſlated it*.

FIRST LETTER.

" WHILST I was at Seville, enjoying ſome repoſe after the many hardſhips I had gone through during two voyages which I had undertaken to the Weſt Indies, by order of his ſerene highneſs the king of Caſtile, and deſirous of again returning to the land of Perlas, fortune not yet ſatisfied with what I had undergone, inſpired his ſerene highneſs Emanuel king of Portugal with the idea of employing me, and being at Seville, without the moſt diſtant idea of going to Portugal, a meſſenger arrived with letters, bearing the royal ſignet, ordering me to repair to Liſbon, to confer with him, promiſing at the ſame time to load me with many favours. At that time I was adviſed not to go, and therefore diſpatched the meſſenger, ſaying, that I was indiſpoſed, but that as ſoon as I was recovered, ſhould his highneſs ſtill perſiſt in wiſhing to employ me, I ſhould be ready to obey his commands. As ſoon as his highneſs perceived he could not have me, he determined upon ſending Juliano del Bartolomeo, of Liſbon, with orders at all events to bring me. On the arrival of Juliano, at Seville, being earneſty preſſed, I was induced to comply with the royal mandate.

" My conduct was highly blamed by all who knew me, in quitting Caſtile, where I had received every honour, and was in great eſteem with the king, and ſtill more for having departed without taking leave.

" Upon being preſented to this prince, he ſeemed to be highly pleaſed at my arrival, and requeſted me to go in company with three of his ſhips, which were then in readineſs to proceed on new diſcoveries; and foraſmuch as the requeſt of a ſovereign amounts to a command, I complied with the order.

" On the 10th of May, we quitted the port of Liſbon, with three
A. D. 1501. ſhips in company, and ſteered for the iſlands of the Great Canaries, which we paſſed without ſtopping in ſight of them. From hence we coaſted along the weſtern coaſt of Africa, on which coaſt we fiſhed, and caught a kind of fiſh called Pargos.

" We remained here three days, and then ſteering for the coaſt of Ethiopia, we entered a port called Beſeneghi, ſituated under the torrid zone, in fourteen degrees and an half north latitude, in the firſt climate, where we remained eleven days, taking in wood and water, intending to ſail to the ſouth-weſt through the Atlantic.

" We quitted this port in Ethiopia, and ſailed with a ſouth wind, ſteering a point to the ſouthward, ſo that in ſixty-ſeven days we ſaw land, diſtant from the above port ſeven hundred leagues ſouth; and in theſe ſixty-ſeven days we had the worſt weather ever known in the memory of any navigator, on account of the heavy rains,

* Voyages aux Terres Auſtrales.

ſtorms,

ſtorms, and misfortunes we met with, becauſe we were in a bad ſeaſon; on account of the courſe of our ſailing, being conſtantly near the line, in the month of June, which is the winter, when we found the day and night equal, and that we had the ſhade perpetually towards mid-day. It pleaſed the Almighty to ſhew us new land on the 17th of Auguſt, when we dropped anchor within half a league of the ſhore, and hoiſted out our ſmall boats, that we might go and diſcover if the country was inhabited, and by what ſort of people. We found it inhabited by a ſet of people more ſavage than animals. At firſt we ſaw no traces of inhabitants, but from the many footſteps we diſcerned, we well knew that it was peopled. We took poſſeſſion of it for his ſerene highneſs, and found it to be a delightful country, with a fine aſpect, ſituated beyond the line five degrees to the ſouth; we then returned to the ſhips, and being greatly in want of wood and water, we allotted the next day to return on ſhore, and provide every thing neceſſary. Upon ſtanding in ſhore, we ſaw ſome of the natives on the ſummit of a mountain, who ſtood admiring us, but did not dare come down. They were naked, and of the ſame colour and make as the others deſcribed in the paſt diſcoveries made by me for the king of Caſtile. Every attempt on our part was made to induce them to come down, and ſpeak with us, but we could not ſecure their confidence, as they ſeemed reſolved not to truſt us. Seeing their obſtinacy, and the day beginning to cloſe, we returned to our ſhips, leaving behind us, on the ſhore, a number of bells, looking-glaſſes, and other things in ſight of them; and as we were at a diſtance from them, at ſea, they came down from the mountains in queſt of the things we had left, and which they regarded with the utmoſt aſtoniſhment. During this day we provided nothing but water; the day after, in the morning, we could diſcern from the ſhips the natives on ſhore making many fires, and thinking they called us, we went aſhore, where we found a great concourſe of people aſſembled together, ſtudiouſly keeping far from us, at the ſame time making ſigns to us to accompany them further in land; whereupon two of our people aſked leave of the captain, offering to riſk their perſons in accompanying the natives up the country, for the purpoſe of diſcovering what ſort of people they were, and whether they were in poſſeſſion of any riches, ſpices, or drugs: by dint of entreaty the captain at length conſented, and having got every thing in readineſs, with many things for trade, they left us, with poſitive orders to return within five days from their departure, as we ſhould wait for them till the expiration of that period. They then took their route in land, and we to our ſhips to wait for them. Every day the natives came down to the beach, but would hold no converſe with us. On the 7th day we went aſhore, and found they had brought with them their women; and immediately on our landing, the men diſpatched their women to ſpeak with us; but perceiving a want of confidence on their part, we determined upon ſending to them one of our own people, a young man of good appearance; and in order to acquire more ſecurely their confidence, we took to our boats, and he remained with the women. Upon joining them, they formed a circle round him, touching him, and admiring him, with evident marks of aſtoniſhment; during which we obſerved, deſcending from the mountain, a woman, armed with a large ſtake, and having reached the ſpot where the young man ſtood, ſhe came behind him, and raiſing the ſtick, ſhe gave him ſo ſevere a blow, that he dropped down inſtantly dead; and in a moment the other women took him by the feet, and dragged him towards the mountain; and the men leaped towards the beach, and with their bows and arrows ſtruck ſuch a panic into our people, that no one dared take to his arms. We then fired four ſhots from the ſhip, without reaching

them; but on hearing the report, they all fled towards the mountain, where the women were already arrived, tearing piecemeal the young man, and roaſting the pieces at a large fire they had prepared within ſight of us, ſhewing and eating the mangled pieces. At the ſame time the men made ſigns, intimating that the other two of our people had been diſpatched and devoured in like manner. Great was the pain we ſuffered in beholding the cruelty they exerciſed on the dead body. Every one felt for the inhumanity offered to the deceaſed; and upon a propoſal being made that forty of us ſhould land, in order to revenge the cruel death and brutal injury committed on our comrades, the commodore refuſed his concurrence, and we departed much againſt our will, and in in high dudgeon with our commander for refuſing to comply with our wiſhes.

"We ſet ſail from this place, kept ſouth-eaſt, the land running in that direction, and made many ports, without ſeeing any of the natives we wiſhed to converſe with. We ſailed on till we found the land winding to the ſouthward, and having doubled a cape, to which we gave the name of Cape St. Auguſtine, we began to ſteer to the ſouthward. This cape is diſtant from the place where our people were maſſacred one hundred and fifty leagues towards the eaſt, and is eight degrees ſouth of the line. In ſailing we had one day a view of many of the natives ſtanding on the beach, obſerving the wonders of our ſhips; and laying to, we dropped anchor near them, and went aſhore in our boats. We found the natives better diſpoſed than the former; and when there was any work to do, the whole was conducted on terms of amity, and unanimity prevailed betwixt us and our new acquaintances. We ſtaid in this place five days, and found here canes of a large ſize, green and dry, of the height of trees. We determined on carrying from hence a couple of the natives, that they might learn the language: three voluntarily offered to go with us to Portugal; we therefore ſet ſail from this port, always ſteering to the ſouth, in ſight of land, perpetually making ſome port or other, and ſpeaking with an infinite number of the natives. We ſteered ſo far to the ſouth-weſt, that we were without the tropic of Capricorn, from whence the antarctic pole roſe above the horizon thirty-two degrees, and we had already totally loſt the Urſa Minor, and the Major was ſo low, that it barely appeared within the limits of the horizon. We directed our courſe by the ſtars of the other antarctic pole, which are numerous, and larger than thoſe of our pole. The greateſt part of theſe I have deſigned, and principally thoſe of the firſt magnitude, with a deſcription of the circles they made towards the ſouth pole, and a deſcription of their diameters and ſemidiameters, as may be ſeen in the abſtract of my navigation. We run along the coaſt near ſeven hundred and fifty leagues, one hundred and fifty from the Cape St. Auguſtine towards the weſt, and ſix hundred towards the ſouth; and were I diſpoſed to relate every thing which I ſaw along the coaſt, and every thing which occurred, twice the paper would not ſuffice to contain the whole. The only things we obſerved on this coaſt, were immenſe quantities of brazil wood, caſſia, and many natural curioſities, too tedious to mention.

"Having been already ten months on this voyage, and obſerved that no mineral whatever was any where to be found, we agreed to depart hence and explore other countries; and a council being held, it was agreed to follow whatever route I ſhould point out; and I had in conſequence an unlimitted power veſted in me. I then ordered that all the ſailors and marines ſhould take in a ſufficient quantity of wood and water for a ſix month's proviſion, a time deemed ſufficient by the reſt of the officers. Having taken in the neceſſary proviſion, we ſet ſail with a ſouth-eaſt wind on the 15th

of

of February, when the ſun approached near the Equinox, and was turning towards our northern hemiſphere. We ſailed ſo far with this wind that we found ourſelves in ſo high a latitude, that the antarctic pole was fifty-two degrees above our horizon: we were already diſtant from the port we had quitted full five hundred leagues to the ſouth-eaſt on the 3d of April. On this day ſo violent a ſtorm aroſe, that we were under the neceſſity of ſtriking our ſails, and running before the wind, which was ſouth, with a heavy ſail and wind in favour; ſuch was the raging of the ſea that the whole crews were alarmed. The nights were long, being fifteen hours in length on the 7th of April, becauſe the ſun was at that time verging towards the concluſion of Aries, and in this region it was winter. Whilſt we were in the ſtorm of the 7th of April we again ſaw land, which we run along near twenty leagues, and found it a bold ſhore: we ſaw neither harbour or natives; perhaps the laſt, owing to the degree of cold, which was ſo intenſe that the ſhips crews could not ſtand it; ſeeing ourſelves in ſo much danger, and the ſtorm ſo great that one veſſel was hardly diſtinguiſhable from the other, on account of the heavy ſea and the hazineſs of the weather, we determined, in concert with the commodore, to make a ſignal for the ſquadron to ſtand off from the land, and make ſail for Portugal. This council was happily adopted; for had we delayed that night, we ſhould moſt infallibly have been loſt, for we had the wind full on our quarters; and the day and night following the ſtorm roſe to ſuch a pitch that we gave ourſelves up for loſt, and had recourſe to all thoſe ceremonies uſual among ſailors at ſuch ſeaſons. For five days we run before the wind under our foreſail, almoſt lowered; and in this manner we ſailed for two hundred and fifty leagues, always approaching to the line, and entering by degrees upon a climate and ſea ſtill more temperate. It pleaſed the Almighty to deliver us from this danger, and we ſteered our courſe between the north and north-eaſt: our intention being to reviſit the coaſt of Ethiopia, which was diſtant one thouſand three hundred leagues through the Atlantic; and with permiſſion of the Almighty we reached land towards the ſouth-weſt called Sierra Leona, where we ſtaid fifteen days, taking in the neceſſary refreſhment, and from thence we took our departure, ſteering towards the iſlands of the Azores, diſtant from Sierra Leona about ſeven hundred and fifty leagues; and we reached the ſaid iſlands the end of July, where we remained fifteen days more, taking in additional proviſions. From thence we ſailed for Liſbon, and entered port the 7th
A. D. 1502. of September, ſafe and in good condition, with two ſhips only, the other being burnt at Sierra Leona, as unfit for the ſea.

"In making this voyage we were about fifteen months and eleven days, and ſailed without ſeeing the North Star or the Urſa Major and Minor, and we ſteered by the ſtars of the other pole."

SECOND LETTER.

"SOME time ago I fully adviſed you of my return, and if I rightly remember, I gave a ſuccinct account of the ſeveral parts of the new-diſcovered world which I ſailed to with the veſſels belonging to the king of Portugal; and if they are attentively examined, they will really appear to form a diſtinct world of themſelves. It is not without reaſon we have called it the *new* world, becauſe the ancients had not the leaſt knowledge of it, and the many things which have been lately diſcovered by us, ſurpaſs

ſurpaſs even their belief. The opinion they maintained was, that beyond the line to the ſouthward there was nothing but a vaſt and boundleſs ſea, with ſome iſlands, parched and barren. The ſea they called the Atlantic. Whenever they admitted a poſſibility of there being any land, they inſiſted upon its being barren and uninhabitable; an opinion totally refuted by the preſent navigation, and clearly demonſtrated to be falſe, and deſtitute of every appearance of truth; for on the other ſide the line I found countries more fertile and fuller of inhabitants than I had found elſewhere, not excepting Aſia, Africa, and Europe. Setting aſide minute obſervations, we will only give an account of the greater, and ſuch as are worthy of attention, and what we perſonally obſerved, or heard from perſons worthy to be credited, reſpecting thoſe new-diſcovered parts, I will now proceed to relate carefully and ſtrictly, adhering to truth, every thing which appears worthy of obſervation.

A. D. 1501. With good wiſhes for the ſucceſs of our undertaking, we, by order of the king, on the 13th of May, ſailed from Liſbon, with three armed veſſels, in ſearch of the new world, and ſteering towards the ſouth-weſt, we ſailed for twenty months. Of this voyage we ſhall relate the order which was obſerved in ſailing. We ſteered our courſe for the Fortunate Iſles, at preſent called the Great Canaries; they are in the third climate. From thence, ſailing through the ocean, we ran along the coaſt of Africa and the country of the negroes, as far as the promontory called by Ptolomy Ethiopian, by us named Cape de Verde, by the negroes Biſeneghe, and by the inhabitants Mandangan. This country is within the torrid zone, fourteen degrees towards the north, and inhabited by negroes. Here having refreſhed and repoſed, and having taken in all ſorts of proviſions neceſſary, we made ſail, ſteering our courſe towards the antarctic pole, nevertheleſs we kept a point to the weſt, the wind being eaſterly. The many fatigues we underwent in the voyage, the dangers we experienced, the ſtorms and tempeſts we encountered, I leave to thoſe who have experienced to judge, and principally thoſe who clearly can diſcern the difficulties attending the ſearch after any thing in a ſtate of uncertainty, the exploring of countries where man never yet has been. In a word, we ſailed for ſixty-ſeven days, in which time we had many heavy and violent ſtorms, for during forty-four days we had nothing but thunder and lightning, with heavy rains and violent hazy weather, and ſuch an effect it had on the whole of the crews, that they more than once gave themſelves up to a ſtate of abſolute deſpondency. After theſe cruel misfortunes, it pleaſed the Almighty to have compaſſion on us, and ſoon as the land appeared, the ſight of it had ſuch an effect on the ſpirits of the men, that they appeared once more reanimated; their ſtrength, almoſt exhauſted, in an inſtant returned, and they again revived, and reſumed their functions. On the 7th of Auguſt we reached the ſhore, and having rendered thanks to God for our deliverance, we, according to cuſtom, formally celebrated maſs. The land we had found did not ſeem to be an iſland, but a continent; becauſe of its immenſe extent, its limits were not viſible, the land very fertile, and full of inhabitants. Here were every ſort of wild fowl, unknown in our parts; we found here alſo many other things, which we have avoided mentioning, leaſt we ſhould ſwell the work to an unreaſonable ſize. One circumſtance, however, I think neceſſary not to omit, viz. that it ſeemed to be an act of Providence that we arrived as we did, for longer we could not have exiſted, being in want of ſtores, viz. wood, water, biſcuit, ſalt proviſions, cheeſe, wine, oil, and every thing elſe neceſſary for the ſupport of human nature.

" We

"We came to a determination amongſt ourſelves to ſail along the coaſt without loſing ſight of it. We then ſailed till we came to a certain cape which faces the ſouth; this cape, from the place we firſt diſcovered land, may be diſtant about three hundred leagues. In the courſe of this coaſting we frequently landed, and entered into converſation with the natives, as will afterwards appear. I forgot to obſerve, that Cape de Verde is diſtant from this new diſcovered land about ſeven hundred leagues, notwithſtanding I fancied I had ſailed above eight hundred leagues, a circumſtance eaſily accounted for from ſtorms, hurricanes, and the ignorance of the pilot, all which tend conſiderably to lengthen a voyage. We were now arrived, where without my knowledge of coſmography, we ſhould, through the negligence of the man at the helm, have ſoon finiſhed our earthly courſe, for there was not a ſingle pilot aboard who knew within fifty leagues where we were; and we ſhould have wandered about without knowing where we went, had I not, regardful of my own ſafety, and the lives of my comrades, had recourſe to the aſtrolabe and quadrant. On this ſcore I acquired no little glory, and was afterwards held in that eſtimation with the people, which learned men are ſure to meet with in the world from men of diſcernment and education. I taught them the uſe of the ſea chart, and obliged them to acknowledge that the common pilots, unſkilled in coſmography, when compared to me, knew nothing. The cape of this new diſcovered land which faces the ſouth, inſpired us with an anxious wiſh to explore and attentively examine it; ſo that with one conſent it was reſolved to explore this country, and to enquire into the cuſtoms and ſeveral claſſes of the inhabitants. We ſailed then along the coaſt for ſix hundred leagues, every now and then going aſhore, and frequently entering into converſe with the inhabitants, who received us with great good nature and humanity; influenced by the attention they ſhewed us, and the ſimplicity of their manners, we remained amongſt them fifteen or twenty days, for no civilized nation could ſhew more courteſy to ſtrangers than the natives did to us. This continent begins eight degrees from the line, and near the antarctic pole. We ſailed ſo far along this coaſt, that we paſſed the Hyema tropic near the antarctic pole ſeventeen degrees and an half, where the horizon roſe fifty degrees. The things I here ſaw are not known to the men of our times, viz. the people, their cuſtoms, humanity, the fertility of the ſoil, the goodneſs of the air, the wholeſomeneſs of the climate, the celeſtial bodies, and principally the fixed ſtars in the eighth ſphere, of which there is not the leaſt mention in ours, nor till now were they known, not even by the moſt learned among the ancients.

"This country is better peopled than any I have ſeen for ſome time; the natives are mild and domeſticated, giving offence to no one; they are perfectly naked as they were born; their bodies are well formed, and finely proportioned; their complexions incline to the copper, which ariſes from their being naked, and expoſed to the heat of the ſun's rays; their hair is black, but long and ſtraight. In walking, or any exerciſe which requires agility, they are exquiſitely active: their face is finely turned, and of a pleaſing aſpect, but they have a ſingular mode of rendering it ugly, having it pierced, viz. the lips, cheeks, noſe and ears, not with one ſmall hole, but many and large ones, and I have frequently obſerved them with ſeven holes in the face, each of which was large enough to contain a Damſacene plumb; they cut out the fleſh, and fill up the hole with ſmall ſtones, either of marble, alabaſter, ivory, or white bone, cut according to each individual's taſte, and beautifully formed. So diſguſtful and horrid is the appearance, that at firſt ſight they appeared monſters. Can

any

any thing be more diſguſtful than to ſee a face ſwollen out by the ſize of the ſtones lodged in the ſeveral holes, ſo that the face ſometimes exceeded half a palm in breadth? a circumſtance leſs wonderful, when I can aver having ſeen the ſeven ſtones weigh ſixteen ounces. At the ears they wear ornaments of greater value, viz. rings and pearls pendant after the manner of the Egyptians and Indians. Theſe cuſtoms were obſerved by the men only, the women wearing ornaments ſolely at the ears. The women have alſo another cuſtom, at which human nature will ſhudder at the mention of: to gratify their inordinate paſſions, they give to the men the juice of a certain herb to drink, which as ſoon as taken, inflates to a violent degree the parts of generation. They have neither wool nor thread, nor do they ſtand in need of any kind of cloathing, as they all go naked. With them every thing is in common, and patrimony is not known among them. There is neither government nor ſovereign, but every one is himſelf a ruler. Each takes to himſelf as many wives as he pleaſes. Procreation is indiſcriminately carried on with reſpect of relationſhip; the ſon with the mother, the brother with the ſiſter, and the whole is publicly conducted like the brute creation, and with as little ſenſe of ſhame; and if a man and a woman chance to meet who never previouſly had the leaſt knowledge of each other, they fall to, without the leaſt regard to decency. Deſtitute of reaſon, and without laws, no compacts are binding. They have neither temples nor any religion, nor even pay adoration to any ſort of idols. Their life is a continued ſcene of unreſtrained licentiouſneſs from beginning to end. Traffic and money are equally unknown. The old men by their diſcourſes animate the young ones, and influence them as they pleaſe, inſpiring them with a martial ſpirit, when they ruſh on their foes like tygers on their prey, and if victorious, devour the vanquiſhed; the father devouring the ſon, or the ſon the father, according to the chance of war. I once ſaw a man who boaſted not a little of having devoured three hundred men. I alſo ſaw a city, where we reſided twenty-ſeven days, where human fleſh was ſalted, hung up to the beams, as in our kitchens we hang up bacon; and they ſeemed ſurprized that we did not eat the fleſh of our enemies, as they aſſerted that it excited an appetite, and was of a moſt delicate flavour. The only arms they have are bows and arrows, with which they wound each other in a moſt cruel manner, and with a ferocity abſolutely brutal. Every nerve was ſtrained on our part, to diſſuade them from their barbarous cruelties and ſavage cuſtoms, which advice from time to time they promiſed to attend to, but as often returned to their original barbariſm.

"The women, as I have before obſerved, though naked, and laſciviouſly inclined, are by no means ugly; their bodies are well formed, nor are their ſkins ſun-burnt, as ſome may aſſert; and though many of them are fat yet no deformity here is ſeen: and what is worth remarking is, that I never obſerved any one after bearing many children, who had the breaſts hanging down or flabby; and though they have had children, yet is the belly no more wrinkled than that of a virgin; and the parts which modeſty forbids us to name, are hardly diſtinguiſhable from thoſe of a virgin. As far as we were able to learn, they live many of them to the age of one hundred and fifty years; are ſeldom ſick, and if by chance they ſhould be indiſpoſed, they immediately have recourſe to the juice of certain herbs, and are as inſtantly cured. What I found in this country worthy of obſervation, was the temperature of the air, the clearneſs of the ſky, the fertility of the ground, and the great longevity of the inhabitants, which may perhaps be accounted for from the eaſt wind, which is here continually

continually blowing, and has there a ſimilar effect with the north wind on us. Fiſhing is a thing they take great delight in, and indeed fiſh forms a principal part of their food. In this article nature is ſingularly bountiful; the ſea here abounding with almoſt every ſpecies of fiſh. They are not fond of the chace, owing to the great number of animals they have, and of which their fear is ſo great, that they rarely frequent the woods. They have every ſpecies of lions, bears, and other animals. The trees grow to an enormous height, and the woods are ſo cloſe, that the natives never venture in them, as they are naked and unarmed, and therefore unable to cope with the wild beaſts.

" The climate is temperate, and the country fertile and exquiſitely beautiful; though the country is in many parts hilly, yet is well watered with numberleſs rivulets and rivers. In many parts the woods are impaſſable from the cloſeneſs of the trees, and the bruſh wood is ſo cloſe, that the wild beaſts find a ſhelter both from the ſun and the eye of the paſſengers. Trees as well as fruits grow here ſpontaneous and without the leaſt cultivation, in the greateſt abundance: the fruits are not of a noxious quality, and are very different from ours. In like manner the earth produces an infinity of herbs and roots, of which the natives make a kind of bread and other eatables. There is a great variety of ſeeds, but not one of a nature ſimilar to ours in Europe. The ground produces no other metal, gold excepted, of which there is the greateſt plenty; though in this our firſt voyage we carried away none of it, yet we had aſſurance from the natives that it exiſted in great abundance, but with them had no value at all. Pearls and precious ſtones they have in quantities, as I have mentioned above, when ſpeaking of the ornaments of the face and ears; but were this circumſtance, as well as many others, treated of at full, this work would be too voluminous. The great Pliny, in his hiſtory of natural productions, has not reached a thouſandth part of the ſeveral ſpecies found in this ſoil. The various ſorts of parrots, in point of ſize, ſpecies, and colour, found here, are really incredible. The trees here emit a moſt agreeable and grateful odour, and from every part of their trunks are found oozing gums, juices, and liquor; and were we acquainted with their ſeveral effects, the luxurious epicure would find here the greateſt gratification, and the therapeutic powers of the phyſician would be conſiderably extended. If an earthly paradiſe can be admitted to exiſt, this comes nearer the idea than any other. This country fronts the ſouth, and the climate is ſo perfectly temperate, that in winter they ſuffer no cold, and in ſummer have no reaſon to complain of heat.

" Here the ſky and air are rarely darkened with clouds, and the days are almoſt always ſerene. Sometimes a ſlight and gentle dew falls, but is never of longer continuance than three or four hours, and then diſperſes like a cloud. The ſtars are beautifully ſcattered in the firmament, many of which unknown to us, I particularly noticed and remembered, and I counted about twenty, each of which is equal in brilliancy to Venus and Jupiter with us. From my geometrical knowledge I found no difficulty in meaſuring their circumference and diameter, and attentively examined their circular motions, and I am firmly of opinion, they are much larger than the generality of people are willing to believe; and among others, I obſerved three canopi, two of which were very lucid, the third rather dim, and unlike the others. The antarctic pole has neither the Urſa Major nor Minor, as may be ſeen in our arctic pole, nor are they touched upon by any of the ſtars which are evident; but

thoſe which ſurround it are four in number, and form a quadrangle; and while theſe are riſing, there is a canopus obſervable to the left, of great ſplendor, and a conſiderable ſize, which on its arrival at the middle of the hemiſphere, repreſents the following deſcribed figure:

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Theſe are ſucceeded by three other luminous ſtars, of which, that which is ſituated in the center is twelve degrees and a half in circumference, and in the middle of them is ſeen another canopus of great ſplendor. After this follow ſix other luminous ſtars, ſuperior in luſtre to all the others in the eighth ſphere; of which, that which is ſituated in the middle of the ſuperficies of the ſaid ſphere, is thirty-two degrees in circumference. Theſe are ſucceeded by a conſiderable canopus, but duſky. All theſe are diſtinguiſhed in the Lactean way, and when they reach the meridian line, deſcribe the following figure:

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After this I ſaw many other ſtars, and on obſerving their various motions, I thought proper to form a book, wherein I have noticed all the remarkable things which occurred to me during the preſent voyage. This book is in the poſſeſſion of his ſerene majeſty, and I hope ſoon to have it once more in my hands. In that hemiſphere I attentively examined many things which were contradictory to the eſtabliſhed opinions of the philoſophers, becauſe they appeared to them totally inconſiſtent with the doctrine of the times: and among other things I obſerved the iris, or celeſtial arch, white at midnight, as according to the general opinion, it derives its colours from the four elements, namely, the red from fire, the green from the earth, the white from the air, and the azure from the water. Ariſtotle, in his book intitled Meteorology, is of a very different opinion, for he ſays that the celeſtial arch is a reflection of rays in the vapour of a cloud placed oppoſite to it, and ſhews that the air abounds with moiſture.

"Then, as I before ſaid, from Liſbon, whence we took our departure, which is forty degrees to the north of the line, we ſailed as far as the land, which lies fifty degrees on the other ſide the line, the which on being ſummed up, make the number ninety; which number is exactly a fourth part of the large circle, according to the calculation of the ancients. It then clearly appears to every candid obſerver, that we have meaſured a fourth part of the globe, as we who live at Liſbon, almoſt forty degrees north of the line, are diſtant from thoſe who inhabit the world on the other ſide the line, in an horizontal line, angularly ninety degrees, viz. by the line acroſs. In order more clearly to demonſtrate the above, let us ſuppoſe the perpendicular line, whilſt we are upright, from above and reaching our zenith, comes to touch thoſe who are on the other ſide the line fifty degrees, whence it appears that we are in the right line, and they, when compared with us, are horizontally ſituated, ſuch ſituation forming the figure of a rectangular triangle."

The king of Portugal, ſuppoſing that every thing would now be peaceable in Calicut, and that the trade eſtabliſhed at Quiloa and Sofala, by means of
A.D. 1501. the fleet under Cabral, thought fit this year to ſend only three ſhips and a caravel, two of which were to carry merchandiſe to Sofala, and the

the other two to Calicut. Of this fleet John de Nova was appointed commander or general. He had with him only ſeventy men. His inſtructions were to touch at St. Blaz; and in caſe any of his ſhips ſhould have parted from him, to wait for them ten days, then to ſail for Sofala, and if he found a factor eſtabliſhed, to unlade the merchandiſe, and then ſail for the Indies; but if he did not find ſuch an eſtabliſhment, he was to endeavour to ſettle one, leaving Alvara de Braga as factor. From thence he was to proceed to Quiloa and Calicut, where, if he ſhould meet Cabral, he was to obey him.

The ſquadron arrived ſafe at St. Blaz, where, in the hollow of a tree, he found a ſhoe, and a letter therein, mentioning that Pedro d'Ataide, a captain under Cabral, had paſſed there in his return to Portugal, relating what had happened to them at Calicut, Cochin, and Cananor. D'Ataide had written this to inform all captains who paſſed by for Calicut. The captain-general on this determined not to leave the caravel at Sofala, and ſailed for Quiloa, where they found a baniſhed man, whom Cabral had left there. He likewiſe informed him of what had paſſed in Calicut, and of the ſhips that were loſt; from whence he ſailed to Melinda, where the ſame account was confirmed by the king.

From hence the fleet ſtood over to the coaſt of India, and came to anchor at the Anchedive iſlands in November, to take in water. While we were here, ſeven ſhips of Cambaya came in, bound for the Streights. The Moors ſeemed incline to have attacked the fleet, but were deterred by the ordnance, and therefore ſailed away. De Nova then ſailed to Cananor, the king of which place informed him what had paſſed, and aſſured him how deſirous he was of the king of Portugal's friendſhip. Yet notwithſtanding theſe profeſſions of friendſhip, the general would not take in any lading until he had been at Cochin with the factor. In his way to that port he took a ſhip belonging to the Moors of Calicut, which was valiantly defended; he afterwards ſet her on fire.

Being arrived at Cochin, the factor came on board, and informed the general, that the king of that place was much offended with Cabral, for having departed without waiting on him, and for carrying away his hoſtages, but yet had treated him and his companions well: that at night they were kept in the palace, and in day-time, if they were deſirous to go abroad, they were attended by certain nayres to protect them from the Moors, who ſought to kill them, and before they went to the palace had one night ſet fire to the houſe in which they were, which was the reaſon of their being removed and protected. He alſo informed De Nova that the ſale of his merchandiſe would be bad, as the Moors had perſuaded the merchants of the country not to give much for it, and alſo not to ſell their pepper by barter, but for ready money only; and if he had not brought money, he would do no buſineſs.

This information determined him to return to Cananor, which he did; and the king, to ſhew his friendſhip, when he found the general had brought no money, became his ſecurity for one thouſand quintals of pepper, fifty of ginger, and four hundred and fifty of cinnamon, and other things, until he had made ſale of his merchandiſe, which he was to leave in Cananor, under the care of a factor and two others. De Nova recommended his people to the care of the king, and having taken in his lading, on the 15th of December there appeared eighty paroas paſt Mount Delly. The king gave him information that this was the fleet of Calicut that came to attack him, and therefore adviſed him to diſembark his men and his ordnance. This the general declined,

and

and prepared to oppoſe them. The next morning, before dawn of day, above one hundred ſhips and paroas entered the bay, full of Moors. As ſoon as the general had viewed them, he weighed anchor, and went into the middle of the bay; his ſhips then began to fire their cannon, and continued till ſun-ſet, by which means they prevented the enemy from boarding them. Many of the Moors were killed and wounded, and ſome of their ſhips and paroas ſunk. None of the Portugueſe were killed or wounded. At ſun-ſet the enemy hung out a flag; but as De Nova ſuſpected treachery, he continued firing; however, it appeared they really meant peace, and would have hoiſted ſail and departed had the wind ſerved. At length the general anſwered their flag, and a Moor came on board to aſk a ceſſation till the next day, which was granted, on condition they ſhould quit the bay.

The general, although the wind was not favourable, went to ſea; the Moors could not do the ſame, as their veſſels could only ſail before the wind. The Portugueſe and Moors remained at anchor near each other during the night: in the night the latter were in motion, and the Portugueſe ſuſpecting they deſigned to ſet fire to their ſhips, veered their cables to get further off, and fired at them, which obliged them to ſail away, and the wind coming fair they ſteered for Calicut. The general immediately ſailed for Portugal, and arrived there ſafe.

Oſorio, in his account of this voyage ſays, that De Nova diſcovered an iſland, hitherto unknown, which he called the iſland of Conception. He ſays alſo, that whilſt De Nova was at Calicut, there came to him one Gundiſſalvo Peixot, a Portugueſe, who, during the tumult (in which Alves Corea was ſlain) had been moſt miraculouſly preſerved by the generous protection of Coje Bequi, who, although an Arabian, had proved an excellent friend to the Portugueſe. This Portugueſe was ſent by order of the zamorin of Calicut, to ſet forth, that the tumult, wherein ſo many of the Portugueſe ſuffered, had been raiſed and carried on by an enraged multitude, without the approbation or even knowledge of his majeſty, who deſired nothing more than to cultivate a friendſhip with king Emanuel, and that it would give him the higheſt pleaſure if De Nova would come to Calicut, where he promiſed he ſhould be treated in the moſt friendly manner.

Peixot having delivered this meſſage, next communicated the private inſtructions from Coje Bequi, who adviſed the admiral not to give the leaſt faith to that perfidious prince, who, he ſaid, wanted only to decoy them into his power, that he might more eaſily deſtroy them.---Nova did not return any anſwer, nor did Peixot go back to Calicut.

He alſo ſays, that the king of Cochin treated De Nova with the higheſt civility, and in every reſpect acquitted himſelf like a man of honour and probity; that in the action at Cananor the enemy had four hundred and ſeventeen killed: that while the two fleets lay at anchor near each other, the Calicutians, not regarding the truce, let down perſons into the ſea, who were to ſwim to the Portugueſe ſhips, and try to cut their cables; and that they at the ſame time diſpatched a number of boats, with ſeveral men on board, who, as ſoon as this was compleated, were to throw lighted torches into the ſhips.——He concludes this voyage thus:

" Nova

"Nova being thus happily delivered from ſuch threatening danger, without any further delay, proceeded on his voyage homewards. When he had ſailed a little way, he met with a ſhip of Calicut, which he plundered and burned: he then continued his courſe, and had a very quick and eaſy paſſage to the Cape. Some time after he turned it, he diſcovered a little iſland in fifteen degrees ſouth latitude, to which he gave the name of St. Helena. This iſland ſtanding by itſelf in the midſt of ſuch a vaſt ocean, ſeems as it were, to have been placed there by Providence, for the reception and ſhelter of weather-beaten ſhips in their return from an Indian voyage. There are many delightful rivers in this place. It is covered with fine trees, and the air is temperate and healthy: and after it was inhabited and cultivated (which we ſhall take notice of afterwards) it abounded in all kind of cattle, and the ſoil produced plenty of all ſorts of fruits and refreſhing herbs. It is now rendered the moſt uſeful ſpot for the people who trade to India. Here they always take in wood and water for their ſhips, where they may likewiſe have the diverſions of fiſhing and hunting, and lay in a ſupply of proviſions. Nova having departed from St. Helena, ſet out for Portugal; where, after a very favourable and eaſy voyage, he arrived on the 11th
A. D. 1502. of September, to the great joy of Emanuel and all his people."

CHAPTER III.

Vaſco de Gama appointed a ſecond time to the command: ſails to Sofala, Mozambique, Quiloa, and Melinda: Stephen de Gama joins him there: ſails for India: takes a Mooriſh ſhip from Mecca: arrives at Cananor, and makes peace with the king: arrives at Calicut: ill treated there: ſails to Cochin: tranſactions there: returns to Europe, leaving Vincent Sodre to command: his ill conduct, and loſs of his ſhips. An account of this voyage by a purſer of one of the ſhips that ſailed under Stephen de Gama.

THE firſt extract of the following voyage is made from Caſtagneda, the ſecond from Ramuſio.

The king of Portugal having a great deſire to revenge the injuries
A. D. 1502. the king of Calicut had done his people, cauſed a large fleet to be prepared, to make war on him. The command he at firſt gave to Pedro Alvarez Cabral, but for certain reaſons he took it from him, and gave it to Vaſco de Gama, who ſailed from Liſbon the 3d of March with thirteen ſhips and two caravels. They carried with them materials for another caravel, which was to be put together at Mozambique; and there remained five ſail more at Liſbon equipping, which were to follow, under the command of Stephen de Gama.

The fleet having doubled the cape of Good Hope, and got clear of the currents, De Gama diſpatched all to Mozambique except four ſhips, and went with thoſe to Sofala, to ſee the ſituation of the place, if it was convenient to build a fort, and alſo to traffic for gold. He made peace with the king of Sofala, and an agreement for ſettling a factory there; after which mutual preſents paſſed between them. He then ſailed for Mozambique: in going out of the river he loſt one of his ſhips, but the

men were ſaved. At Mozambique he renewed his old friendſhip with the governor, and obtained his conſent to leave a factor there with ſome men, which were deſigned to procure proviſions for ſuch ſhips as ſhould touch there either going to or returning from the Indies. Here the caravel was put together. From thence he ſailed to Quiloa, to make the king thereof tributary to the king of Portugal, on account of the ill treatment he had given Cabral. On his arrival, the king went to pay him a viſit on ſhip board, from a motive of fear. Here Stephen de Gama joined the fleet with five ſhips from Portugal. Vaſco de Gama having the king in his power, threatened him to make him priſoner, if he would not become tributary to the king of Portugal. He agreed to pay yearly two thouſand mitegals of gold, and as an hoſtage for the payment, left a principal Moor, one Mahomed Aleones, whom he hated, fearing he ſhould deprive him of his kingdom, as he had done the lawful king. When he was releaſed, he avoided paying the tribute, in hopes that the captain-general would order the hoſtage to be killed, and by that means be rid of his enemy. But the Moor paid the tribute himſelf, and the general releaſed him.

From hence they ſailed to Melinda, took in water, and ſteered for India. Off Mount Dely, De Gama met a Mooriſh ſhip, which he took after a ſtout reſiſtance. The general ordered the owners and the principal Moors to bring out all the merchandiſe they had on board, threatening if they did not, to have them thrown into the ſea. They anſwered, they had left it all at Calicut. This anſwer offended De Gama, and he ordered one of them to be bound hand and feet, and thrown into the ſea. The others were frightened at this ſeverity, and diſcovered their riches, which were put into the cuſtody of Hernando Corea, the factor for Cochin, and carried on board another ſhip. The children were alſo all carried on board the ſame ſhip, the general having vowed to make them all friars, as he afterwards did. The coarſer goods were given as a ſpoil to the ſeamen. The Moors were all driven under the hatches, and the ſhip ſet on fire, to revenge the death of the Portugueſe ſlain in Calicut. After the Portugueſe had quitted the ſhip, the Moors broke the hatches, and put out the fire. Stephen de Gama was then ordered to lay her on board, but met with a deſperate reſiſtance, and the night coming on, he went a diſtance from her. The Moors continued to call on Mahomet to ſuccour them. In the morning Stephen de Gama again boarded, and ſet her on fire: the Moors, to the number of three hundred, were all either burned or drowned.

Steering from thence to Cananor, De Gama ſent ambaſſadors to the king, with a deſire to ſpeak with him. The king thereupon commanded a platform of timber to be erected far into the ſea, and at this meeting they concluded a treaty for ſettling a factory.

After this the fleet ſailed for Calicut, and arriving there, unexpectedly ſeized ſome paroas, in which were about fifty Malabars. De Gama waited in expectation of a meſſenger from the king: at laſt a boat came on board with a white flag, and a friar of the order of St. Francis, whom the Portugueſe judged might have been one of the company of Ares Corea. This friar on entering the ſhip, ſaid "*Deo gracias*," by which he was diſcovered to be a Moor, and ſaid he came in that dreſs to gain the eaſier admiſſion, and that he brought a meſſage from the king about ſettling the trade. The general commanded him not to ſpeak of that, until the king had made ſatisfaction for the plunder of the factory. Three days were ſpent in meſſages on this ſubject.

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De Gama perceiving that theſe delays were only to gain time, ſent word that if he did not receive a ſatisfactory anſwer by noon, that he would make war with fire and ſword, and begin with the Malabars he had taken. He commanded an hour-glaſs to be brought, and told the Moor who carried the meſſage, that as ſoon as ſo many of thoſe had run out, he would put his threats in execution. But the king, although in dread of the fleet, yet perſuaded by the Moors, returned no anſwer. As ſoon as the time elapſed, De Gama fired a ſhot as a ſignal to the other captains for the execution of the Malabars, which was immediately performed; they were hanged, and their hands and feet cut off, thrown into a paroa, and ſent on ſhore, accompanied by two boats, with a letter for the king of Calicut, written in the Arabic tongue, threatening to revenge himſelf, and that he would repay himſelf for the goods that had been taken from the factory an hundred fold. In the night three ſhips were brought near the ſhore, and the next day they fired inceſſantly on the city, and did great damage; the king's palace and many houſes being demoliſhed. He then departed for Cochin, leaving ſix ſail of ſhips under the command of Vincent Sodre, to cruize on that coaſt, and afterwards to diſcover the coaſt of Cambaia and the ſtreights of Mecca.

As ſoon as De Gama arrived at Cochin, the king ſent hoſtages on board as a ſecurity for his perſon, and ſoon after came himſelf to meet him, bringing with him the Portugueſe who had been left there. The general delivered the king of Portugal's letter of thanks for the treatment he had given Cabral, and a preſent, conſiſting of a rich crown of gold ſet with jewels, a collar of gold, enamelled, two fountains of wrought ſilver, two pieces of arras, a coſtly pavillion, and two pieces of ſattin; which were received with much pleaſure; and as the king was ignorant of the uſe of ſome of them, he requeſted to be informed. The pavillion was immediately erected, and a further treaty concluded in it: by which the king gave a houſe to ſettle the factory in, and fixed the prices of ſpices and drugs. The king of Cochin ſent alſo a preſent to the king of Portugal, viz. two bracelets of gold ſet with ſtones, a towel of cloth of ſilver two yards and an half long, two pieces of cloth called Bengala, exceeding fine, and a ſtone taken from the head of an animal, eſteemed an antidote againſt poiſon.

Poſſeſſion was immediately taken of the houſe by the factors; and while De Gama's ſhip was taking in her lading, a meſſage came from the king of Calicut, offering, if the general would return, to reſtore all that had been taken from the Portugueſe, and to ſettle a trade with him. De Gama ſecured the meſſenger, to revenge himſelf upon him, if the king ſhould deceive him. The general determined to go to Calicut, contrary to the opinion of his captains, and leave Stephen de Gama as his lieutenant.

As ſoon as he arrived, the king ſent him word that he would agree with him for all the goods that had been taken from Corea, would renew the trade, and ſettle a factory; yet, contrary to his word, he prepared thirty-four paroas with an intent to attack De Gama, which indeed came ſo ſuddenly on him, that he was obliged to cut his cables and make ſail: they purſued him, and would have taken him, had not Vincent Sodre joined him. He returned to Cochin, and cauſed the meſſenger to be hanged. This action, when the king of Calicut heard of, much alarmed him, and now ſeeing that he could not take De Gama, he wrote letters to the king of Cochin, to perſuade him not to give the ſhips any lading, nor to conſent to the ſettlement of a factory:

but this had no effect. Finding he could not prevail, he determined to attack him on his departure, and for that purpoſe prepared twenty-nine large ſhips.

The king of Cochin did not acquaint De Gama of the letters from the king of Calicut until he was ready to depart, and then told him he would riſk his city for the king of Portugal's ſake. The general returned him thanks, aſſured him of aſſiſtance from the king of Portugal, and promiſed to ſend him ſome ſhips from Conanor.

Having loaded ten of his ſhips, and being at ſea off Pandarene, the Mooriſh fleet appeared in ſight. The Portugueſe bore down upon them. Vincent Sodre, Pedro Raphael, and Diego Peres, whoſe ſhips ſailed beſt, attacked two of the principal veſſels with ſuch vigour, that the enemy leaped out of their ſhips into the ſea. The fight continued only until the reſt of the fleet came up, when the enemy ſtood towards the ſhore, and the general, as his ſhips were heavy laden, did not follow; but the Portugueſe leaped into their boats, and killed the men who were in the water, being about three hundred.

The prizes had ſome valuable commodities on board, particularly an idol of gold, of thirty pounds weight, with a monſtrous face, and two emeralds for eyes, and a veſtment of beaten gold for the idol, with a large carbuncle on the breaſt. The general ſet the prizes on fire, and ſailed to Cananor, where the king gave him an houſe for a factory, in which he left twenty people: the king engaged to ſupply any of the Portugueſe ſhips with ſpices at a certain rate; the captain-general undertaking on the part of the king of Portugal, to defend him againſt all his enemies. The king of Cananor engaged to be in friendſhip with the king of Cochin.

De Gama diſpatched Vincent Sodre with three ſhips, to cruize along the coaſt until February, and if there was any proſpect of war on the coaſt, to winter at Cochin; if not, to ſail to the Red Sea, and make prize of ſuch ſhips of Mecca as paſſed to the Indies.

He then departed for Portugal on the 20th of December, and ar-
A. D. 1503. rived ſafe at Mozambique: and as the ſhip Stephen de Gama was on board, had ſprung a leak, ſhe was laid on ſhore and repaired. Seven days after they ſailed from thence, the ſhip of Lewis Cotinuo ſprung a leak, and they were obliged to put back, but the wind not being favourable, they put into a creek to repair her. Sailing from thence, they had a heavy ſtorm off Cape Corientes, in which they loſt company with Stephen de Gama. The fleet arrived at Liſbon on the 1ſt of September, and Stephen de Gama came in five days after. All the noblemen of the court went to Caſcaco to receive the general, and accompany him to the king, who received him graciouſly, made him admiral of the Indies, and gave him the title of lord of Videguero.

As ſoon as De Gama ſailed for Portugal, the king of Calicut prepared to make war on the king of Cochin. The Portugueſe of the factory acquainted Vincent Sodre of this circumſtance, and requeſted him to ſend his men and join their ally. Sodre refuſed, ſaying his command was at ſea, and not on ſhore, and that he would ſail for the Red Sea. The Portugueſe again requeſted him not to leave them: but Sodre departed, and ſailed to Cape Guardafu, where he expected to take many rich prizes.

His abſence enabled the king of Calicut to drive the king of Cochin from his reſidence, who carried the Portugueſe with him. Sodre took on the coaſt five ſhips, with much money on board. Moſt of the Moors were ſlain in the battle, and their

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ſhips burned. From thence he ſailed to certain iſlands, called Curia Maria, near Cape Guardafu; here he laid his ſhips on ground, and although the inhabitants were Moors, he went on ſhore: the Moors out of fear gave them good entertainment.

Vincent Sodre laid a caravel on ſhore: the Moors told him that in May they had always ſuch ſtorms as drove all ſhips on ſhore, and adviſed him to remove to the other ſide of the iſland: but he deſpiſed their advice, and told them that the anchors of their ſhips were of wood, but his were of iron. Raphael, Badarfas, and Perez, went away, but Sodre and his brother remained, and when the ſtorm came on, their ſhips were driven on ſhore, beat to pieces, and many men loſt; among the reſt the two brothers. The ſurvivors choſe Pedro d'Ataide for their commander, and ſailed to Anſandeva to winter, where they met with a ſhip commanded by Antonio de Campo, who departed alone from Portugal after Vaſco de Gama.

We have alſo another relation of this voyage, under the title of "A Voyage to the "East Indies, by Thomas Lopez, purſer of a Portugueſe veſſel;" and by the date, it appears ſhe was of the fleet commanded by Stephen de Gama. It is to be found in Ramuſio, from whence it is tranſlated. It contains ſeveral particulars not in the foregoing.

A.D. 1502. "We ſailed from Liſbon with five veſſels in company, on the 1ſt of April. On the 4th we paſſed in ſight of Porto Santo. The ſame day we had a view of Deſerta, and paſſed in ſight of the iſlands of Palma and Ferro on the 8th. On the 15th we coaſted along the ſhore of the Cape de Verde Iſlands, ſo near as to be ſeen by the inhabitants.

"On the 18th of May we came in ſight of an iſland hitherto not diſcovered, the ground high and beautiful to the ſight, well wooded, and of conſiderable extent, little inferior to the iſland of Madeira, in a happy climate, neither cold nor hot, ſituated north-weſt and ſouth-eaſt with the iſland of Red Parrots, from whence it is diſtant three hundred leagues, and ſeven hundred from the Cape of Good Hope. The nearer we approached the line, the greater the degree of heat, which arrived at length to ſuch a pitch, that we could hardly bear it night or day, and as we quitted the line, the climate became more moderate and cool. As ſoon as we came within four hundred leagues of the cape, the cold was exceſſive, and the nearer we approached this exceſſive cold, the more difficult we found it to guard againſt it, without having recourſe to additional cloathing, and found ourſelves obliged to augment our allowance in the articles of eating and drinking.

"On the 1ſt of June the wind began to freſhen, and as we approached the Cape of Good Hope, the days began to lengthen, to ſuch a degree, that on the 8th of June, on making the experiment with the time-piece belonging to the ſhip, we found the day (from ſun-riſe to ſun-ſet) eight hours and an half, and the night fifteen hours and an half. On the 7th of June aroſe ſo violent a ſtorm from the eaſt, that the ſhips ſeparated, and on the following morning the only ones which were together were ours and the Julia, without knowing what courſe the others had ſteered; and in the laſt watch, a little before day-break, we carried nothing but a ſmall topſail. At length the wind increaſed to ſuch a degree, that one of the yards was ſplit in two, and the maſt of the Julia went by the board. Having taken in all our ſails, we run the whole day and the next night at the mercy of the ſea. The ſeas we ſhipped were

enormous.

enormous. On the 9th the weather became moderate, and we hung out every thing to dry, though the ſun had but little power, and hardly warmed our garments, which, though wet with the ſeas we had from time to time ſhipped, were ſtill more ſo with the heavy rain which had fallen. On Friday the 11th, there was ſuch a ſwell of the ſea, that we could hardly ſpeak with each other; we therefore agreed to ſteer to the eaſt. On the 12th and 13th, when we were four hundred and fifty leagues from the Cape of Good Hope, the motion of the waves gave us reaſon to apprehend land was not far diſtant, having obſerved mud, ſea wolves, and many different ſpecies of large white birds, and ſmaller ones like ſtarlings, but their breaſts were white. From all theſe circumſtances we concluded there was ſome iſland at hand, hitherto unknown to Europeans. When we were on the other ſide the line, we found the ſun and moon purſue a different courſe from that in Spain, for in thoſe parts the ſun riſes in the north-eaſt, and ſets in the ſouth-weſt.

" On the 16th of June the ſea roſe to an enormous height, and we ſhipped many heavy ſeas, occaſioned by the immenſe currents which are here. On the 7th of July, ſoon as the wind began to drop, we purſued our courſe to the north, and then to the north-weſt, till the 10th, when we came within ſight of land, being then diſtant ten or twelve leagues; but as it was late, we lay to that night about eleven o'clock, till the moon went down, which with us was about five o'clock: we then laid the ſhips heads to the ſea, and remained in that poſition till day break, when we went to reconnoitre the ſhore, but could not determine where we were. The next day was dedicated to the ſame ſervice, when it was reported there were two capes, one of which runs in a ſharp point far into the ſea; and as you open more into the ſea, ten or twelve ſmall iſlands ſhew themſelves. We ſaw certain ſand banks, with wood ſcattered here and there. We then ſailed fifty leagues to the north-eaſt, and from thence a conſiderable diſtance to the north-eaſt and by north, and came even with the Lagunes, which were diſtant from us twenty-five leagues. From hence we ſteered north-eaſt, with a point to the north, and were driven fifteen leagues in the ſea from the courſe of the currents; and from hence we ſailed about ſixty-five leagues to the north: and as our meat failed, we had recourſe to our dried fiſh: this alſo, as well as the peaſe, failed us on the 12th of July, which compelled us to have recourſe to our cheeſe and ſalted pork. On the 15th of July we found ourſelves in the mouth of the river Sofala, and as the wind fell calm, we lay to in eleven fathoms from Friday P. M. until late on the Sunday following. The natives from the ſhore were very anxious for us to enter, but we had no inclination to comply. They made many fires, which we apprehended were deſigned as ſignals of invitation, of which we did not avail ourſelves. Notwithſtanding which our admiral got ſome little gold, though we were afterwards given to underſtand that the natives were afraid of producing the gold, leſt the Europeans ſhould have had any hoſtile intentions againſt them. Here we fiſhed the maſt which was ſprung. We diſcovered from hence a ſand which ran into the ſea two or three leagues, and ſome other ſimilar ſands, betwixt which there appeared to be ſome rivers. Here the ſea ran very high, and brought down a conſiderable quantity of leaves, and other evident marks of a river; and to the weſt a ſmall bay was formed, at the extent of which appeared a piece of land, like a ſmall iſland; and to the north-eaſt the ſea brought down on the ſecond night many conſiderable tokens of land, ſuch as canes like thoſe of Portugal, alſo timber, and immenſe quantities of leaves, with a ſtrong current.

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" On the 18th of July we found a creek, where the water was low, and on examining, we found it ſo for ſeven or eight leagues. We quitted this creek to the eaſt, and ſailed one whole day and a night, and according to the way we made, and the various ſigns we obſerved, we were clearly of opinion that here was the river of Buon Segnali. All along the coaſt we ſaw trees of an immenſe ſize, large enough for the main maſt of a veſſel; and the part to the weſtward had the appearance of Cape Spigel. Many of the banks which appeared were ſome of ſand and ſome of earth. One of the ſaid iſlands, viz. that which lies moſtly to the north-eaſt, had the form of a hat; and ſeven leagues from hence, towards Mozambique, we found an iſland of dry ſand. As we quitted the creek, we ſailed to the north-eaſt with a point to the north, and came in ſight of the former iſlands. The 21ſt of July we were in with them at the diſtance of five or ſix leagues, when we began to fiſh, and caught many pargos and red alcapetori, and other fiſhes, beautifully coloured, of different ſorts, and totally unlike any we have in Portugal. Twenty leagues ſhort of Mozambique we fell in with a ſand, dry, and of conſiderable extent, which ſtretched along the coaſt, and extends upwards of two leagues into the ſea, and runs north-eaſt by ſouth in the ſame direction with the coaſt, to ſeven or eight leagues on this ſide Mozambique.

" Friday the 22d of July, we arrived before the port of Mozambique, and entered between two ſmall iſlands, which are diſtant from the main two or three gun ſhots. On our arrival, we were accoſted by certain Moors of diſtinction, who preſented a letter addreſſed to all and every the commander and commanders of Portugueſe veſſels which might touch at that port, that they might not moleſt or ill treat any of the natives and inhabitants of the iſland, having already capitulated, and ſubmitted to the commander of five veſſels, which had been there to careen; and intimating to us that we muſt not remain, but purſue the track they had made by the way of Quiloa, and in caſe we did not find them there, then to proceed to Anchidiva, and from thence till we found them, ſailing in the day, and laying to at night. By this letter, which was ſigned by Stephen De Gama, captain of the fleet, we found they had been gone near eleven days. It mentioned that he, in company with two other veſſels, took their departure from hence on the 18th. We remained here till the 26th, during which time we ſupplied ourſelves with a ſufficient quantity of wood and water. The natives came aboard us with the utmoſt confidence, and we made many purchaſes of gold and pearls. We went aſhore in perfect ſecurity, and totally unmoleſted by the Moors, who were happy in ſhewing us every attention. During our ſtay at the iſland, ſeveral Moors of diſtinction came down with ſome petitions to the admiral, who took that opportunity of informing himſelf of the ſtate of the mines of Sofala, of whom he collected that the country whence they had the gold, was at preſent in a ſtate of war, but that in time of peace they drew from the mines annually two millions of mitigals of gold, each mitigal being worth one ducat and a third; and that in the laſt years when the country was at peace, the veſſels from Mecca and Sidon, and other parts, carried away the ſaid two millions; and that this was the mine from whence it was ſuppoſed that Solomon every three years carried off that immenſity of gold. The Moors preſented the admiral with a fine piece of myrrh, telling him at the ſame time, that if they were at peace, they could annually produce twenty tons of the ſame quality.

" On the 26th of the ſaid month we ſailed, and took a black pilot on board, ſteering due north; this coaſt bearing ſouth and north. At night we ſtood out to ſea, and in the

the day time ſtood in with the ſhore. After we had ſailed forty-five leagues, we ſaw a part of the land, which had thirteen or fourteen high hills, three or four of the higheſt being pointed. All along the coaſt we obſerved many ſmall iſlands, and approached the territory of Quiloa, but did not enter on account of the admiral not being with us. Soon as we reached the land, we ſaw many mountains, and took it for granted this was Quiloa, but ſoon found our miſtake. We then coaſted along, and diſcovered a white tower, which they called Old Quiloa. Between this and New Quiloa, is a river, which gave us not a little trouble: here we ſaw great palm and other trees, and entered a creek in a ſmall iſland. On the ſide of Quiloa are many ſands which run three or four leagues along the coaſt. From hence we ſteered our courſe towards Mombazza. Betwixt Quiloa and Melinda we ſaw two ſmall villages, one near the ſea, the other more in land: along the coaſt are high mountains and ſome open fields, which appeared ſown. We kept ſo far out to ſea, that we paſſed Mombazza without ſeeing it. Before we reached Melinda, we ſaw three large mountains together at thirteen or fourteen leagues from it. In the approach to Melinda you perceive a mountain which has the appearance of a caſtle.

" On the 2d of Auguſt we arrived off Melinda, and ſaluted with a diſcharge of ſome guns. Immediately thirteen or fourteen Moors came along ſide, among which was a relation of the king's, accompanied by a trumpeter playing before him; and with them came Luigi di Mouſa, who was left here by Pedro Alvarez Cabral by order of our royal maſter. This man ſpoke the language of the country with great freedom and eaſe; and they all gave us a moſt hearty welcome from the king of Melinda, and met with a moſt gracious reception from us; we ſhewed them every civility, and provided them with every thing which the ſhip afforded. Over and above we ſent the queen a large baſket full of biſcuits, ſweetmeats, nuts, grapes, and other dried fruits, all which was moſt gratefully received, as her majeſty was on the point of being brought to bed. In return ſhe ſent us a quantity of fowls, fiſh, and other refreſhments, for the ſhip's crew; and the king gave orders that every one at night ſhould carry aboard fowls and every other kind of proviſions for ſale to the ſhip's company; and at the ſame time ſent to inform us, that we were at liberty to come aſhore, and that with the greateſt ſecurity, as he and his country were ſubject to the crown of Portugal. The next morning we went on ſhore, and repaired to the palace of the king, (which is ſituated on the ſhore) and had the honour of kiſſing his hand. The reception he gave us was not a very graceful one; he was ſeated in a chair raiſed a foot and an half from the ground, lined with ſhining black leather, which appeared at a diſtance like velvet, from whence he had a full view of the ſea: he was dreſſed in a wrapper of painted cloth. In other ſeats were ſeated eighteen or twenty Moors, ſome of which were bare-foot: there were alſo many chairs remaining empty. The king had a pair of ſlippers by the ſide of him, and a large ſilk handkerchief tied round his head, after the Mooriſh faſhion, and his mouth was full of atambor, which he was perpetually chewing. He ſoon began to ſpeak, and aſked after the king and queen, our ſovereigns, and if the queen was with child. He ſeemed diſpleaſed that our admiral was not more at his eaſe, as it ſeemed to betray a want of confidence. We here ſaw two young elephants, one of ſix months, as large as a full grown ox, and carried double the fleſh; the other was larger; they were black, and in high condition. On our departure, the king preſented each ſhip with an ox, and we in return

return made his majeſty a preſent of ſeveral veſſels of tin, and ſome ſaffron. We went aſhore with the ſame freedom and eaſe as if we had been in Portugal. The honours and attentions we received, the quantity of fowls, fiſh, oranges, lemons, and other fruits and refreſhments, was ſo great, that it was really aſtoniſhing to ſee the whole daily expoſed to ſale on board our ſhips. Having taken in our neceſſary quantity of water, the king ordered a letter to be written to the admiral, and J. Lopez, purſer and ſecretary on board the ſhip Ruy Murdez de Brito, was ordered to the king's palace, and there wrote the ſaid letter, which was dictated by Luigi di Mouſa on the part of the king. They informed us of the correſpondence they had had with the admiral, who lay about ſeven or eight leagues diſtant from Melinda on account of the weather. The letter from the admiral contained a general order for whatever Portugueſe ſhips ſhould touch at this place, to proceed on their voyage without loſs of time. Theſe letters were accompanied with others from Juan de Nova, off Quiloa, who was on his return to Portugal, containing information that the king of Calicut armed a conſiderable fleet againſt him, which he had routed and totally deſtroyed. The ſame letters brought intelligence of the king of Quiloa having ſubmitted himſelf to our ſovereign, conſenting to pay an annual tribute of four hundred and fifty or five hundred wedges of gold. The king at firſt made excuſes to the admiral that he was indiſpoſed, and could not come; refuſing to hold communication with the Portugueſe, as he had done with Pedro Alvarez Cabral: on which the admiral ordered the ſhips to be laid cloſe in with the town, and when every thing was ready, he went with three hundred and fifty men on ſhore. As ſoon as the king ſaw this, he came down and ſubmitted himſelf to the admiral, who received him with great politeneſs, and made him ſit down on a carpet of fine cloth at the ſtern of the boat. On being ſeated, he demanded of the admiral what was his will and pleaſure; who anſwered, that he came to make peace or war, which ever ſhould be determined on, and though in his power, he ſubmitted to his majeſty a free choice. Peace being accepted, he was given to underſtand that the terms were, he ſhould be tributary to the king of Portugal, with the payment of twenty pearls. To which the king anſwered, that the payment in pearls rendered the compact of a dubious nature, as it was impoſſible to ſay that he ſhould in a certain given time, be able to produce them of the required weight, viz. one mitigal each: beſides, the quality might be objected to: he therefore preferred paying the tribute in gold, in ſuch proportion as ſhould be deemed reaſonable and juſt, and to the ſatisfaction of the parties mutually concerned; and that he would give annually one thouſand five hundred wedges of gold. Hereupon he departed, leaving certain Moors of diſtinction in the hands of the admiral, as hoſtages for the due payment of the tribute already ſtipulated; and the day after, the king ſent on board one thouſand mitigals of gold with great pomp, and ſoon after the remaining five hundred were delivered with the ſame ſolemnity, amidſt the repeated acclamations of the people, who teſtified the greateſt happineſs at the peace being thus happily concluded. To the people who brought the tribute, as well as the muſic which attended them, the admiral made preſents of a quantity of ſcarlet cloth; and to the king he ſent pieces of crimſon velvet and ſuperfine ſcarlet cloth, with a letter, and a flag richly embroidered with the arms of Portugal. The admiral gave orders that the flower of the troops on board ſhould enter the boats, and accompany the flag aſhore with drums, trumpets, and other warlike inſtruments. On reaching the ſhore, the king was ready in perſon to receive it, and ordered

dered it to be placed in the moſt conſpicuous part in the city, and his own arms under it.

" On the 3d of Auguſt we quitted Melinda, and ſteered our courſe towards Calicut, keeping to the north-eaſt and eaſt, and on the 4th we were once more under the line, where we did not experience that degree of heat we found on the coaſt of Guinea, when under the line. We here quitted the Julia, who outſailed us, and made a run of three hundred and ſeventy-five leagues; on Friday the 19th of Auguſt, we made land on the ſide of Calicut, having paſſed the gulph in fifteen days and an half. The land we now ſaw was almoſt forty leagues diſtant from Amadiva, for which place we coaſted along, and in the courſe of our run, we diſcovered three iſlands, called the Iſlands of Anſidiva, diſtant from *terra firma* fifteen leagues; and ſoon after we found nine or ten, viz. three to the north-eaſt, and the reſt more to the ſouth; and as ſoon as we came within the diſtance of ten or twelve leagues from the ſaid iſlands, we found conſiderable mountains, ſome of which were pointed, and one particularly, near the ſea, fronting the ſouth, has its top formed like a hat, and is a good ſea mark; and three or four leagues from hence there are ſeveral other iſlands cloſe in with the iſland of Amadiva itſelf. Previous to our coming cloſe in with the land, we found many ſerpents in the ſea—an evident ſign the land was not far diſtant, for they never are found at a greater diſtance from land than thirty or forty leagues.

" On Sunday the 21ſt of Auguſt, early in the morning, we arrived at the ſaid iſland, when ſome ſhots were fired, which alarmed the admiral then aſhore, who ſuppoſed we were ſome of the ſhips come from Mecca; but no ſooner were the flags hoiſted, than he diſcovered us to be friends from Portugal. They aſked us news of the Julia, which we informed them had ſailed before us from Melinda, and that we had not once met with her during the voyage. However, fifteen days after we were agreeably ſurpriſed with her arrival. They had many ſick on board; we therefore gave them a part of the fowls we had brought with us from Melinda, as well as oranges, fruits, and other proviſions, as were neceſſary for them in their preſent ſituation. The tents were then pitched on ſhore, as an hoſpital for the ſick: their diſorder was the ſwelling of the gums, which increaſed to ſuch a degree as almoſt to cover the teeth, and many of them died in conſequence of it. Others were taken with violent ſwellings of the legs and thighs, but this complaint was not attended with any great danger. Many of the natives came along ſide us, bringing for ſale, fiſh freſh and dreſſed, gourds, cucumbers, and wild cinnamon, which they gave for a trifle, or exchanged for any thing which was offered them. They alſo brought a ſpecies of fig as long as a cucumber, of an agreeable flavour, and ſo eaſy of digeſtion, that they never loaded the ſtomach, though eat in ever ſo great a quantity. They told us that in croſſing the gulph about one hundred leagues diſtant, out of the courſe generally ſteered to Mecca, they ſaw a Mooriſh veſſel, with all the people on board captured by a galley, and theſe Moors were belonging to a great city, ſituated up a river called Calinul, and that the admiral diſguiſed, and without his uniform, went into the galley, and in company with the Mooriſh veſſel approached the city. As ſoon as they were deſcried by the natives, thirty or forty men on horſeback came out of the town, and being accoſted by the admiral with civility, they returned to the town in peace. Immediately after a number of people came out of the city, bringing preſents of fowls from the king, and wiſhing to know the occaſion of their viſit. The admiral replied,

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they were come on a trading voyage to India. The king then ſignified to them that the ſhips were perfectly ſecure from every idea of moleſtation: that they were ready to ſell them diamonds and lac, and if in future they were diſpoſed to take in a cargo of grain, they would engage to load the whole fleet in the courſe of ten or fifteen days, and that if they had any ſcarlet cloth, they would buy it of them. The admiral then left them, ſaying, that he ſhould report the whole to the commander, and gave orders to fire a ſhot with ball, to ſtrike terror into them, having an idea of returning in company with the whole fleet. But as ſoon as he got to the other ſhips, the wind ſpringing up, it was thought adviſeable to proceed on the voyage.

"On the 26th of Auguſt, the commodore gave orders for the departure of the whole from the ſaid iſland of Amadiva; and previous to our departure, the two gallies and two ſhips ſailed for Cananor; and on the 28th of the ſaid month the whole fleet departed with a gentle gale, and ſailed during the day, but laid to in the night; and continuing to ſail along the coaſt, we came to a creek, where there is a village named Mount Eli, belonging to the king of Cananor. As ſoon as we were arrived, the admiral diſpatched ſome veſſels in queſt of the Mecca fleets, one going, and the other coming. Thus they continued doing for five or ſix days, till ſuch time as the Emerald had fiſhed her maſt, which had been broken in paſſing the gulph. During the cruize of our veſſels, that of Fernando Lorenzo met with a ſhip as big as the Reina, and gave chace to her; but having fired five or ſix ſhot with ball, and not having more to diſcharge, was obliged to give up the chace, and night coming on, they loſt ſight of, and ſaw her no more.

"On the 29th of September, ſome of our veſſels being on a cruize for the Mecca ſhips, the San Gabriello fell in with a large veſſel of Calicut, on its return from Mecca to Calicut, with two hundred and forty men on board, beſides women and children, of which there were a conſiderable number, who had been on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and were now on their return home; and after chaſing them, and firing a few ſhot, they ſtruck without firing, though they had both guns and ſmall arms in plenty on board, relying more upon their riches for protection of their perſons, than the oppoſition of force, the principal perſons on board being twelve of the richeſt Mooriſh merchants of Calicut; amongſt which was one Loar Afanquy, ſaid to be the agent of the ſultan of Mecca in the ſaid city, and this ſhip with three or four others belonged to him. The moment he was alone with the admiral, he propoſed that if he would leave the ſhip juſt as ſhe was, he would load the whole fleet of eighteen ſhips (among which were five very large ones) with ſpices; but ſeeing that the admiral was deaf to his firſt propoſal, he then offered for his wife, his nephew, and himſelf, four of the largeſt ſhips loaded with ſpices, engaging at the ſame time to remain with the admiral till ſuch time as his nephew could go aſhore; and if in the courſe of fifteen or twenty days he failed in his engagement, he was at liberty to do what he pleaſed with him. Over and above, he promiſed that every thing which had been taken by the king at Calicut ſhould be reſtored, and peace once more eſtabliſhed. The admiral refuſed the above terms, and inſiſted upon each giving up what he poſſeſſed aboard the ſhip, which not being complied with, he ordered the boats to haul the veſſel to a diſtance from the fleet, and ſet fire to her with all the people on board."

This journaliſt relates the circumſtances attending this capture different from Caſtagneda: he ſays, "As ſoon as we began to fire upon them, the women came upon

deck, holding out plate and jewels, offering the whole if their lives were ſaved. From the admiral's ſhip it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh the women holding out their children, and begging, for pity's ſake, to have compaſſion on thoſe innocents. This availed but little, for after repeated and obſtinate oppoſition from the ſhip's crew, the admiral cauſed the ſhip to be ſet on fire, and every one on board periſhed in the flames. After this the San Paolo fell in with four large veſſels, and chaſed them; but they made for the ſhore; three of them got into a river, and the fourth ran aground and went to pieces, after moſt of the crew had quitted her, ſome were drowned, and others picked up and brought aboard our ſhip.

"The 18th of October we arrived before Cananor, and certain per-
A. D. 1502. ſons of diſtinction came on board to compliment us from the king, ſaying that he wiſhed to have ſome converſation with the admiral, and fixed the time for the conference. The day after, the king had a bridge made upon the ſea, very long, and as broad as that at Liſbon, which made an elegant appearance. On the 19th of the ſaid month, the admiral had every thing in readineſs, and his galliot with the ſtern covered with red and green velvet, manned with the choiceſt men in the whole fleet; the ſhips boats with flags, drums, trumpets, and other martial muſic; himſelf richly dreſſed in a robe of ſilk, and collars of different orders; and thus he ſet out to meet the king on the wooden bridge, which was covered with an awning of painted cloth. The king entered the bridge from the land, attended by four hundred men, ſome with ſwords and red targets, beautifully ornamented, others with bows and arrows, and ſome with partizans. The king and his ſuite had no other cloathing than a painted cloth thrown round them, which covered them from the ſide down to the feet, and a ſmall painted cap on the head. The king entered firſt, and reſted a little on a chair, it being exceſſively hot. The admiral did not immediately arrive, but as ſoon as he came, the king roſe to meet him, with thirty only in his train, it being ſettled that neither ſhould exceed that number. The admiral having ſignified that the orders of his ſovereign not permitting him to go aſhore, the king had the bridge conſtructed, and received the admiral in the boat at the extremity of the bridge. In going along, the king was preceded by two men, who carried long poles. After him followed two others with poles, and hawks upon the top of them. When the king and admiral met, they gave their hands to each other, in token of friendſhip, and while they were waiting for the interpreter, the admiral preſented the king with ſilver vaſes gilt, viz. large baſons, ewers, and ſundry other veſſels, as a preſent from his ſovereign. The king in return preſented the admiral with many jewels of conſiderable value, and ſome inferior ones to the captains and other officers. The admiral deſired a price might be fixed upon the various ſpices, and other articles of merchandiſe. The king anſwered that he ſhould ſend up the country, and order the natives to bring down their ſeveral commodities for ſale, and that he might reſt aſſured every thing ſhould be ſold at a fair and reaſonable price. A few days after the Moors came down with a quantity of ſpices, but we found it abſolutely impoſſible to deal with them on account of the exorbitant demand they made for every article, and which they palliated by refuſing to take our goods, as not ſuiting them, unleſs at an under price. The admiral perceiving this, ſent to the king, ſaying, that he imagined he ſet little ſtore on the friendſhip of the prince his maſter, ſeeing that he gave countenance to the villainy and impoſition of his ſubjects; and that in conſequence of ſuch treatment, he ſhould quit the port, and

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ſeek elſewhere to load his veſſels: at the ſame time intimating to the king, that if during his abſence, any diſreſpect was ſhewn to don Avarez, or any of his Portugueſe majeſty's ſubjects, (who had been left here on a former voyage) he and his people ſhould pay for it.

"On the 22d of October, with a light wind, we ſailed from Cananor, going on in the day, and laying to at night. In our way to Calicut we fell in with a ſloop, which our admiral ordered us to chaſe, which we ſoon took, before ſhe reached the land: ſhe had on board about twenty Moors and Caffres, and was laden with nuts called cabaye and cocos, bound for Calicut. In coaſting along we ſaw three large veſſels, laying ſo cloſe in ſhore, that they ſeemed to be aground. Immediately eight boats armed, and the two galliots, were ordered out to attack them, with the admiral on board one of them. After firing a few ſhots, the people on board were ſo intimidated, that they threw themſelves into the ſea. A perſon on ſhore ſeeing this, got into a boat and came up with the admiral, and explained to him that he belonged to the king of Cananor; that he was at peace with the Portugueſe, and under that ſecurity, his ſhips were now here; that he had refuſed to let them to his ſovereign, when he armed a fleet to attack John da Nova, and therefore was at war with the ſaid prince. He ſaid he was related to the king of Cochin, and that if occaſion required, he was ready to leave a certain number of men in his hands as hoſtages, till ſuch time as the truth of his aſſertion ſhould be verified. The next day the owner of the ſaid ſhips ſent the admiral a preſent of a quantity of fowls and figs, with four or five bags of rice, and a fine fat ſheep. The admiral received the preſent with all due politeneſs, but at the ſame time paid the full value for them, and ſent back the men who had been received on board as hoſtages, declaring the whole to proceed from the reſpect he had for him as a relation of the king of Cochin.

"On the 25th of October we ſailed, and purſued our voyage towards Calicut, and as we coaſted along, we perceived a large veſſel, which the admiral went in perſon to reconnoitre: on his return on board, having called a council of all the officers, it was determined ſhe ſhould not be burned, as it proved to be the admiral of Calicut; and the king of Calicut, whilſt we were lying at Cananor, had ſent to the admiral, informing him he was ready to ſubmit to the government of Portugal, whenever he thought fit to come and receive his ſubmiſſion. We were further informed, that the ſaid ſhip was of a nation which carries on a very conſiderable traffic with India in the article of ſpices. It was therefore thought adviſeable not to terrify them, but rather calm their apprehenſions, and ſettle terms for commercial dealings.

"Having omitted to mention that the admiral, during his ſtay at Cananor, had received letters from Cochin, from Gonzales Gill, who was left there by John de Nova, we ſhould mention the following account which he gave, viz. that the king of Calicut had written to the king of Cochin in terms of the warmeſt friendſhip, whilſt our fleet lay at Amadiva, informing him at the ſame time, for a certainty, that there were twenty very large Portugueſe veſſels; that they were come into the Indian ſeas with hoſtile intentions; that the only way to prevent their return was to refuſe them ſpices at any price, as it was evident the grand intent of their coming was to get the ſpices; and what they could not effect by purchaſe, they would acquire by force.—The anſwer of the king of Cochin was, that he had already made peace with the king of Portugal, and as he looked upon the Portugueſe to be men of principle, he was determined not to recede from what he had already done. The conſequence of this

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this anſwer was, that the king of Calicut wrote to the admiral the letter above-mentioned, wherein he declared himſelf ready to become a tributary of the king of Portugal; and that he would reſtore the effects of the king, which had been given to the captain of the ſhip that had been burnt by Pedro Alvarez Cabral.

" On the 26th of October, the admiral ordered to be hanged from the main-yard two Moors belonging to the Mecca ſhips, one of which had been known to have murdered two Europeans at Calicut, and the other had cut off the arm of a Portugueſe immediately after the battle of Calicut.

" On the 29th of October we made ſail for Calicut, and arrived before the ſaid city, which is hardly viſible from the ſea, a ſmall part only being to be ſeen, as it is ſituated in a deep valley, and hid from the view by very high palm trees. After we arrived, the firſt ſtipulation on the part of the admiral was, that all the Moors belonging to Mecca ſhould be expelled, as well merchants as inhabitants. The king anſwered him, that he could not think of ſuch a ſtep, as there were upwards of five thouſand Mooriſh families, very rich, and of the utmoſt conſequence to his ſtate, as they had from time to time aſſiſted him with ſupplies for carrying on his wars, &c. and therefore he muſt decline the propoſal.

" In the mean time, while the king and the admiral were treating together, ſome fiſhermen, under the idea of peace being concluded, took to their boats and went out to fiſh, which they had no ſooner done than they were ſeized by order of the admiral, and their boats and effects condemned. This ſo enraged the king, that he would not ſubſcribe to any peace unleſs conditional: and that if it was expected that the effects belonging to the king of Portugal be reſtored, he, on his part expected to be indemnified for the damage done to his country by the Portugueſe; that the property taken from on board the Mecca ſhip ſhould be reſtored, and that the port of Calicut ſhould be a free port. The admiral informed him, that being deputed by the king of Portugal, to act for him in that quarter of the globe, he would not be dictated to.

" Late on the Sunday evening the admiral gave orders for all the ſhips to get as near in with the city as poſſible, that the artillery might more effectually play upon it, without being ſubject to the batteries from the land. The Captain, Emerald, Leonard, and Seaflower, were ordered to keep off a little wide of the ſhore, as they were all large ſhips. During the night the people were obſerved running to and fro on the beach with lanthorns in their hands, digging caves in the ſand, planting their artillery, &c. and at day-break the number of people was much more conſiderable than was apprehended. In the morning the admiral ordered the ſhips to lay as cloſe in with the land as poſſible, and to run every riſk in ſo doing; to hold themſelves in readineſs, and as ſoon as they obſerved the jack hoiſted at the main-top on board the Loytoa, to hang from the yards all the Moors which were taken in the ſloop. Accordingly many Moors and Caffres were executed, and hung up high enough to be ſeen from the city. The number executed was thirty-four. The beach was covered with people, who came out of the city to view the ſight; and whilſt they were loſt in aſtoniſhment, a ſhot was fired amongſt them from the admiral, and another from the galliot; ſome fell, and others fled; and after a few ſhots from the other ſhips, the beach was ſoon cleared. As ſoon as we perceived them flying, we ſet up a great ſhout, which was anſwered by a ſhot from one of their three-pounders (which was generally the ſize of their artillery). Their guns were ill levelled, ſeldom taking effect, and they were long in charging. A few of their houſes were thrown down by our artillery, as they were built with mud;

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we therefore only made conſiderable apertures in them, and ſome of the very high ones were cut aſunder, as if with an axe.

" On the 2d of November the admiral gave orders to fire upon the city, but to point their guns where they could do moſt execution on the principal houſes of the inhabitants; and in the courſe of the ſecond day we fired above four hundred ſhots, without receiving any damage from our opponents, whoſe fire was very ſlack, either from want of powder, or ſome other cauſe.

" The ſhips now retired from before the town, and the admiral ordered to be diſtributed among the ſeveral ſhips crews of the fleet the nuts, apples, and fruit, which was in the ſloop we had taken, which order being executed, the ſloop was inſtantly ſet fire to. Whilſt we were at ſupper, we could perceive a number of boats put off from the ſhore, with intent to cut the cable, and tow her off before ſhe was burnt to the edge; but on ſeeing our boats manned, ready to oppoſe their deſign, they quitted their enterprize, and made for the ſhore as quick as poſſible, leaving in the boats their bows and arrows in their hurry to land.

" On Wedneſday morning the 3d of November we ſailed towards Cochin, and had ſix ſhips before the ſaid city and a galliot, the whole under the command of Vicenzo Sodre, to cut off their ſupply of proviſions and other neceſſaries. On the 7th of the ſaid month we arrived off the port of Cochin. Immediately on our arrival, Gonſalvo Gill, who had remained behind the voyage before, came on board us, and informed the admiral, that letters from many Mooriſh merchants at Calicut to their correſpondents at Cochin had arrived, mentioning the devaſtation we had made at Calicut, and that the people there were dying of a famine, becauſe, on account of the ſhips lying there, no proviſions could enter the port, and they did not even dare to go out to fiſh. At the ſame time it mentioned the loſs of a fleet of victuallers, to the number of two hundred ſail, all which were hired by the king of Calicut, with an intention of arming againſt us; out of which fleet only one, in attempting to make the port of Cochin, was driven on the coaſt and loſt, but the men and cargo of ſpices were ſaved, and ſeized by the king of Cochin.

" This day the ſon of the king came on board to ſpeak to the admiral, and to thank him for the attention he had ſhewn in preventing two of his ſhips from being burned at ſea, and for many other civilities he had ſhewn to various perſons on his account, expreſſing the ſincerity of his intentions, and his wiſhes to accommodate him and his ſhips with every thing the country afforded; and that he ſhould give the moſt poſitive orders to the merchants and others to ſupply him at the earlieſt notice, with whatever he ſhould want.

" Upon this meſſage the joy of the whole fleet was inexpreſſibly great, and we immediately ſet about repairing and cleaning the ſhips, airing between decks, agreeing for proviſions, and clearing the hold for the reception of the different merchandiſe. On the 10th of the ſaid month the king ſent to requeſt the admiral would begin to take in his loading on that day, Thurſday being with them a lucky day, and on which they begin every act of conſequence; to which the admiral aſſented. On that day were put on board the Rai Ficairdo four tons of pepper; but there being no price fixed, and the people not diſpoſed for the preſent to bring more aboard, we remained three or four days without taking in any: upon which an interview was agreed on betwixt the admiral and the king of Cochin. The 14th of November the admiral and the king had

had an interview, attended with the ſame ceremonies as at Cananor, and a peace and treaty of commerce was accordingly ſettled.

" On the 15th three of our ſhips arrived, with an ambaſſador on board, from Calicut, who had been expreſsly ſent from Cananor by the king, and not finding us there, had requeſted a coveyance to Cochin. He came charged with a commiſſion from his royal maſter to requeſt we would ſend him a Portugueſe ſhip, and he would load her with ſpices, at the ſame rate as at Cochin; that he would take our merchandiſe in return at the ſame prices as they were valued at in Cochin; and if any ſecurity was demanded for the performance of covenants, he was ready to leave the ſaid ambaſſador in our cuſtody.

" Our people who came with the ſhips gave us the following relation, viz. that while they lay off Calicut, the king had recently given orders for arming twenty row gallies, and when compleated, they ſent out a few ſmall boats, thinking to induce us to follow them up the river, where the armed fleet lay hid in the creeks. The moment our ſhips had purſued them to the mouth of the river, the gallies made a ſally from their lurking places, and attacked our veſſels ſo cloſely with their bows and arrows, that had not a chance ſhot from the ſhips ſunk their captain's ſhip, and thereby diſheartened them, they perhaps would have taken the veſſel immediately in purſuit.

" On the 18th of November three of the natives came on board the Julia, and ſold a cow, which being made known to the king, his majeſty ſent a meſſage to the admiral, requeſting him to ſend the three delinquents to him. Upon this the admiral gave orders on board all the ſhips, that no one, on pain of being ſeverely flogged, ſhould purchaſe either cows or oxen of the natives, and that if any one came alongſide, offering to ſell, they ſhould be ſeized and handed over to the captain. The day after the three Moors again returned on board the Julia with another cow for ſale, when they were immediately ſeized and delivered up to the king, who, without any form of trial, had them impaled alive. The reaſon of puniſhing the ſale of cows or oxen, was their being worſhipped by the natives as deities, which they ſtiled Tambarani.

" On the 19th of the ſaid month came certain Chriſtians from Mangalore, and other places up the country, bringing preſents to the admiral of fowls, fruits, certain red wands headed with ſilver, and three ſmall ſilver bells pending from the heads of each. They brought letters from the heads of the juriſdiction, which conſiſted of ten thouſand men, mentioning the ſatisfaction they had at the arrival of the Portugueſe in thoſe parts of India, and that they acknowledged the king of Portugal for their ſovereign, and were ready to do him homage; and that the rods they had tendered were rods of juſtice, which ſignified that they ſhould never in future do any act of juſtice on any individual whatever except in the name of the king of Portugal. They further aſſured us, that if we would build a fortreſs in a ſituation which they would point out to us, we might ſoon make ourſelves maſter of all India. They told us they had ſix biſhops, who ſaid maſs and performed pilgrimages to the tomb of St. Thomas, who was buried in their territory, where many miracles were performed. Many queſtions were aſked us reſpecting our churches, biſhops, maſs, and many other things. The admiral gave them a polite reception, and preſented them with cloth, ſilk, grain, and other articles.

" The natives told us, that from hence to Ceylon is one hundred and fifty leagues; that the iſland is rich, and near three hundred leagues in circumference; that there are many mountains; that the produce of the iſland is cinnamon of the firſt quality, and

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in the greateſt abundance; and pearls and precious ſtones of great value: in the mountains were a great number of elephants.

" The people on board the ſhip of Luis Fernandez told us, that in paſſing the cape in their way to India, they loſt ſight of the fleet; and, on the other hand, we not having ſeen them for ſome time, imagined they were gone to the bottom in the ſtorm, which continued while we were paſſing the cape. Being cloſe in with the land, they more than once went aſhore, and ſaw the natives, who were quite black. The country here was well ſtocked with cattle, four of which they bought for two ſmall copper coins, and three hens for an old ſhirt ſleeve.

" We remained here a month, and laid in a conſiderable ſtock of proviſions. Every day we ſaw great quantities of ſea horſes, and frequently whales of all ſizes, ſome very large ones indeed. It was ſome time before the admiral could agree with the natives about the price for the ſpices, &c. However, at laſt it was ſtipulated in the following manner, viz. that we ſhould pay them three-fourths in money, and one-fourth in copper, after the rate of twelve gold ducats per hundred weight for pepper; but for the cinnamon, incenſe, and other ſpices, as well as pure allum, we had them on our own terms, for ſimple barter, not being ſo highly eſteemed as cloves and pepper.

" On the 3d of January a Bramin came on board the commodore's
A.D. 1503. ſhip, with his ſon, and two other men of ſome conſequence, with letters for the admiral from the king of Calicut, intimating that he was ready to agree to terms of amity with the ſubjects of Portugal, and was ready to reſtore the effects belonging to his Portugueſe majeſty; the one-half in money, and the other in ſpices, at the current market prices; and that he was ready to give ſuch hoſtages, as ſecurity for the punctual performance of covenants entered into. The Bramin had with him pearls and precious ſtones to a conſiderable amount, which he propoſed to the admiral to ſell in Portugal, offering at the ſame time to go with him, and to put on board his ſhip a certain quantity of ſpices. The admiral aſſented to his requeſt, and gave leave for taking on board twenty baarri of cinnamon, which he had bought at Cochin, and ordered him to be taken on board with his jewels, &c. which he had along with him. This arrangement being ſettled, the admiral went on board the Fior del Mars, and took along with him the ſaid ambaſſadors, which he treated with all poſſible reſpect.

" On the 5th of January he took his departure from Cochin, and met with nothing particular in the courſe of the voyage, except the taking a ſmall ſloop, which the crew quitted, and gained the ſhore.

" On his arrival at Calicut with the ambaſſadors, every thing was ſettled, and the king deſired him to ſend ſome proper perſon of conſequence aſhore, to receive the money which was ready to be delivered: to which the admiral replied, that he came not for the purpoſe of complimenting; that no particular reſpect was due to the king, but, on the contrary, he ſhould expect the money, &c. ſhould be delivered on board at the ſole expence and trouble of his majeſty, without the leaſt interference on the part of the ſhip's crew, and that in twenty-four hours he ſhould expect a categorical anſwer. That night late, or near day-break, the ſailors on watch obſerved a ſloop coming up, which they imagined was a fiſhing-bark going out to fiſh: they ſoon however diſcovered what they conceived to be one veſſel, was two ſmall ones laſhed together, making right for the ſhip, which the people perceiving, the admiral was immediately called, who got up, ſuppoſing that the king had ſent the money, &c. aboard;

but in an inſtant we ſaw making from the ſhore ſeventy or eighty row gallies, which we at firſt took for fiſhing veſſels. As the two firſt approached the ſhip, they began to fire upon us with ball, and raked us not a little; which firing was followed by the others. As ſoon as our people ſhewed themſelves on deck, they were ſaluted with a volley of arrows. From the ſhips we could only annoy them with ſtones from the tops and ſtrouds, as they were ſo cloſe under the ſhips that the guns could not play upon them. The only recourſe we had was to cut the cable, and leave our anchor behind us.

"Whilſt this was doing, Vincent Sodre, uncle of the admiral, arrived in the river with the two galliots from Cananor, which, as ſoon as our enemies perceived, they made for the land as ſoon as they could, after a few ſhots from the galliots, which did conſiderable execution.

"The admiral immediately hanged the hoſtages upon the main-yard, and afterwards ſent them in a boat near the ſhore, where they were thrown into the ſea, that the current might float them aſhore, with a written parchment tacked to their breaſts, ſaying, that at his return he would ſerve all the nations he ſhould take in the ſame manner, for the perfidy they had been guilty of.

"On the 10th of February the whole of the fleet, which had remained at Cochin, ſailed from thence, and on the 12th arrived before Calicut. At the diſtance of four or five leagues we perceived a fleet of thirty-two large veſſels, beſides boats and ſmall craft without number, coming down upon us. We inſtantly got every thing ready, and cleared for action. The moment they were within gun-ſhot, their warlike inſtruments began to play, and the action commenced with a ſalute from them, which was warmly returned by us, and ſo well ſeconded, that they ſoon begun to give way, and fled with precipitation towards the city. As our ſhips were foul and deep laden, we could not overtake them; the Emerald, however, picked up one of their veſſels, which the crew had deſerted and ſwam aſhore.

"On the 15th of February, at mid-day, we arrived off Cananor, where we related all that had happened at Calicut, it being only eighteen leagues diſtant. The king of Cananor had given orders for a fleet to be got ready to come to our aſſiſtance, and every one ſeemed as much rejoiced at our return as they were at our victory.

"On the 22d of February we ſailed from Cananor on our return to Portugal, but did not purſue the ſame courſe as the other ſhips generally did, for the admiral determined to croſs the gulph by the way of Mozambique. Three ſhips and two galliots remained here by order of our ſovereign, which were to cruize in the Indian ſea, and to prevent the arrival of ſpices at Mecca. We ſteered our courſe to the weſt and ſouth. On the 24th we ſaw certain iſlands, fifty leagues diſtant from Cananor; but whether they were peopled or not, we could not tell, as we kept wide of them.

"On the 15th of March we ſaw another iſland, and on the 16th we fell in with many ſand banks. We diſcovered another iſland within fifteen or twenty leagues of Mozambique; and ſoon after we fell in with two very large iſlands, of a beautiful aſpect, and well wooded, each of which was little inferior in ſize to the iſland of Madeira; the diſtance from one to the other is ſeven or eight leagues. The land was very fertile, in many parts well cultivated, and highly productive.

"On the 12th of April we arrived before Mozambique, where ſeveral of our ſhips were hove down, and underwent a thorough repair, having ſuffered much from the worms. We here took in our quantity of wood and water; but the water being reported

ported by the inhabitants to be of an indifferent quality, the admiral ordered the people to go further up the country and dig, where they met with very excellent water by digging to a certain depth.

" On the 18th we ſailed, by order of the admiral, from hence for Portugal, with news for the king, reſpecting the ſhips left behind, and their deſtination. On the 29th of the ſame month, the admiral, with eight ſhips in company, ſailed for Portugal. On the 13th we all put into an iſland to take in wood. On the firſt of May we ſailed from thence, but the day after the admiral was under the neceſſity of returning into port, on account of the Fior del Mars and Leonarda, which made ſo much water that they could not long keep the ſea. On the 4th, by order of the admiral, the ſhips of Fernando Lorenzo and Luis Fernandez were diſpatched with news to the king of the ſhips having been obliged to put back and refit. On the 20th we ſailed, and on the 30th made once more the land of Mozambique. On the 1ſt of June we run into a creek, as being more convenient to repair the damage ſuſtained by the Leonarda running foul of us in the night. On the 10th of June we began to give out the bread by weight, viz. twelve ounces of biſcuit to each man. Some time previous to this, we had put the men to an allowance of a quart of wine per day; and thinking that the allowance of bread was too great for the quantity in hand, we began, on the 28th of the ſaid month, to give only ten ounces each man per day, without any thing elſe beſides the bread and wine, except a ſmall diſh of boiled rice between two perſons. The rice held out during our ſtay at Mozambique, and four days longer; we were then obliged to have recourſe to the millet, which we had collected on the iſland, which perhaps might amount to about four buſhels, and coſt half a ducat per buſhel: this held out eight days more, when we were obliged to make a meſs of the ſweepings of the biſcuit, mixed with ſtinking water, which nothing but hunger could have made us ſwallow. On the 15th of June the admiral came on board our ſhip, to examine into the ſtate of our bread, when the quantity was found not to exceed twenty-five or thirty groſs hundreds of biſcuit, and we had two thouſand three hundred leagues to make from hence to Portugal. Our condition being fully proved to the admiral, he ordered us three to make the beſt of our way home.

" In compliance with the orders iſſued by the admiral, which gave general ſatisfaction, we ſet ſail from the port of Mozambique on the 16th of June, with a foul wind, tacking ſometimes in land, and ſometimes ſtanding out to ſea. On the 3d of July, coaſting along, a violent ſtorm aroſe, which made us take in all our canvas, except the foreſail, under which we run for ſome time, but at laſt we were obliged to take in that alſo, and truſt to the mercy of the ſea. On the 10th of July we met with the Letoanuſo, which ſeparated from us a few days before, whence we learned that they had fallen in with two Portugueſe veſſels on their way to India. On the 12th of the ſaid month we met with two other Portugueſe veſſels bound for India, commanded by Alphonſo Albuquerque, who orderedthe Julia to come along-ſide him, to give him ſome information reſpecting India. On the 18th of July we paſſed the Cape."

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

Squadrons equipped for India. Voyage of Albuquerque, from Ramuſio and Oſorio. Voyage of Saldanna, from Oſorio. Fourth voyage of Americus Veſputius, from Ramuſio.

THE king of Portugal judging, that as factories were eſtabliſhed at Cochin and Cananor, there would be no occaſion to equip any large fleet, determined to ſend only ſmall ſquadrons: one of which, conſiſting of four ſhips, was diſpatched under the command of Alphonſo d'Albuquerque, who afterwards made ſo conſpicuous a figure in India; a ſecond under the command of his couſin, Francis Albuquerque; and a third, which Oſorio ſays was under the command of Nicholas Coello, but other authors, with more probability, ſay, was under the command of Antonio Saldanna.

We have a journal of the firſt voyage written by Gioanni da Empoli (a factor in one of the ſhips) preſerved in Ramuſio, which is here tranſlated. Other particulars of this voyage are added from Oſorio, to whom we are beholden for an account of the other voyages. We alſo find a journal of a voyage by Americus Veſputius, which is his fourth voyage, and was performed under Portugueſe colours: this alſo is tranſlated from Ramuſio.

Voyage of Alphonſo Albuquerque, written by Empoli.

A. D. 1503. "We took our departure from Liſbon on the 6th of April, in the ſquadron of the commodore, don Alphonſo Albuquerque, conſiſting of four ſhips, one of ſix hundred tons, named the San Jacobo; one of ſeven hundred tons, named the San Spirito; one of three hundred tons, named the San Chriſtophoro; one of two hundred tons, named the Catterina Dies. We ſailed all in company, and ſteered right for the Cape de Verde Iſlands, and as ſoon as we came within ſight of the cape, the commodore called a council of the ſeveral pilots belonging to the fleet, in order to determine what courſe would be beſt to ſteer for the Cape of Good Hope; the courſe generally ſteered being all along the coaſt of Guinea, which coaſt being ſubject to currents, ſhoals, and rocks, is alſo under the line; and as the wind generally is ſlack upon the coaſt, we determined to ſtand out to ſea. Steering this courſe, on the 28th day we came within ſight of land, (which till now had not been fully aſcertained) called the Iſland of Aſcenſion, round which we kept ſailing the whole night, in hard blowing weather, at the riſk of driving aſhore, the wind blowing thereon. The iſland, as far as we could diſcover, is of little or no value.

"We ſailed from hence, and continuing in the ſame courſe, found ourſelves off Vera Cruz, or the Braſils, as it is called, heretofore diſcovered by Americus Veſputius. The men and women are well made, and go naked; their heads are adorned with green parrots feathers, and their lips with fiſh bones. Their arms are a kind of dart headed with fiſh bone: their ordinary food is human fleſh, which they dry over wood fires in the ſmoke. We quitted the above place, to double the Cape of Good Hope; when we fell in with the iſland of St. Thomas, we loſt ſight of

of the arctic pole, and immediately came right under the antarctic pole; but before we could make the cape, we met with a dreadful ſtorm, which would not permit us to carry a rag of canvas; ſometimes driving to the weſt, ſometimes to the eaſt, theſe being the two only winds generally blowing in that latitude. At length, on the 6th of July, we made the Cape of Good Hope: leaving this place, and ſailing along the coaſt, we entered a port nor far from the cape, called the Bay of San Blaze, which took its name from being diſcovered on that ſaint's day. This place abounds with excellent water. There are great quantities of cattle which are very reaſonable, and you may buy an ox or a cow for a ſmall bell; ſometimes you muſt give two, they being fonder of theſe articles than any other. The men go bare-headed, and have their head ſcabby and loathſome; their bodies, as low as the waiſt, they cover with ſkins which have the hair on, and the private parts they tie up in a leathern bag. The women are dreſſed in the ſame manner, with the addition of a cow's tail, with the hair on, hanging before and behind, to hide their private parts. The men carry darts pointed with iron. Laws they have none. Their language is highly guttural, and very inarticulate.

" We quitted this port, and ſailing along the coaſt, met with ſtormy weather, and with ſome difficulty regained the coaſt, after having been more than once drove out to ſea. We paſſed the territory of Sofala, where the gold mines are, and where the king has a well garriſoned fortreſs. We ſailed on for Melinda, there to wait the commodore, who was ſeparated from us in the laſt great ſtorm. After we had been fifteen days beating about in the gulph, we fell in with the reſt of the fleet which had parted from us. We ſailed on with the greateſt caution, for the ſmall iſlands are ſo numerous, that if you are not very careful in ſteering a proper courſe, you will infallibly be loſt. The wind we had was favourable. The ſigns obſervable on quitting the channel are, firſt, the water has a white appearance, as if near land, whilſt at the very moment you are one hundred and fifty leagues from ſhore: ſecondly, the ſea here is full of fiſh like ſerpents: the third and laſt ſign, is the red ſmall crabs. When theſe ſigns appear, we know that we are within ſeventy leagues of land. Keeping our due courſe, we firſt perceived the mountain of Delhi, which is called the beginning of the Malabar coaſt. From hence we ſailed for Cananor, in order to take in refreſhment after our fatigues and diſaſters. We arrived on the 11th of September, and purchaſed ſuch merchandiſe and other articles as we then wanted. Sailing along the coaſt, we ſteered for Cochin by the way of Calicut, and on our arrival at Cochin we found there the fleet of captain Francis Albuquerque, which conſiſted of three ſhips, and ſailed from Liſbon eight days after us. Here we made great rejoicings. They informed us that they found the kingdom of Cochin quite deſtroyed, the king dethroned and driven out by the Moors and the natives of Calicut, and that the captain and his little army had overcome the enemy, and replaced on the throne the king of Cochin without any conſiderable loſs. The two captains having held a council of war, determined to carry the war into the heart of the country of the king of Calicut. On the point of the river Ripelin we raiſed a fort of wood, with ditches, and ſurrounded with a large trench, well garriſoned, and well defended with guns, which were portioned out for the purpoſe from every ſhip. We now began to think of taking in our lading of ſpices, and found eight hundred tons of pepper ready for us, which the other captain had provided previous to our arrival; but ſome difference having ariſen about the diviſion and allotment of the pepper and the ſpices, and it being de-

cided by the king's agents that whoever came firſt had an excluſive right to take the ſpices in preference to the other, we determined to ſail to ſome other port at a venture, rather than return to Portugal without a freight.

" We ſailed therefore from Cochin, and coaſted along for near two hundred and fifty miles, when we at laſt met with a place called Colons, which had never yet been diſcovered by Europeans; and here we rode along a bold ſhore, ſix miles diſtant from the land. About midnight the wind roſe and blowed violently on ſhore, and continued for five days ſucceſſively blowing a hurricane, with a high ſea driving aſhore, ſo that we loſt four anchors and cables; building but ſlender hopes upon the one remaining; wherefore the greateſt part of the crew were ſtripped, in order that they might, if neceſſary, plunge into the ſea to ſave themſelves: however, as ſoon as the wind dropped, and the ſea became calm, the captain ordered me to go aſhore and ſee what I could diſcover. The boat ſoon landed me, where I found four hundred men on the beach loſt in admiration of the boat and its contents. As ſoon as we were near enough, we gave them to underſtand, by means of our interpreter, that we were Chriſtians; the which they no ſooner heard, than they gave evident ſigns of the greateſt ſatisfaction; at the ſame time intimating that they alſo were Chriſtians, having been ſo from the time of St. Thomas: they were in number near three thouſand ſouls. They ſhewed us a church which they had built after our form, but of an indifferent architecture, ornamented with ſaints and a croſs, and called Santa Maria; and in the neighbourhood of the church dwell theſe people, who call themſelves Nazarenes.

" We were then preſented to the king, Nambiadora, who received us with great kindneſs and urbanity; and having aſked him if we could be ſupplied with ſpices, he anſwered, that in twenty days he would engage to load us with every kind of ſpice we could wiſh. We returned on board with the agreeable information, and immediately ſet about careening the ſhips; as ſoon as that was finiſhed, we took in our lading compleat, of moſt excellent ſpices, which were in ſuch abundance, that we could not take the whole of what was offered us.

" As we now began to think of departing, a meeting betwixt the king and the captain was reſolved on, and upon the day fixed the captain ordered out ſix boats armed, and elegantly decorated with velvet at the ſtern, jack and flags flying, himſelf dreſſed in a gold brocade, with gold chains and other ornaments, in honour of his ſovereign: the crews were dreſſed alſo in form. The whole being arranged, were ordered to lay cloſe in with the beach, and wait the coming of the king. In an hour the king came down, attended by an innumerable concourſe of people, all marſhalled in proceſſion, according to their ſeveral degrees; the whole cloſing with the king, ſeated croſs-legged on an ivory chair, and carried by four Bramins. The king was dreſſed in ſilk embroidered, with an upper robe of gold muſlin: he wore rings of a conſiderable value, and had on his head a crimſon velvet cap, highly ornamented with jewels, and long chains of pearls and brilliants hanging from the top of the cap, with his hair flowing looſe upon his ſhoulders. There were a number of elephants, and Perſian horſes followed in the train, which made an elegant appearance. A number of various warlike inſtruments joined in the proceſſion, playing as they paſſed. Soon as they arrived oppoſite to where the boats lay, they made an halt: immediately the captain made the ſignal for a ſalute from the ſhips, the band playing all the time: he then was rowed to the ſhore, to have the honour of kiſſing the king's hand. The king perceiving this, ordered all his people to retire to ſome diſtance, in order to convince

vince the Portugueſe of the confidence he had in the captain by meeting him alone. Compliments being paid, and the ceremony being gone through, the following compact was mutually entered into by each party. That the king ſhould annually grant to the Portugueſe all the ſpices which his territory produced, which we agreed to take at prices ſtipulated, paying for the ſame in goods at regulated prices. We alſo requeſted that whoever was left as agent for the king of Portugal, ſhould have the puniſhing or trying any of his Portugueſe majeſty's ſubjects who ſhould remain on the iſland. This the king granted, though with reluctance, conſidering it as an interference in his juridical right. The whole being tranſcribed in ſilver letters, was properly ſigned and ſealed; and thus the matter was concluded. The natives being deſirous of ſeeing our prieſts, we landed the two friars, and had maſs ſolemnly performed in their church, with a ſermon preached afterwards, and explained to the people by the interpreter.

" We quitted this place on the 15th of January, and ſteered towards
A.D. 1504. Cochin, to ſee what was going forward; but on our arrival, we found the ſquadron gone to Calicut, and were attempting to come to agreement with the king. The ſhips had not got their complement of ſpices; the people who had promiſed the eight hundred tons having broken their engagement; we therefore gave them two hundred bags of pepper, which we could not ſtow below in the hold. We then departed for Cananor, where we took in water, rice and fiſh for our voyage. We quitted Cananor on the 27th of January, taking on board a Mooriſh pilot for ſteering us through the gulph of Mecca. We then ſailed for Mozambique, and from thence ſteered along the coaſt, where previous to arriving at the cape, we were near being loſt in a ſtorm.

" At length we reached the Cape of Good Hope on the 1ſt of May. From thence ſteering right, to ſhorten our courſe, when we thought we were cloſe in with the Cape de Verde Iſlands, we found ourſelves near the fiſhing banks of Canangia, on the coaſt of Guinea: we were here overtaken with a calm, and made only ſix leagues in the courſe of fifty-four days; a circumſtance which almoſt drove us to deſpair, as we had only three pipes of water, and run very ſhort of proviſions; our rigging much deſtroyed by the rats and hard weather, and ſoon after we had a violent ſickneſs on board, which raged to ſuch a degree, that in the courſe of thirty-five days we buried ſeventy-ſix perſons, nine only remaining alive; and on board the other ſhips the ſame proportion died. The ſhips were ſo eaten with the worm, that they leaked faſt, and one day more ſeemed the ultimatum of our deſtiny. Fortunately, however, for us, we ſpied a ſail, which proved to be a Portugueſe veſſel, bound to the coaſt of Guinea to purchaſe ſlaves. The captain furniſhed us with water, and gave us every aſſiſtance in his power; but deeming it not ſafe to ſail alone, we made him accompany us to the iſland of St. James, one of the Cape de Verde Iſlands. Here we took in water, meat, &c. and ſlaves to work the ſhip to Portugal. Having departed hence, we ſteered right for the Azores, but could not make them. We then ſteered for Liſbon, and as ſoon as we came within ſight of the rocks of Sintra, five leagues from Liſbon, we diſpatched the ſhip which had returned to accompany us, and ſent her on before to inform the king of our arrival. Whilſt we were ſtanding off, waiting his majeſty's orders, the wind got foul, and we were once more in danger of going to the bottom: however, on the 16th of September we entered the port, amidſt the loud acclamations of the people.

" I forgot to mention the manners and cuſtoms of the people on the coaſt of Malabar. They are idolaters, and eat neither fiſh, fleſh, eggs, nor any thing containing blood; their diet being confined to rice and herbs. The men are neat and cleanly, and the better ſort live in houſes built of brick and mortar. Cows are looked upon as deities with them, which accounts for the quantity found in the country. This is the whole of what I have been able to collect."

Oſorio's account is as follows: " Alphonſo Albuquerque ſailed from Liſbon about a week ſooner than Francis; the latter, however, reached India firſt, and arrived at the iſland of Anchedive with two ſhips only; one of which was commanded by Nicholas Coello. The third commander, named Pedro Vaſco Veiga, met with a moſt unlucky fate; his ſhip being, as ſuppoſed, either ſunk or burnt. Here Albuquerque found Pedro Ataide, and the other Portugueſe officers. As ſoon as he learned the cataſtrophe of Sodre, and the diſtreſſed circumſtances to which Trimumpar, the king of Cochin, was reduced, he reſolved, notwithſtanding the rigour of the ſeaſon, to ſail directly for Cananor. Accordingly he ſet out for that place with his two ſhips, and the other four, which lay then at anchor in Anchedive. Upon his arrival at Cananor, the king gave him a more particular account of Trimumpar's misfortunes; for which reaſon he ſailed directly for Vaipin, where that prince ſtill remained. The Portugueſe who were with him, when they ſpied the ſhips, were tranſported to the utmoſt pitch of joy. The king could not contain himſelf, but called aloud, " Portugal! Portugal!" and run in the higheſt extacy to embrace the Portugueſe officers, who received him with joyful ſhouts, and promiſed to reinſtate him on his throne. The nayres of Calicut, and the reſt of the ſoldiers who had been left as a garriſon in Cochin, were ſeized with a panic at the arrival of the Portugueſe, and immediately left the city. At this time Duarte Pacheco, who had ſailed from Liſbon with Alphonſo Albuquerque, arrived with his ſhip, and joined the reſt of the fleet in Vaipin. Francis Albuquerque beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on the king, and returned him the thanks of Emanuel for his fidelity. Beſides, as he knew him to be at preſent very low in his circumſtances, he was extremely liberal to him in many reſpects, and made him a preſent of ten thouſand ducats. This piece of generoſity, at ſuch a juncture, was very acceptable to Trimumpar. The fame of this liberal act raiſed the admiration of all the princes in that country, eſpecially of the zamorin; for the kings in India, although they are proud and haughty, and poſſeſs great revenues, yet they generally live upon a moderate income, and are great lovers of money. Albuquerque thought there was no time to be delayed; accordingly on the day of his arrival he paſſed over to Cochin with Trimumpar, and, in the name of Emanuel, re-eſtabliſhed him in the poſſeſſion of his kingdom; and leſt the ſpirits of his men ſhould be blunted by inactivity, he ſailed to an iſland oppoſite Cochin, the prince of which had revolted from Trimumpar to the zamorin. He fell upon the enemy unawares, killed many of them, burnt ſome of their towns and villages, and then returned to Cochin.

" The next day he ſteered for another iſland, which had likewiſe proved unfaithful to Trimumpar. The prince had in arms two thouſand men; and there were beſides, a conſiderable number of paraos from Calicut, which cruized near the iſland. Albuquerque ordered Pacheco to attack this fleet, whilſt at the ſame time Coello, Antonio de Campo, and Ataide, were to engage the land forces. Pacheco accordingly executed his orders with great ſpirit and ſucceſs; he ſunk ſeveral of theſe paraos, the reſt

reſt he obliged to ſheer off, after having killed great numbers of their men. The other commanders had the like ſucceſs, having routed the enemy at the firſt onſet: they forced their way into the royal palace, though ſurrounded with a rampart, killed the prince himſelf, and fired the building; and thus having gained a compleat victory, returned the ſame day to Cochin. Albuquerque ſailed the next day againſt the iſland of Repelin. The prince of this place, being conſcious of his treachery, had prepared to make a ſtout reſiſtance. He had two thouſand nayres under his command; with theſe he marched towards the ſhore, in order to hinder the landing of the Portugueſe. The diſpute, for ſome time, was warm on both ſides; the enemy, however, were at laſt obliged to ſave themſelves by flight. The Portugueſe purſued them to the largeſt town in the iſland; there the prince rallied his men, and drew them up in battle array: the fight was accordingly renewed, and the enemy fought with deſperate obſtinacy. The conteſt, whilſt it continued, was fierce and bloody; but it ended in a compleat victory to the Portugueſe. They killed great numbers of the enemy, and drove many of them headlong into the ſea; then they gave the iſland to be plundered by Trimumpar's ſoldiery; and the towns and villages were afterwards burnt by the orders of Albuquerque.

"The king of Cochin being ſettled in his dominions, and his enemies puniſhed for their perfidy by the bravery of the Portugueſe, Albuquerque now thought it was a very proper time to deſire he would allow him to build a fort as a bulwark to the Portugueſe, and a defence to his majeſty againſt the attempts of the zamorin. The king very readily granted this requeſt, ſaying, that to him and Emanuel he owed his life, his crown, and protection from his enemies. He not only allowed him to build a fort, but even offered to do it at his own expence. There was accordingly a very convenient place fixed upon for that purpoſe. The ſituation was high, and commanding a narrow arm of the ſea; ſo that the Portugueſe, from ſuch a place, could eaſily prevent the zamorin's ſhips from paſſing that way. The foundation was laid
A. D. 1503. on the 27th of September. The king furniſhed many hands. All the Portugueſe, without diſtinction, helped to carry on the work. The fourth day after it was begun, Alphonſo Albuquerque came to Cochin; ſo that the number of workmen being increaſed, the fort was ſoon finiſhed.

"A conſultation being held, it was reſolved that Albuquerque and the reſt of the commanders, together with ſome of Trimumpar's ſoldiers, ſhould go and attack ſome towns which belonged to the prince of Repelin. Having accordingly ſet out in their long boats, they attacked the enemy by ſurpriſe, killed vaſt numbers of them, and made great depredations in their lands. The report of this havock being ſoon ſpread abroad, alarmed the neighbouring towns, and the whole country was up in arms: above ſix thouſand nayres came to the aſſiſtance of their countrymen, and attacked the Portugueſe with ſo much fury, that they were obliged to retreat; which was done, however, in good order. There were eight of them wounded in this engagement, but not one killed. Many of the enemy were ſlain, ſeven of their paraos were taken, and fifteen burned.

"The ſpirits of the Portugueſe officers were now raiſed to ſuch a degree, that they would allow their men no reſpite. The following night they ſet out in their long boats to deſtroy ſome other villages belonging to the prince of Repelin. Alphonſo advanced before the reſt with a party of his men; but the enemy, who lay in ambuſcade, falling upon him with great fury, killed two of his men, and wounded twenty.

In

In this dangerous ſituation he very much ſignalized himſelf for his gallantry, having fought with great intrepidity till break of day, when Francis Albuquerque, and the other officers, came to his aſſiſtance. Their arrival gave freſh courage, and ſtruck ſuch a panic into the enemy, that they gave way, and betook themſelves to flight. The Portugueſe having continued the purſuit, ſlew great numbers of the enemy, and fired the villages.

" The ſame day they ſailed for the iſland of Cambal, where they killed above ſeven hundred men: nor did they ſtop here, but carried their arms into the zamorin's territories, where they laid waſte the lands, and made great havock amongſt the inhabitants. The enemy muſtered ſix thouſand men; theſe were repulſed, though not without ſome difficulty. About the ſame time Duarte Pacheco defeated and gave chace to thirty-four paraos of Calicut, which had been ſtationed with a deſign to intercept the ſhips trading to Cochin.

" The fame of the Portugueſe arms was now ſpread every where, and the merchants were afraid to bring their ſpices to Cochin; for which reaſon Alphonſo Albuquerque ſailed for Coulan, to load three ſhips. This city, in former times, was the firſt in theſe parts for greatneſs and opulence, but in proportion as Calicut roſe in trade and riches, Coulan began to decline. It lies about forty-eight miles ſouth-eaſt of Cochin, has a very commodious harbour, and is ſituate upon an excellent river, which, in high tide, is able to carry ſhips of a conſiderable burthen. The navigation up this river is very ſafe; dangerous only in one reſpect, that it being but narrow, the enemy often lie in ambuſcade on the banks of each ſide. The religious, as well as civil cuſtoms of the inhabitants, are much the ſame as the reſt of the Malabars: they are a warlike people, and are almoſt continually waging war with the king of Narſinga, whoſe dominions are not only very extenſive in the eaſtern parts of India, but reach likewiſe to the remoteſt corners of the weſt. The princes of Coulan uſed chiefly to reſide in the inland towns; ſo that the city of Coulan was generally committed to the management of ſome truſty perſons: part of the kingdom is inhabited by Chriſtians, who follow the doctrine preached by St. Thomas. Theſe men had gone through various ſcenes of fortune, and for the ſake of their religion had ſuffered many grievances; yet, amidſt all their calamities, they remained unſhaken, and maintained their Chriſtian faith with the utmoſt perſeverance. There is in this city a very ancient church, which the Chriſtians believe to have been built by St. Thomas. The body of this apoſtle is ſaid to have been buried in the kingdom of Narſinga, in a church which is highly revered not only by the Chriſtians, but by the Arabs likewiſe, and moſt other nations in the eaſt. St. Thomas is reported to have performed many wonderful things in this country, by healing the ſick, and relieving the diſtreſſed. At the time when Alphonſo arrived at Coulan, the queen dowager, in the place of her ſon, who was not of age, then managed the kingdom with great reputation. He was received very kindly by the leading men of the city, who, in the name of the queen, treated him with the higheſt reſpect, and granted him whatever he requeſted. He made a friendly alliance with this people, and left ſeveral Portugueſe, under the royal protection, to tranſact Emanuel's affairs. Having loaded his ſhips, he then returned for Cochin.

" In the mean while, the zamorin being ſenſible what an imprudent conduct he had run into at the inſtigation of the Arabians, was now determined to make a treaty of friendſhip with the Portugueſe, which was accordingly entered into betwixt them

and

and the zamorin. The conditions were theſe: that all the ſhips which had been fitted out againſt the Portugueſe or their allies, ſhould be immediately withdrawn; that reſtitution ſhould be made of thoſe goods which had been taken away by the Arabians or their aſſociates, during the tumult wherein Corea was killed; that the zamorin ſhould grant a certain quantity of ſpices to the Portugueſe, within a limitted time; and that he ſhould not allow the Arabs, who traded at Calicut, the liberty of ſailing to Arabia. Moreover, Francis Albuquerque demanded, that the two Milaneſe who had deſerted to the zamorin, ſhould be ſurrendered. This, however, his majeſty would not grant, ſaying that it would be moſt ſcandalous in him to betray thoſe whom he had received into his protection; however, he agreed to every other requeſt.

" Things being thus ſettled, Naubeadarim went for Cranganor to ſee the ſpices weighed out which were to be given to Pacheco, who, by the orders of Francis Albuquerque, had come there for that purpoſe. In the mean while, when Pacheco had received the greateſt part of his loading, it happened that a ſhip of Calicut with ſpices, was in her way to Cranganor. Fernando Corea having heard of it, ſent ſome of his men to intercept this veſſel, and bring her to Cochin. Thoſe who were aboard, finding themſelves attacked in this hoſtile manner, called aloud, that a moſt ſolemn treaty had been entered into betwixt the zamorin and the Portugueſe, and yet to be thus uſed, was moſt ſcandalous and unjuſt. They added, that their ſhip was bound for Cranganor with ſpices, which, in order to fulfil the zamorin's engagement, were to be delivered to the Portugueſe: but Corea perſiſted in his reſolution. The ſhip was accordingly taken and plundered, ſix of her men were killed, and many wounded: nor did the Portugueſe come off with impunity, for ſeveral of them were wounded in the engagement; ſo that an inconſiderable quantity of ſpices was purchaſed at the expence of honour and juſtice, and an effuſion of blood.

" When Naubeadarim came to the knowledge of this affair, he demanded ſatisfaction from Francis Albuquerque, but he treated all his remonſtrances with contempt. It is not eaſy to determine whether this behaviour of Albuquerque was owing to his own perfidious principles, or his fear of puniſhing Corea; but whatever was the motive, his conduct at this juncture certainly tarniſhed all his former glory. The zamorin, enraged to the higheſt degree, ordered a fleet to be again equipped, and ſoldiers to be levied, being determined to carry on war by ſea and land againſt the Portugueſe, as well as the king of Cochin, and all their allies.

" Trimumpar being informed of theſe preparations, earneſtly requeſted of Francis Albuquerque, that at his departure he would leave him ſuch a force as would enable him to withſtand the hoſtile attempts of the zamorin. This he accordingly promiſed to do, but his performance fell very much ſhort of a man of honour, for he left only one ſhip, two caravels, and another ſmall veſſel with one hundred men. There were beſides fifty Portugueſe at Cochin; and this was all the ſtrength Francis left him to ſtand out againſt ſo formidable an enemy. The command of this ſmall number was given to Duarte Pacheco, who, with the greateſt chearfulneſs, was ready to ſacrifice his life for the glory of the Chriſtian name, and the honour of his royal maſter.

" In the mean while, Alphonſo Albuquerque came from Coulan, and the two brothers ſet ſail at the ſame time from Cochin, and ſteered for Cananor, where Alphonſo received a letter from Raphael Reinel, (who had been left with Naubeadarim to receive the

the ſpices) giving him an account of the warlike preparations made by the zamorin: he received likewiſe a letter from Cojebequo to the ſame effect. When the Albuquerques came upon the coaſt of Calicut, they ſent to the zamorin, deſiring he would deliver up the Portugueſe who were with him; but he refuſed their requeſt. They ſailed from thence homewards; Alphonſo arrived at Liſbon on the
A. D. 1504. 17th of July. Francis Albuquerque and Nicholas Coello very probably periſhed in the waves, for nothing could be learnt of them, nor any of their men. Pedro Ataide's ſhip was likewiſe loſt, but he and his crew got ſafe to land: having got a ſmall veſſel, he ſailed with part of his men for Mozambique, where he died; the reſt went for Melinda."

Oſorio gives the following relation of Saldanna's voyage: "About the ſame time, Antony de Saldanna was at ſea, and had ſuffered various hardſhips. Soon after the departure of the Albuquerques from Liſbon, this man had been ſent by Emanuel with three ſhips, to cruize in the mouth of the Red Sea. Diego Fernand Pereira, one of the commanders, being ſeparated from the other two by ſtreſs of weather, made the port of Melinda. He touched next at Socotora, an iſland hitherto unknown to the Portugueſe, ſituate very near the mouth of the Red Sea; here he determined to lay all winter: but Saldanna, by the unſkilfulneſs of his pilot, was carried into the iſland of St. Thomas, which lies directly under the line. After he had departed from thence, he met with another violent ſtorm, which parted from him Roderick Laurence Ravaſco. Saldanna, in endeavouring to make the Cape of Good Hope, was, by the ignorance of the ſame pilot, carried into a bay, where he watered his ſhip: this place was for that reaſon called Aguada del Saldanna. Ravaſco having turned the promontory much ſooner, ſailed for Mozambique, and thence to Quiloa: here he waited twenty days; but as Saldanna did not arrive in that time, he ſailed for Zanzibar, an iſland about eighty miles weſtward from Mombaza. It is divided from the main land by an arm of the ſea, ſo narrow, that every ſhip paſſing this way, is ſeen from the iſland as well as the continent. Ravaſco cruized about Zanzibar two months, in which time he took above twenty rich ſhips belonging to that iſland; nor would he reſtore them till he had received for each a conſiderable ranſom. This behaviour to theſe iſlanders, who had hitherto lived on friendly terms with the Portugueſe, very much hurt their intereſt in thoſe parts, and almoſt entirely alienated their affections from them. The prince ſent to Ravaſco, telling him he was aſtoniſhed that a commander of the Portugueſe, a nation ſo famed for their fidelity, ſhould commit ſuch hoſtilities againſt a people who had given him no offence; nay, on the contrary, who were friends to the Portugueſe. To this meſſage Ravaſco returned a moſt haughty inſolent anſwer; ſo that the prince being provoked by ſuch treatment, fitted out ſome paroas to attack Ravaſco; but before theſe were ready to put to ſea, Gomeze Caraſco and Laurence Phœo, by the orders of Ravaſco, were ſent againſt them in the long boat, well manned and armed. They took four of the paroas, and drove the reſt to flight. They likewiſe killed four men, amongſt whom was the prince's ſon. When the prince ſaw that neither reaſon nor force could avail him, he reſolved to make a peace with Ravaſco, which was accordingly concluded, and he obliged himſelf to pay an annual tribute to Emanuel.

"Things

" Things being thus ſettled, Ravaſco directed his courſe for Melinda, the prince of which kingdom, was at this time engaged in a bloody war with the king of Mombaza; he therefore ſailed to the harbour of Mombaza, where he took two merchant ſhips and three ſmall veſſels. Amongſt the priſoners taken were twelve Arabians, men of great fortune and weight in the city of Brava, about four hundred miles from Mombaza. They gave a conſiderable ſum of money for their ranſom, and ſurrendered their city to the protection of the Portugueſe, promiſing, upon their faith and honour, that they and the reſt of the citizens would be under the ſubjection of king Emanuel. Ravaſco then fixed an annual tribute, which they were to pay to his Portugueſe majeſty. After this treaty was agreed upon, there arrived a very rich ſhip, which theſe Arabians had for ſome time expected: this, however, Ravaſco did not moleſt; nor would he allow any one to injure theſe new allies. In the mean while, Saldanna reached Mombaza with three ſhips he had taken in his voyage. The king frightened at this formidable appearance, and being afraid that the reſentment of the Portugueſe might fall upon him, made peace with the prince of Melinda. Saldanna then ſailed for India, and anchored in the iſlands of Canacan and Anchedive."

The voyage of Americus Veſputius is thus related by him, in a letter addreſſed, as his former, to Pietro Soderini.

" It remains for me to relate what I ſaw in the ſecond voyage made by order of this ſerene prince, the king of Portugal; but as I am fatigued, and this voyage not having anſwered the purpoſe I had originally intended, owing to ſome misfortunes we met with in the Atlantic, I ſhall endeavour to be as conciſe as poſſible.

" We quitted the port of Liſbon, ſix ſhips in company, with intention to proceed on the diſcovery of a city towards the eaſt, called Malacca, noted for its riches, and for its being a ſtorehouſe for all the ſhips which come from the Ganges and the Indian ſeas, in the ſame manner as Cadiz is the repoſitory of all the ſhips which go from the eaſt to the weſt: this Malacca is more to the eaſt than Calicut, and in a higher degree of ſouthern latitude, being three degrees from our pole.

" On the 10th of May we ſet ſail, and ſteered right for the Cape de
A.D. 1503. Verde Iſlands, where we landed, and took in every neceſſary refreſhment, and after ſtaying there thirteen days, we proceeded on our voyage with a ſouthern wind. Our commodore, a man haughty and capricious, wiſhed to return to Sierra Liona, a mountainous part of the ſouthern Ethiopia, without any other view than that of ſhewing himſelf, and that he had now the command of ſix ſhips. Contrary to the opinion of all the reſt, we ſteered for Sierra Liona, but no ſooner did we come within ſight of land, than we were attacked with ſo many ſtorms and contrary winds, that we lay off four days, without being able to make the land; ſo that we were compelled at length to purſue our original track, and take leave of Sierra Liona. From hence we ſteered ſouth-weſt, and after ſailing three hundred leagues, ſtanding towards the ſouth three degrees beyond the line, we diſcovered land, which might then be about twenty-two leagues diſtance. To our great ſurprize, we found it to be an iſland in the middle of the ſea, very high, near two leagues in length, and one in breadth; which iſland had never been inhabited, and was in the end unfortunate to us, as from the imprudence of the commodore,

his ſhip was loſt by running on a rock, in the night of Saint Lorenzo, being the 10th of Auguſt, and went to the bottom without a poſſibility of ſaving any thing except the crew: ſhe was a veſſel of three hundred tons burthen, in which every thing of conſequence to the undertaking was lodged.

" In order to remedy as much as poſſible the misfortune which had happened, the commodore ordered me to repair with my ſhip to the above iſland, to diſcover where the ſhips might ride with ſafety; my boat having nine ſailors on board, for the purpoſe of eaſing the veſſel, he ordered them to ſtay behind, and ſuffered me to depart without the boat. I ſoon reached the iſland, which was at the diſtance of four leagues, where we found an excellent harbour, in which all the ſhips might ſafely ride. I here waited for the commodore and the reſt of the fleet eight days, when not arriving, we began to be uneaſy, and the crew of my ſhip ſo unhappy, that I found it impoſſible to appeaſe them. On the 8th day a veſſel appeared in ſight, but leſt they ſhould not ſee us, we made ſail towards them to meet them on the way. Soon as we approached, and the neceſſary compliments had paſſed, they informed us that the commodore's ſhip had gone to the bottom, that the crew was ſaved, and my boat remained with the ſquadron. You may eaſily conceive what I ſuffered, at one thouſand leagues diſtance from Liſbon, in a gulph, and my complement of men deficient. Notwithſtanding, we made the beſt of it, and returned to the iſland, where we took in wood and water by means of the ſhip's boat in company. We found the iſland uninhabited, with plenty of water and many good ſprings, well wooded, and full of a great variety of birds, land as well as water fowl innumerable, and ſo tame that you might eaſily take them with the hand: we took ſuch a quantity, that we loaded the boat with them. We ſaw no other animals but large mice, rats, moles, lizards with two tails, and ſome ſerpents.

" Having taken in the neceſſary proviſion, we ſailed with a ſouth wind, as the king had given us particular orders, that in caſe of the loſs of any one of the ſquadron, or the commodore, we ſhould ſteer for ſome of the new diſcoveries made in the laſt voyage. With this intention we ſailed, and the firſt land we made, we diſcovered a port, to which we gave the name of the Bay of All Saints; and it pleaſed the Almighty to give us ſuch favourable weather, that we made land in ſeventeen days, being three hundred leagues diſtant from the iſland we had quitted. Here we found neither the commodore, nor any other veſſel of the ſquadron. After waiting two months and four days without ſeeing any one arrive, I and my conſort determined to run along the coaſt. We made a run of two hundred and ſixty leagues, and entering a harbour, reſolved upon building a fortreſs, which we accompliſhed, and left a garriſon of twenty-four men, which my conſort had ſaved out of the commodore's ſhip. We paſſed five months in this port, employed in building the fortreſs, and in loading our veſſels with brazil wood, as we could not proceed farther for want of hands, and a deficiency of rigging.

" We now determined to return to Portugal; and accordingly left the twenty-four men in the fortreſs with proviſions for ſix months, twelve guns, and a number of ſmall arms; and having quieted the natives, of whom we have made no mention in this voyage, not becauſe we did not ſee or keep company with them, having been forty leagues within the country, with only thirty men in company; where we ſaw ſo many things, that I muſt defer ſpeaking on the ſubject till I come to my fourth journal. This land lays eighteen degrees ſouth-weſt of the line, and fifty-ſeven degrees to

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the weſtward of Liſbon, according to our calculation. We then took leave of our people and the ſhore, and ſteered our courſe north-eaſt, intending to go ſtraight for Liſbon. In ſeventy-ſeven days, after great fatigue and many dangers, A.D. 1504. we entered the port of Liſbon the 18th of June, where we were received with a moſt incredible degree of ſatisfaction, the whole city having given us up for loſt."

CHAPTER V.

Exploits of Pacheco. Voyage of Lope Soarez. Almeed ſails to India as viceroy. A fleet returning to Portugal, diſcovers Madagaſcar. Franciſco Gnaia's voyage. Laurence Almeed diſcovers Ceylon, and defeats the fleet of Calicut. Vaſco Gomez Abreo ſails for India. Diego Sequiero and other commanders ſail to India.

WE now find no particular detached voyage until that of Andrea Corſali, in the year 1515; yet as the exploits of the Portugueſe in the Eaſt Indies conſiſt of expeditions by ſea, they compoſe a very intereſting ſeries of voyages; which have been ſelected from the original by, and which we ſhall give from Oſorio.

Trimumpar, king of Cochin, and the Portugueſe in his kingdom, A.D. 1504. were embarraſſed with a heavy war. The zamorin, as we have already mentioned, had levied a formidable army, and fitted out a ſtrong fleet, before the Albuquerques ſailed for Portugal; Pacheco having parted with them at Cananor, ſailed for Cochin. When the king perceived what an inconſiderable force was left, he was very uneaſy with reſpect to the behaviour of the Portugueſe, for he accounted it only madneſs with ſuch an handful of men to oppoſe the enemy, and was at laſt of opinion, that a trick had been put upon him by Francis Albuquerque. Diſtracted with this thought, he went to Pacheco, and earneſtly conjured him to ſpeak his mind with openneſs and candour; telling him at the ſame time, that he had behaved to the Portugueſe with ſo much fidelity, that if they proved treacherous to him, he ſhould have the greateſt reaſon to complain of their ingratitude and injuſtice.

Pacheco, moved with indignation at his calling in queſtion his honour and fidelity, was unable to conceal his reſentment; he expoſtulated with the king in a very warm manner, and concluded with telling him to be of good courage, as he was determined to fight to the laſt in defence of his honour and dignity. This raiſed the king's ſpirits, and afforded him freſh hopes: he gave the management of the war to Pacheco, who immediately ſent for the Arabian merchants, whom he endeavoured to animate with courage, and adviſed them not to abandon a place where they had hitherto lived ſo advantageouſly. This prevented many who intended to leave the city, from purſuing their deſign. Pacheco mean while ſailed backwards and forwards in the river, and ſtationed ſoldiers in all the paſſages, to prevent any from quitting the iſland, and took all neceſſary meaſures for the ſafety of Cochin.

Not content with acting on the defenſive, he likewiſe reſolved to annoy the enemy, and made incurſions upon the territories of Repelin, and the adjoining country. The

zamorin being informed of theſe things, marched his army towards Repelin, thinking to croſs over to Cochin by means of a ford. Pacheco prepared to oppoſe his paſſage, and diſpoſed his men in the following manner. In the largeſt ſhip he left five men, placed thirty-five in the fort under the command of Ferdinand Corea, twenty-ſix on board one of the caravels under Pedro Raphael, and as the other caravel was repairing, he fitted out two ſmall veſſels, one of which he gave to Diego Perez with twenty-three ſoldiers, and reſerved the other for himſelf with twenty-two men. The whole force on board theſe ſhips amounted only to ſeventy-one men. Before they departed, they declared in the moſt ſolemn manner that they would either die honourably, or return crowned with victory.

The king of Cochin had at this juncture only five thouſand ſoldiers, the reſt had deſerted to the zamorin; of theſe he gave Pacheco five hundred men;
A. D. 1504. and with theſe forces he ſet out on the night of the 16th of March. Having fallen down with the tide, he reached the ford by day break; he ſailed thence to the harbour of Repelin, and landed without difficulty: the next day the zamorin appeared with his whole army; he had alſo fitted out a fleet of one hundred and ſixty ſhips, rowed with oars; of theſe ſeventy-ſix were paroas, which according to the direction of two Milaneſe, had been covered with ſacks ſtuffed with cotton, to receive the cannon balls. Theſe men had likewiſe caſt ſeveral braſs cannon, and made other warlike engines. They contrived alſo that twenty paroas linked together with chains, ſhould be ſent with the reſt of the fleet. The commanders were ordered to attack the caravel, and to endeavour to ſeize her with their grappling irons. Pacheco by an iron chain fixed the caravel at a little diſtance from another veſſel, and this veſſel in like manner to a third, ſo that they covered the whole breadth of the river. The enemy approached, and by their appearance and firing their cannon, ſo ſtruck the people of Cochin, that they all took to flight. The ſituation of the Portugueſe was now almoſt deſperate; however, they firſt obliged ſome of the paroas to ſheer off; but thoſe which were chained together bearing down, and plying the Portugueſe with their miſſive weapons, the latter were fatigued to ſuch a degree they could ſcarce ſtand; however, a lucky ſhot ſeparated the paroas, and ſoon after they ſunk eight of them, and the fight ended at laſt in favour of the Portugueſe, of whom ſeveral were wounded, but not one killed. The enemy loſt above one thouſand men.

The king of Cochin was tranſported with joy on this victory. Pacheco refitted his veſſels that were in the action, and the other caravel. The zamorin's ſuperſtition afforded him an opportunity, as he would not riſk another battle until a day appointed by the augurs; when he put to ſea with a fleet of two hundred ſhips of war and eighty ſmall veſſels, having on board fifteen thouſand ſoldiers. He diſpatched ſeventy paroas to attack the ſhip left to defend Cochin. Pacheco on hearing of this, ſailed thither with one caravel and another ſmall veſſel. On his approach the enemy fled to Repelin, and Pacheco returned to his ſtation. The caravel left there had in his abſence been attacked, and both ſhe and the ſmall veſſels much damaged. However, he arrived in time to ſurpriſe the enemy, and compelled them to retreat, having loſt ſeventy paroas and two hundred and ninety men.

The emperor of Calicut made a ſecond attack, in which he was again compelled to retreat, and loſt twenty paroas and ſix hundred men. He now grew tired of the war, but was by the prince of Repelin, the council, and the two Milaneſe, perſuaded

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to make another trial by two fords, in which he was again repulſed; and the plague ſoon after breaking out in his army, put a ſtop for ſome time to his proceeding. When it ceaſed, he renewed his attacks in a very formidable manner. His army was divided into two lines, the laſt of which, headed by the zamorin himſelf, conſiſted of thirty thouſand men. They carried likewiſe by water a large float of timber, pitched and bound with tow: this they intended to fire and ſend down on the Portugueſe ſhips. Their fleet they divided into two lines, the firſt conſiſting of one hundred and ten paroas, well manned, and ſome of them chained together; the ſecond line of one hundred large ſhips and eighty pinnaces. They brought likewiſe by water eight turrets, the contrivance of an Arabian, formed by faſtening the hulls of two paroas together by means of a floor of planks, on each ſide of which was raiſed a wall of boards eighteen feet high, and on the top a platform, on which the men ſtood to throw their darts and arrows. Some of theſe were ſo large as to hold forty men. They were deſigned to be brought down the river at the ebb tide.—To counteract theſe engines, Pacheco got ſeveral maſts of eighty feet in length, and thoſe he ſecured together by bars of iron, until he formed a float of equal breadth: this he faſtened with ſix anchors at a moderate diſtance from the prows of the ſhips, to ſecure them from theſe caſtles. He alſo raiſed ſcaffolds on the decks of the ſhips equal to the height of the caſtles.

The ebb tide brought down theſe caſtles at day break. They ſet fire to the float of timber, but the maſts kept it from the ſhip. When it was conſumed, they advanced with their largeſt turret, which was likewiſe kept off by the maſts; and they were obliged to attack the Portugueſe with their miſſive weapons. The latter played their artillery, brought down one of the turrets, and ſoon after another: moſt of the paroas were ſunk or ſhattered.

The zamorin mean while attempted to paſs the ford, but was repulſed. This engagement laſted from morning until evening. and was very bloody: the enemy loſt many ſhips, and a conſiderable number of men. The zamorin now deſpairing of ſucceſs, was preparing to return home, and from this ill ſucceſs, was ſo ſunk in melancholy, that he would have reſigned his kingdom, but for the perſuaſions of his mother. It was computed that he loſt nineteen thouſand men in this war.

Soon after this war was over, Pacheco received intelligence that the Arabs had entered into a conſpiracy to deſtroy the Portugueſe at Coulan. He ſailed thither, and compelled the magiſtrates to adhere ſtrictly to the treaty with the Portugueſe, which ſaid that no ſhip ſhould be permitted to take in ſpices until the Portugueſe ſhips were loaded. He found ſome Arabian ſhips with ſpices on board, which he unloaded, paid the value for them, and put them on board the Portugueſe veſſels. He afterwards cruized along the coaſt of India, and took ſeveral veſſels.

A. D. 1504. This year Emanuel fitted out another fleet for India, under the command of Lope Soarez Alvarenga. He arrived ſafe in India with a fleet of thirteen ſhips. Having in his way touched at Mozambique, he found letters there from Pedro Ataide, giving an account of the formidable war carried on againſt the Portugueſe by the zamorin. He received the ſame intelligence from the king of Melinda; he therefore made all poſſible expedition to the iſland of Anchedive, where he found Antony Saldanna and Roderic Laurence, who had wintered in that place; but as the ſpring was now begun, after a ſhort ſtay here, he ſailed for Cananor,

Cananor, where he was informed by the king, and Gonzalo Barboſa, agent for the Portugueſe affairs, of the great exploits performed by Pacheco.

The day after his arrival, there came to him an Arabian, with a Portugueſe boy, who brought a letter from ſome Portugueſe who had been detained priſoners at Calicut ever ſince Cabral was in India. The purport of this letter was, that the power of the zamorin was now conſiderably weakened; that his people were willing to enter into meaſures for the common ſafety; that the leading men of the ſtate had therefore entreated them to write to the Portugueſe commanders, and endeavour to accommodate matters between them and the zamorin. They concluded with prayers and entreaties, that Soarez would grant a peace, ſince the Portugueſe in general would thereby reap conſiderable advantages, and they in particular would be delivered from a wretched ſlavery.

Soarez having read this letter, diſmiſſed the Arabian, but was deſirous to detain the Portugueſe boy; but the youth poſitively refuſed to ſtay, ſaying, he would forfeit his liberty, or life itſelf, rather than be guilty of ſuch a breach of faith, which would very probably bring the moſt cruel death upon his Chriſtian brethren; Soarez therefore allowed him to depart, and ſoon after ſailed for Calicut. Upon his arrival, he was waited on by the moſt eminent perſons of the city, who offered to ſupply him with fruits and proviſions of all ſorts: theſe however he refuſed before a peace was concluded; for he ſaid no preſents could be grateful to him from the enemies of his country. Cojebequo, the Arabian, came likewiſe, with two of the captives, to treat about peace. Soarez declared poſitively, he would enter into no treaty, unleſs the Portugueſe and the two Milaneſe were firſt delivered up. They replied, they were ready to give up the Portugueſe, but that they could not ſurrender the Milaneſe, without being guilty of the higheſt breach of honour. The behaviour of the Calicutians, in this particular, was certainly juſt and honourable; but the Portugueſe general ſeemed not ſo ſolicitous to free from ſlavery many of the Portugueſe, as deſirous to gratify a ſpirit of revenge, in puniſhing the two deſerters.

Soarez, however, actuated by pride and reſentment, did not conſult the ſafety of the Portugueſe captives, nor that of Cojebequo, who, by his friendſhip to our people, had involved himſelf in the greateſt dangers; for upon their refuſing to comply with his demand, he fired upon the city, and demoliſhed many of the buildings.

He then departed for Cochin, where he waited upon the king, and, in the name of Emanuel, praiſed his fidelity to the higheſt degree, and gave him many valuable preſents. He ſent Pedro Mendoze and Vaſco Caraval with two ſhips to cruize along the coaſt as far as Calicut, to protect the Portugueſe allies and annoy their enemies. He likewiſe diſpatched Alphonſo Lopez Coſta, Pedro Alphonſo Aquilar, and Roderick Abraam, to Coulan, to load their ſhips with the ſpices procured by the bravery and aſſiduity of Pacheco. Pacheco himſelf, having taken in his cargo, came ſoon after to Cochin, where he was received by Soarez in the moſt honourable manner, and treated as a man of his merit deſerved.

While Soarez remained at this place, he received an account that the citizens of Cranganor, who continued in the zamorin's intereſt, were in arms; that they had fitted out eighty paroas and five other ſhips, which were under the command of one Maimam; that Naubeadarim was likewiſe at the head of a great army, which increaſed daily.

Soarez

Soarez being appriſed of theſe things, reſolved to ſail directly for Cranganor, in order to fruſtrate theſe deſigns of the enemy. They accordingly ſet out on this expedition, in the ſilence of the night, with fifteen long boats, twenty-five paroas, and one caravel. There were in this fleet one thouſand Portugueſe, and as many Cochinians; beſides theſe, the prince of Cochin waited at the ford of Paliput with eight thouſand ſoldiers; thence he continued his march by land, whilſt the Portugueſe ſailed with great alacrity to the place where they intended to attack the enemy. The Portugueſe in the firſt line attacked them with great fury; Maimam and his ſons made ſo ſtout a reſiſtance, that the engagement continued much longer than any one could expect; but theſe three gallant men being at laſt killed, the ſailors and ſoldiers threw themſelves into the water. The Portugueſe in the ſecond line having likewiſe attacked the enemy's paroas, defeated them with very little difficulty. The Portugueſe, thus victorious by water, now landed their forces, and were joined by the prince of Cochin. An engagement enſued, when great numbers of the enemy were ſlain; the reſt fled into the city in ſo much conſternation, that they did not attempt to defend it, but entering at one gate, ruſhed out at the other. The Portugueſe entered the city at the ſame time, and fired the buildings. The houſes were moſtly built of wood, and covered with palm-trees, ſo that the flames ſpread very quickly. In the midſt of this confuſion, the Chriſtian inhabitants came to the Potugueſe, earneſtly entreating them to ſave thoſe houſes where they performed divine worſhip. They accordingly endeavoured to do ſo; but notwithſtanding their utmoſt efforts, many of the Chriſtian churches were deſtroyed. The houſes of the Arabians and Jews which eſcaped the flames, were plundered. All the ſhips and paroas of the enemy were likewiſe burnt. After this expedition, Soarez and the reſt of the Portugueſe returned to Cochin.

As we have frequently made mention of Cranganor, it may here be proper to give ſome account of the place, with the cuſtoms and manners of its inhabitants. This city lies to the north of Cochin about ſixteen miles. It is ſituated on a winding river, which at a little diſtance from thence diſcharges itſelf into the ſea. The city was at that time large and populous, being, upon the account of trade, frequented by people of many different nations. It was tributary to the zamorin, though in other reſpects a free ſtate, being governed by magiſtrates elected by the people. The Pagan inhabitants differ very little in their cuſtoms from the reſt of the people of Malabar. The Chriſtians who reſide here are generally very poor, and their churches of a mean appearance. They keep the Sabbath in the ſame manner as we do, in hearing ſermons, and performing other religious duties. The high-prieſt, whom they acknowledged as the head of their church, had his ſeat near ſome mountains towards the north, in a country called Chaldæu. He had a council, compoſed of twelve cardinals, two biſhops, and ſeveral prieſts: with the aſſiſtance of theſe he ſettles all affairs relating to religion, and all the Chriſtians in theſe parts acquieſce in his decrees. The prieſts are ſhaved in ſuch a manner as to repreſent a croſs on their crowns. They adminiſter the ſacrament in both kinds, making uſe of the juice of preſſed grapes by way of wine, and allow the laity to partake of both: but no one is admitted to this ſolemn ordinance till he has made a confeſſion of his iniquities. They baptiſed not their infants till they were forty days old, except in danger of death. When any one amongſt them is ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, the prieſt immediately viſits him, and the ſick perſon is greatly animated by the holy man's ſupplications. When they enter their churches, they ſprinkle themſelves with holy water: they uſe the ſame form of burial as in other

catholic

catholic countries. The relations of the deceaſed give great entertainments, which laſt a week; during which time they celebrate his praiſes, and put up prayers for his eternal happineſs. They preſerve the ſacred writings in the Syrian or Chaldean language, with great carefulneſs; and their teachers are ready, in all public places, to inſtruct every one. They keep the Advent Sundays, and the forty days of Lent, with great ſtrictneſs, and obſerve moſt of the feſtivals which we have in our church, with the ſame exactneſs. They compute their time likewiſe in the ſame manner as we do, adding a day to every fourth year. The 1ſt day of July is kept as an holiday, in honour of St. Thomas, not only by the Chriſtians, but many of the pagans alſo. There are likewiſe convents for the prieſts, and nunneries for their women; who adhere to their vows of chaſtity with the utmoſt probity. Their prieſts are allowed to marry once, but excluded from taking a ſecond wife. Marriages amongſt other people cannot be annulled but by the death of one of the parties. When a woman becomes a widow, ſhe forfeits her dower, if married within a twelvemonth after the death of her huſband. Theſe are the cuſtoms and manners, which the Chriſtians in Cranganor, as well as many other parts of India, have obſerved with the utmoſt fidelity, from the time of St. Thomas. The body of this apoſtle is reported to have been buried in the city of Meliapur, in the kingdom of Narſingua.

When Martin Alphonſo Souſa, viceroy of John III. was in India, ſome brazen tables were brought to him; on theſe was engraved ſome inſcription, but the characters ſo little known, that ſcarce any body could read them. However, there was at laſt found a Jew, famed for his knowledge in ancient languages, who, though not without great difficulty, made out their ſignification: the purport of which was, that the king who reigned in theſe parts at the time of St. Thomas, had aſſigned him a certain ſpace of ground to build a church. We have likewiſe another teſtimony of the truth of this affair, given in a letter wrote by the biſhop of Cochin, in the year 1562, to cardinal Henry, where it is mentioned that there was a chapel built on the top of a hill, in the city of Meliapur, afterwards called St. Thomas, when inhabited by Portugueſe: that in this chapel St. Thomas was murdered when performing divine ſervice; and in this place the Chriſtians in theſe parts uſed to meet every year, about a week before Chriſtmas, and offer up prayers. There were found on this hill a croſs cut out of ſtone, with the image of a dove perched on the top of it, ſurrounded with an arch of ſtone, about which there was ſome old writing: the oldeſt and moſt knowing antiquaries were conſulted, but none could make out the character of the writing, till at laſt a bramin from Narſingua expounded it in this manner: that St. Thomas had been ſent by the Son of God into theſe parts, in the reign of Sagam, to ſpread the light of Chriſtianity; that he had there built a church, and performed many wonderful things; and that this holy apoſtle, when kneeling at the altar of God, had been run through with a ſpear by a bramin.

Lopez Soarez arrived back at Liſbon, where he was received both by
A. D. 1505. the king and all the nobility with the greateſt demonſtrations of reſpect and joy; but Pacheco above all attracted the admiration of his countrymen. The king ordered a public thankſgiving on his account, and made a pompous proceſſion with the court, from the cathedral to St. Dominick's church. He made Pacheco walk by his ſide, that all might ſee what reſpect he paid to bravery. Nor was Emanuel ſatisfied with doing him this great honour, he likewiſe wrote letters to almoſt all the Chriſtian princes, wherein he extolled Pacheco's actions with due applauſe,

applauſe, that his fame and renown might ſpread through Chriſtendom. But that it may appear how uncertain all human affairs are, it may not be amiſs to inform the reader what reward was paid at laſt to the merit of this brave man. When the king underſtood that Pacheco's circumſtances were narrow, (for he had ſpent all in his ſervice) and that he had brought nothing home from India but great glory, after encountering ſuch danger, he appointed him governor of a town in Africa, called St. George de Mina, whence the gold uſed to be imported into Portugal, that he might have an opportunity of bettering his condition in that government. But Pacheco being greatly envied there, was accuſed by his enemies of having defrauded the king of a great quantity of gold, and of having been guilty of many ſcandalous and villainous practices. The king therefore ordered him home in irons, where he lived in a very miſerable condition, in cloſe confinement for a conſiderable time, till the affair being more carefully enquired into, it appeared that the crimes laid to his charge were either without any foundation, or ſuch as did not deſerve ſuch ſevere puniſhment. Then indeed he was releaſed from priſon, and reſtored to his dignity, but did not meet with a reward ſuitable to his great merit, and ſpent the remainder of his days in obſcure poverty.

Whilſt theſe things were tranſacted, Emanuel fitted out a large fleet for India. In this he ſent Francis Almeed as commander in chief, and appointed him likewiſe to act as his viceroy in the eaſt.

Almeed ſteered his courſe to India; but being hindered by bad weather and long calms, he made but ſlow progreſs in his voyage, and could not make the Cape of Good Hope. It was then winter in thoſe parts, and the Portugueſe were harraſſed with continual ſtorms; beſides, the pilots miſtaking their courſe, ſailed too far to the ſouthward, where the days were extremely ſhort, the ſun being then in the northern tropic. The thickneſs of the air, the immoderate ſhowers of rain, and great fallings of ſnow, made them likewiſe ſeem ſhorter than they really were, and the men alſo ſuffered greatly by the exceſſive cold. At length, on the 20th day of June, they doubled the cape; Almeed then ordered the fleet to keep near the land. On the 2d of July a violent ſtorm ariſing, greatly diſtreſſed the fleet. The tempeſt being abated, they ſailed along the coaſt of Caffres, and at laſt made the port of Quiloa. Almeed, upon his arrival there, directly ſent a perſon with his compliments to the king; but ſeeing his majeſty neither came in perſon, or ſent an apology, began to ſuſpect him of ſome hoſtile deſigns, and therefore reſolved to beſiege the city. When it was high water, and the ſea waſhed the walls of the town, he landed five hundred briſk fellows, whom he divided into two battalions. The enemy being now terrified, fled from the city, and Almeed entered without obſtruction, but ſuſpected the enemy lay in ambuſcade, in order to attack him; he therefore halted, and ordered his ſon to march on with great ſlowneſs and circumſpection. Moſt of the inhabitants left the city, and the few who remained were ſtruck with ſuch a panic, that they had neither courage to fly or fight. The plunder, by Almeed's orders, was heaped together in a large houſe, and diſtributed among the ſoldiers; he received nothing for himſelf but one arrow. He then began to build a fort near the ſhore, in a place very proper for repulſing an enemy: whilſt it was building, he ſent a meſſenger to the citizens, telling them, they had reaſon to be thankful for being delivered from the uſurpation of a cruel and perfidious tyrant, and reſtored to liberty, under the auſpicious reign, and by the ſingular kindneſs of Ema-

nuel, a moſt powerful and benevolent prince. Almeed promiſed to defend them from all hoſtile invaſions, by the power and arms of the Portugueſe; and that they might confide the more in his promiſes, he told them, he would make Mahumet Ancon their king, whoſe fidelity, goodneſs, and prudence, they had frequently experienced. He therefore deſired them to return to the city, and make an alliance with their beſt friends, under whoſe protection they might enjoy their properties with ſafety. They gladly received this meſſage, and making Mahumet ride before them in great ſtate, they all followed him with joyful acclamations. Almeed, in the name of his maſter Emanuel, having proclaimed him king, preſented him with a golden crown, and impoſed on him an annual tribute. Mahumet bound himſelf by an oath to perform a conſtant obedience to king Emanuel, and to behave in all reſpects as a moſt faithful vaſſal.

In the mean time the two commanders Gonzalo Paiva and Ferdinand Bermudo, came to Almeed from Mozambique. He had ſent them thither to ſound the inclinations of the governor of the iſland, and to ſee if the Portugueſe had left any letters there, whereby he might get intelligence of the ſtate of affairs in India. They brought him word that all was quiet among the iſlanders, and at the ſame time delivered him letters from Franciſco Albuquerque and Lopez Soarez, which had been left with the governor of the iſland, by theſe commanders when they were ſailing for Portugal; theſe gave favourable accounts of every thing in India. When Mahumet came to pay his compliments to Almeed, he begged of him, with great ſubmiſſion, to ſet at liberty all the Arabian priſoners, which was readily granted. Mahumet having thanked him for this favour, made another requeſt, worthy to be recorded to poſterity:—"There "was," ſaid he, "a ſtrict intimacy and friendſhip, founded on the moſt ſacred ties, "betwixt me and Alfudail, our late king, whom the tyrant you have expelled moſt "treacherouſly murdered. Was Alfudail alive, I would reſign the kingdom to him; "for I ſhall never prefer any regal power or wealth to my duty and fidelity: but as "he is no more, I earneſtly beg and entreat, that I may be allowed to ſend for his ſon, "and appoint him heir to the crown; not that I think my own ſons unworthy of that "honour, but was I to ſettle the ſucceſſion on them, it would be doing the higheſt in-"juſtice to the children of the late king, and I ſhould think I deſerved to be branded "with everlaſting infamy; it would not only bring diſgrace on myſelf, but likewiſe on "my poſterity; therefore I chuſe rather to leave my ſons an example of fidelity and "honeſty, than the largeſt patrimony and moſt opulent kingdom." The Portugueſe were filled with the higheſt admiration when they ſaw a Mahometan pay ſo religious a regard to friendſhip, and contemn ſovereign power with ſuch greatneſs of ſoul. Alfudail's ſon was accordingly ſent for, and all the citizens, by Almeed's orders, took the oaths of allegiance to him, as heir apparent to the crown. Almeed appointed Pedro Terreira Fogaza governor of the fort, and took particular care to give him all neceſſary directions for the defence of the place.

The admiral having ſailed from this place, four days after arrived at the mouth of the harbour of Mombaza. He ſent Gonzalo Paiva before to ſound the depth of the water; Paiva carried with him two Arabian pilots, well acquainted with the entrance to the harbour. He executed is orders, and approached the fort; upon which the garriſon began to annoy him with their cannon: he, on the other hand, fired upon them with his largeſt guns. During the engagement, a ſhot from the Portugueſe ſet fire to the enemy's magazine, filled with gunpowder and other combuſtible matter: this ſo terrified the

garriſon,

garriſon, that they abandoned the fort, and fled to the city. Pavia having ſounded the depth of the harbour, returned to Almeed, and informed him that nothing was to be feared from the ſhallowneſs of the water; Almeed therefore entered the harbour with his fleet, and came to anchor near the town. He then ſent one of the captains to acquaint the king, that the Portugueſe had come to Mombaza with no hoſtile intention; that his maſter, king Emanuel, was a prince of ſo much goodneſs and generoſity, that thoſe who ſubmitted to his authority found themſelves happier than if they remained independent.

An Arabian was ſent with this meſſage, but the inhabitants would not ſuffer him to land, threatening to tear him in pieces if he ſet his foot on ſhore. "Depart inſtantly," they cried, "and tell the Portugueſe commander, that hitherto he has had to do with "the women of Quiloa, but muſt now deal with men of courage." Almeed that night ordered John Novez, with another captain, to go on ſhore and endeavour to ſeize one of the inhabitants, from whom they might have intelligence. They accordingly landed in great ſilence, and took priſoner a perſon who happened to be one of the king's domeſtics. This man being brought before Almeed, and terrified by threats, declared that the king, upon the news of the taking of Quiloa, beſides his own army, had taken into his pay four thouſand mercenaries, and expected two thouſand more; that he had beſides a large magazine of arms, and was well furniſhed with all neceſſaries, whereby he was confident he could repulſe a much greater army from his city and fortifications. Almeed, however, reſolved to beſiege the place; he accordingly next day ordered his ſon, and ſome other officers, to land with all poſſible expedition, and to ſet fire to that quarter of the town neareſt the ſhore. This order was ſo ſpeedily executed, that many houſes were actually ſet on fire before the enemy could make any oppoſition: they at length collected their forces, and attacked our men, who ſuſtained their charge with great reſolution. A fierce battle enſued; in this ſeventy of the enemy were killed on the ſpot, whilſt the Portugueſe loſt only two men. Mean while, the flames ſpreading moſt furiouſly, made great devaſtation in the city. Next morning, before day-break, Almeed went on ſhore with all his forces. The flames, not quite extinguiſhed, had ſo far diſpelled the darkneſs of the night, that the Portugueſe could eaſily perceive there were none of the enemy on the ſhore to hinder their landing; yet Almeed fearing ſome ambuſh, did not attack the city before day-light. In this affair the enemy loſt fifteen hundred men, and above two thouſand were taken priſoners: of theſe Almeed kept about two hundred of the greateſt diſtinction, and ſome of the fineſt women; the reſt he ſet at liberty. Many of the Portugueſe were wounded, but only five killed, among whom was Ferdinand Decio, a man of great renown, who had been wounded in the foot by a poiſoned arrow.

Mean while Vaſco Gomez Abreo arrived in the harbour of Mombaza; his ſhip had been ſeparated from the fleet by a late ſtorm. The fleet now ſteered for Melinda, but the weather proved ſo tempeſtuous, they could not make that place, but were driven into a bay about three leagues from it. Here Almeed found likewiſe two ſhips which had been ſeparated by a ſtorm, one commanded by Lopez Chanogua, and the other by John Homo. Almeed was extremely deſirous to pay his reſpects to the king of Melinda: this he was unable to do in perſon, being obliged to remain with the fleet, which could not at that time get out of the bay by reaſon of the tempeſtuous weather. However, he diſpatched a perſon in his name, to wait upon his majeſty, and to carry him the preſents from king Emanuel.

As ſoon as the weather was favourable, the Portugueſe ſtood away for the iſland of Anchedive, where they arrived on the 13th of September. Here Al-
A.D. 1505. meed received a letter from Gonzalo Agidio Barboſa, which was to be delivered to the firſt Portugueſe commander who ſhould touch there from Portugal: by this he was informed, that Gonzalo had procured ſpices ſufficient to load ſeveral ſhips; moreover, that three ſhips richly laden were expected from Arabia, and that if the Portugueſe would keep a good look out near that iſland during the month of September, theſe veſſels would probably fall into their hands. Almeed having received this intelligence, immediately diſpatched Homo to Cochin, Cananor, and Coulan, to give notice of his arrival, and to deſire the Portugueſe agents, with all expedition, to get ready their ladings. He likewiſe appointed Lopez Chanogua and Gonzalo Paiva to cruize in thoſe ſeas, in order to intercept the Arabian ſhips. He then ſet about building a fort in a place near the ſea. On this ſpot there were ſome ruins, amongſt which he found ſeveral red and black crucifixes; hence he conjectured this iſland had been formerly inhabited by Chriſtians.

About this time arrived Pazagna, whom Almeed, before he doubled the Cape of Good Hope, had appointed commander of part of the fleet, and with him came Antonio Vaſco. Gundiſſalvo Vaſco, purſuant to Almeed's orders, remained at Quiloa, and Lucas Fonſeca wintered at Mozambique. Lopez Sancho's ſhip was wrecked, and all on board periſhed, except five men, who were taken on board another ſhip half dead.

A few days after Chanogua and Pavia returned with ſome ſhips, on board of which were ſeveral Arabians. They had likewiſe taken ſome ſmall veſſels, and among the reſt an Indian ſloop, on board of which there was a Portugueſe, whom Barboſa had ſent with a letter to Almeed, acquainting him, that one of the Arabian ſhips had already arrived at Calicut, and the other two were daily expected: that there had come in the veſſel already arrived four Venetian artiſts, who underſtood the art of caſting cannon; ſent by the ſultan of Egypt to the zamorin: that the ſultan of Egypt was fitting out a large fleet againſt the Portugueſe, and that formidable preparations were alſo making at Calicut. Almeed having received this advice, ſent Chanogua and Paiva out again. He alſo built a large galley with materials he had brought from Portugal, manned her with Arabian rowers, and gave the command to John Serrano, who was likewiſe joined with two frigates to ſcour the ſeas.

At this juncture Merloa, king of Onor, ten leagues from Anchedive, ſent deputies to Almeed to treat of peace. The pirate Timoia was then at Onor, and concurred with the king in deſiring the friendſhip of the Portugueſe. Almeed received both into his protection: by them he heard of a ſtrong caſtle a little way off, called Sincatura, which belonged to the kingdom of Daccam. The governor was a vaſſal of the king of Goa, who had frequent wars with the king of Onor. Almeed ordered his ſon to ſound the depth of the harbour, and Laurence accordingly ſet out with pilots for that purpoſe. He found the depth of the river which runs by the caſtle to be five fathoms at the mouth, and a little farther three and an half more. The fort, ſituated on a hill, was garriſoned by one thouſand men: theſe, when they perceived the boats, haſtened to the ſhore, among whom was the governor, who, on the Portugueſe hoiſting a flag of truce, concluded a treaty of peace, which was ratified nine days after by Almeed. Before the Portugueſe left Anchedive, they deſcried a large veſſel freighted with horſes from Perſia. The Portugueſe attacked her in their long boats: the Perſians and Arabians on board being ſtruck with a panic, jumped into their boat, and made

made towards the ſhore, and the ſhip ran aground, when a ſudden ſtorm ariſing, the Portugueſe were in the greateſt danger. There were nine of the horſes put by the Portugueſe on board their long boat, which was driven on ſhore by force of the waves, and the horſes delivered to the Arabians to keep till the ſtorm was over. The Portugueſe ſailed for Anchedive, and after the ſtorm ceaſed, returned for their horſes. The inhabitants made anſwer, that the king of Onor had them in his cuſtody. Almeed ſent to demand them of him, and received ſuch an anſwer as plainly ſhewed theſe people were void of faith.

Almeed left Pazagna with a ſmall garriſon in the fort of Anchedive, and ſailed for Onor. As ſoon as he entered the mouth of the river, he ravaged the country, and burned ſeveral ſhips in the harbour. The king, who was at no great diſtance, ſeeing his navy in ſuch danger, came with four thouſand men to oppoſe the Portugueſe. The fire raged with violence, and leſt it ſhould be extinguiſhed by the enemy, he ordered Laurence to attack thoſe who came for that purpoſe. The Portugueſe obliged them to retire, after a ſharp conflict, and having loſt many of their men. Almeed was wounded in his right thumb. The king now ſent deputies to ſue for peace. Almeed told them he would ſend his ſon to ſettle a peace, and next day ſailed for Cananor.

Homo mean time informed the Portugueſe and their allies in India, of the arrival of Almeed, and of the powers with which he was inveſted. At Coulan he learned by Antonio Sala, the Portugueſe agent, that the king's ſhips, at the inſtigation of the Arabians, had been refuſed the ſpices due by treaty. The Arabians had at this time thirty-four ſhips in the harbour, which had been loaded before the Portugueſe could procure any part of their lading, although it was expreſsly ſtipulated by treaty, that no ſpices ſhould be given the Arabians before the Portugueſe had received their whole cargo. Homo being a bold and reſolute man, ſtripped the Arabians of their helms and rigging, which he delivered to Antony Sala, with orders to keep them until the Portugueſe ſhips were loaded. Homo ſailed from thence, and in his courſe took two Arabian veſſels, and put their crews in irons. He put three Portugueſe pilots on board each ſhip; he could not ſpare more, and as the wind was fair, he thought them ſufficient to ſteer into port. He was now in ſight of Almeed, and juſt entering Cananor, when on a ſudden the Arabians broke looſe, murdered the Portugueſe, put the ſhip about, and quickly got out of ſight. Almeed reſolved to build a fort at Cananor, and determined not to depart until it was finiſhed. While he remained here, ambaſſadors came from the king of Narſingua.

That kingdom lies in the eaſtern part of India, within the Ganges; it extends a conſiderable way weſtward, and borders on the countries adjoining to Goa, with the inhabitants of which the people of Narſingua uſed to wage continual wars. The country is adorned with many cities, and watered with ſeveral rivers. The ſoil is fertile, and affords all the diverſions of fiſhing, fowling, and hunting. The country is likewiſe ſtored with abundance of all ſorts of cattle. The people are extremely addicted to ſuperſtition; their temples or pagods are built with vaſt magnificence: theſe, like the reſt in India, are filled with the images of monſters, and many ſtrange figures, to which they pay divine honours. Their bramins, conſiſting of men as well as women, preſide in religious rites, and are held in great honour. There is another religious ſect, called Banians, who are eſteemed with no leſs veneration: theſe carry about their necks a ſtone called tambarane, about the bigneſs of an egg; it is perforated in the middle, with three ſtrings running through it: this they ſay repreſents the Deity, and

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is beheld with the utmoſt devotion. The banians abſtain from fiſh and fleſh: they are allowed to marry once, and when they die, their wives are buried alive near their graves. The widows of other perſons, after the death of their huſbands, are carried in great ſtate to the funeral pile, where they are burned amidſt the ſongs and acclamations of all their relations and ſervants, who attend the ceremony. They keep every Friday as a holiday, or ſabbath: they likewiſe obſerve many other days throughout the year, by ſinging hymns, and performing the ceremonials of religion, according to the cuſtom of their country. They believe the immortality of the ſoul, and that there will be a future ſtate, in which mankind are to be puniſhed or rewarded, according to their behaviour in this world. The people are of a tawney colour; they dreſs elegantly, and are extremely fond of women, on whoſe account they often quarrel and fight duels. The perſon who gives the challenge, uſually ſolicits the king for a ſpot of ground where the affair is to be decided; and if the champions are men in high repute for their gallantry, his majeſty himſelf generally becomes a ſpectator of the combat: he gives a ſmall golden chain to the conqueror, who is obliged to maintain this honour by his ſword, otherwiſe he forfeits all his glory already acquired; for any one may diſpute his claim to this trophy; and the chain is always taken from him that is worſted, and given to the perſon who comes off victorious in the combat. This cuſtom of duelling is not confined to the military gentlemen only, for artiſts and mechanics often enter the liſts about the excellency of their workmanſhip.

Biſnagar is the largeſt city in this kingdom, being four miles in compaſs, and ſurrounded with walls: it is very populous, and adorned with many ſtately buildings and moſt magnificent pagods. The place abounds in all ſorts of commodities, imported from many different countries. All merchants trading here are obliged to pay certain duties; thoſe only are excepted who bring horſes from Perſia and Arabia. The king himſelf buys up all the horſes, many of which he retains for his own uſe; and he gives away in preſents, or ſells the reſt to whom he pleaſes. The royal palace is a moſt ſpacious and magnificent edifice; it is ſurrounded with beautiful gardens, in which there are ſeveral well ſtocked fiſh ponds. When the king goes abroad, he is always attended with a numerous body of guards: his ſubjects treat him with the utmoſt reſpect; any, almoſt worſhip him as a deity: his table is always furniſhed with the moſt exquiſite diſhes: his body generally ſhines with ointments, and his dreſs ſparkles with gold and diamonds. This prince never marries, but he keeps a vaſt number of concubines, who are all of noble deſcent. When he dies, his body is burned on a pile of the moſt odoriferous woods; here likewiſe all his confidents, domeſtics, and particular friends, throw themſelves; and with ſuch alacrity do they hurry thus to ſacrifice themſelves, that it appears plainly they eſteem it glorious and honourable to die with their ſovereign. The prince generally adminiſters juſtice with great impartiality, and is particularly careful to protect the merchants from all injuries. He keeps under him many governors or lieutenants; theſe, however, if guilty of oppreſſion or injuſtice, are either put to death, or have ſome corporal puniſhment inflicted on them. He heaps together vaſt treaſures, and thinks it unlawful to expend thoſe left him by his anceſtors, unleſs on the moſt urgent occaſions: by this means he has generally in his poſſeſſion vaſt quantities of gold, ſilver, and diamonds of the largeſt ſize; in which the country very much abounds. The king keeps about him a great number of ſoldiers, who have horſes and proviſions every day

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allowed them from the palace: thoſe who have once liſted in his ſervice are not at liberty to quit the kingdom, unleſs they have expreſs leave from his majeſty. He likewiſe maintains a conſiderable number of foot ſoldiers. Much more might be ſaid concerning the cuſtoms, luxury, and magnificence of the king of Narſingua; this, however, I ſhall paſs over.

The king then on the throne, having heard much of the fame of the Portugueſe in India, was deſirous to make a league with them; he accordingly ſent a deputy to Almeed with letters and preſents, which he deſired, in his name, to be taanſmitted to Emanuel. The ambaſſador was received by Almeed with the higheſt marks of honour, treated with the utmoſt reſpect, and diſmiſſed with many conſiderable preſents. Almeed, at the ſame time, wrote letters by him to the king of Narſingua: in theſe he aſſured his majeſty that he would do every thing in his power to promote the ſtricteſt and moſt ſincere friendſhip betwixt him and his royal maſter.

After the departure of the Narſinguan ambaſſador, Almeed went aſhore in a long boat; and he ordered a tent to be pitched in a grove of palm-trees, where the king of Cananor viſited him. After a deal of friendly converſation, the viceroy aſked leave of his majeſty to build a fort: this, he ſaid, would not only defend the Portugueſe againſt the inſults of the Arabians, but would alſo be a bulwark for himſelf againſt the invaſions of his enemies. His requeſt was readily granted, and the work being ſet about with great expedition, was in a few days brought to its full height. It was called St. Angelo, and Lopez Britto, with one hundred and fifty Portugueſe, was left governor.

About this time Almeed received an account of the melancholy fate of Antonio Sala, who had been left agent for the Portugueſe affairs at Coulan. John Homo, as we have already mentioned, had, with more bravery than prudence, ſtripped the Arabian ſhips of their helms and rigging, and had given them to be kept by Antonio, till the Portugueſe ſhould receive their lading. He himſelf left the place, and ſailed to Almeed; but the Arabians, provoked by this inſult, inveighed againſt the Portugueſe in the moſt bitter terms. In order to effect their miſchievous deſigns, they ſtirred up the people, and urged them to revenge this injury. The people being inflamed, attacked Sala, who, only accompanied with twelve Portugueſe, fled to a chapel built in honour of the virgin Mary; here they made ſo gallant a defence, that the enemy were unable to break in upon them. The Arabians ſeeing they could not make themſelves maſters of the chapel without a conſiderable loſs, got together a parcel of wood, and ſet fire to the chapel, where all the Portugueſe periſhed in the moſt miſerable manner. Pedro Raphael was then in the harbour, but as the affair was ſo ſudden and unexpected, he could not bring aſſiſtance to his friends: however, in revenge he burned five Arabian ſhips lying in the harbour, and immediately ſailed for Cochin, where he found Almeed, whom he informed of this tragical affair. As ſoon as the viceroy received this account, he ordered his ſon to ſail directly for Coulan, and to deſtroy all the ſhips in that harbour. Laurence executed his orders with ſo much expedition, that he came in ſight of the town, and burned twenty-ſeven of the enemy's ſhips, before they were apprized of his arrival. John Homo's commiſſion was taken from him as a puniſhment for his raſh conduct.

Soon after Almeed went aſhore, where he was received by the king of Cochin with the higheſt marks of reſpect and honour. But this was not that prince who had ſo much endangered his life and crown by his fidelity to the Portugueſe. He had abdicated

dicated the throne, and retired to a temple, where he dedicated his time entirely to the ſtudy and exerciſe of religious duties. He had reſigned the regal power to his ſiſter's ſon, Nambeadar. Almeed thought it needleſs to offer preſents to a prince who ſeemed to ſet at nought all worldly wealth and grandeur; but he reſolved to beſtow them on the young king, who as ſucceſſor to the crown, in his opinion, had likewiſe a right to the rewards due to the virtue, fidelity, and friendſhip of his uncle.

A. D. 1506. Almeed having loaded eight ſhips, ordered them to ſail for Portugal. On the 1ſt of February, the fleet came upon an unknown country, which was covered with thick woods, and abounded in cattle. The Portugueſe deſcried ten ſmall boats, aboard which were ſeveral naked blacks, with ſhort fleecy hair, and armed with bows and arrows. They made towards Ferdinand Soarez's ſhip; twenty of them went aboard; theſe were treated with great civility, for the Portugueſe invited them to an entertainment, and made them a preſent of ſome wearing apparel. The Portugueſe did not underſtand their language, ſo that they were obliged to expreſs themſelves to each other by ſigns. Theſe men departed, in outward appearance extremely well pleaſed; but when they had advanced a little way from the ſhip, they began to return theſe civilities by diſcharging their arrows on the Portugueſe, who, provoked by this ingratitude, fired their guns upon them. Ferdinand Soarez, obſerving ſome of them near Roderigo Freira's ſhip, called to him to take them priſoners: accordingly twenty-eight were ſeized. The fleet having cruized along a little farther, came to anchor in a bay, where they went aſhore, and took in a ſupply of water. In this place a body of the natives attacked the Portugueſe, who were obliged to retire to their ſhips, from whence they plied them briſkly with their cannon. Several of the barbarians were killed, and the reſt were driven to flight. This behaviour of that people plainly ſhewed they were of a ſavage and unhoſpitable diſpoſition. The Portugueſe did not at firſt take this country for an iſland; but when they had ſailed along the coaſt, and doubled ſome of the capes, they diſcovered it to be an iſland. It was formerly called Madagaſcar, but the Portugueſe gave it the name of St. Laurence. It lies to the eaſt, oppoſite to that part of Ethiopia called Caffres. This fleet arrived at Liſbon the 24th of May.

A. D. 1505. Soon after Almeed's departure from Liſbon, Emanuel equipped another fleet of ſix ſail, which he ſent to India under the command of Franciſco Gnaia. When they were upon the weſtern coaſt of Ethiopia, one of the captains, named John Lacteo, endeavouring to ſtrike a large fiſh, was carried over-board and drowned. Another commander went aſhore to get ſome proviſion, but venturing too boldly amongſt the natives, was killed, with ſeveral of his crew. They ſteered from thence for the Cape of Good Hope, but keeping too far to the ſouthward, their water was frozen, and themſelves were ſo benumbed with cold, that they could hardly work the ſhips. However, they at laſt with great difficulty doubled the cape, and coaſting along Caffres, they came to anchor in Sofala. Gnaia with his four ſmalleſt veſſels (for his two largeſt could not enter) went into the harbour. The king was a man of ſeventy years of age, and had loſt his ſight, but before he met with that misfortune, he had greatly ſignalized himſelf by his gallantry and warlike proweſs. The town was not large, nor were the houſes magnificent in the outſide; they were moſtly ſurrounded with thick hedges, and within they were hung with ſilk tapeſtry. The name of the king was Zufe; he received Gnaia with great civility, and expreſſed

expreſſed the utmoſt reſpect and friendſhip for Emanuel. His majeſty was ſurrounded with ſeveral guards, who were moſtly Arabians: they were naked to the waiſt, and covered from thence to their knees with ſilk or cotton. They wore a poinard by their ſide, and a ſilk or cotton turband on the head. After many expreſſions of kindneſs, Gnaia aſked leave of the king to build a fort, which, he ſaid, would be of great ſervice to his majeſty himſelf. This requeſt was readily granted. After the king and Gnaia parted, one Zacote, an Arabian of great authority and influence, waited on Gnaia, with whom he formed a ſtrict friendſhip, and informed him in every particular relating to the nature of the country, and the manners of the inhabitants.

The Portugueſe admiral ſet about building the fort with great forwardneſs, and in a few months it was finiſhed, for the natives themſelves aſſiſted in the work. He then ſent ſome of his fleet to India, and others to Zuiloa: he himſelf remained in the fort with a ſufficient force. The Arabian merchants at Sofala were not a little chagrined at the civility ſhewn to the Portugueſe: ſeveral of them accordingly waited on the king, whom they adviſed to beware of the perfidy and treachery of the Portugueſe, who, they ſaid, under a maſk of friendſhip, concealed the moſt wicked deſigns. The king being ſpurred on, ſecretly got together a body of men, and appointed a day to fall upon the Portugueſe. Gnaia being informed of this plot by Zacote, held himſelf in readineſs to repulſe the enemy. On the day prefixed they attacked the fort with great fury: the conflict for ſome time was fierce and obſtinate; but the enemy were ſo terribly annoyed by the darts and cannon from the fort, that they at laſt betook themſelves to flight. The king had retired to his couch, and notwithſtanding his age and blindneſs, he ſhewed amazing intrepidity in this extreme danger. Several of the Portugueſe were wounded, amongſt whom was Gnaia himſelf, who received a wound in the neck. Emanuel Ferdinand, the Portugueſe agent in thoſe parts, obſerving this, attacked the king and cut off his head. The prince being thus ſlain, Gnaia ordered his men to abſtain from all further violence, and to ſpare the people, whom he wanted to gain by acts of clemency; that as they had already ſeen convincing proofs of the courage of the Portugueſe, they might now experience their tenderneſs and humanity in diſtreſs. Gnaia now thought proper to ſettle this ſtate, and to reward Zacote for his fidelity and ſervices. He accordingly, in the name of his royal maſter, created him king, and enjoined the people to obey him as their ſovereign. Zacote, on his part, took the oaths of allegiance to Emanuel, and promiſed to behave always as a faithful tributary.

The air of this country was extremely unwholeſome; it abounded in fenny marſhes, and theſe were dried up by the ſcorching heat of the ſun. The Portugueſe were ſeized with an exceſſive weakneſs in the body, and a dimneſs of ſight: this by degrees turned into a waſting conſumption, which carried off ſeveral, amongſt whom was Gnaia himſelf. In his room Emanuel Ferdinand was appointed admiral by the unanimous conſent of all the officers.

When Almeed received intelligence of the death of Gnaia: he immediately diſpatched Novio Vaſco Pereira to command the fort of Sofala.

Franciſco Almeed alſo ſent his ſon Laurence with nine ſail of ſhips to cruize near the Maldive Iſlands, which are about eighty leagues weſt of Cochin. They are almoſt numberleſs, and divided from each other by little narrow channels. Laurence's in-

ſtructions were to intercept all the Arabian ſhips paſſing that way. But ſo great was the ſtrength of the current in thoſe parts, that he could not make the Maldives, but was driven into an iſland oppoſite to Cape Comorin, called Ceylon, and ſeparated from thence by a narrow ſea; many ſuppoſed it to be the Tabrobana of the ancients.

Laurence, with his whole fleet, put in at a port of this iſland which the inhabitants called Gabalican. The king, who was at no great diſtance from this place, having notice of the arrival of the Portugueſe, ſent a deputy with preſents to the admiral, and to ſolicit a treaty of friendſhip. Laurence received him with great civility, and gave him many conſiderable preſents. He likewiſe ſent Pelagio Souſa, one of his officers, a man of great diſtinction, to wait upon the king, and to conclude a treaty. This gentleman being conducted to the palace, found the king ſeated there with great pomp and majeſty: his whole dreſs ſparkled with diamonds, and his room, though at mid-day, was illuminated with a vaſt number of wax tapers, which in that iſland was looked upon as a piece of ſtate and magnificence. Pelagio and his attendants were treated with the higheſt reſpect, and a treaty was concluded on theſe terms; that this king ſhould pay Emanuel yearly, by way of tribute, two hundred and fifty thouſand pound weight of cinnamon; and that on the other hand, Emanuel ſhould take him under his protection, and order his commanders to defend the ports and maritime towns of Ceylon from all hoſtile invaſions. Laurence concluded this treaty on condition that his father conſented thereto, and confirmed it by his authority. The cinnamon, however, was immediately put aboard the ſhips, for the king ſo much dreaded the power of the Portugueſe, that he wanted at any rate to gain their friendſhip. By the permiſſion of the king, he erected a marble pillar, on which was carved Emanuel's arms: in this it was expreſſed, that he, in the name of Emanuel, had taken poſſeſſion of that iſland.

Laurence now returned to his father at Cochin, where he was ordered to Anchedive, to fortify the citadel there, and to ſurvey that coaſt. Emanuel Pazagna was at the ſame time ſent to Cananor by Almeed, to aſſiſt in building and fortifying the caſtle there. When Laurence was at Anchedive, one Lewis Waſtman, an Italian, came to him. This man had travelled through many countries in the habit of an Arabian merchant. He at length arrived at Calicut, where he gave himſelf out to be an Arabian. There he heard that a large fleet was fitting out in order to deſtroy the Portugueſe. Lewis in his heart deteſted the Arabians, and as ſoon as an opportunity offered, embarked aboard a veſſel, in order to go to the Portugueſe viceroy, but in his courſe he fell in with Laurence. He informed him of the warlike preparations making at Calicut.

Mean while the Calicutian fleet was completely equipped. It conſiſted of eighty large ſhips, and one hundred and twenty paroas, furniſhed with men, arms, cannon, and every other neceſſary. Laurence ſailed againſt the enemy with nine ſhips, aboard which were eight hundred Portugueſe, all men of diſtinguiſhed courage, and extremely well armed. There were likewiſe ſome Indian auxiliaries, but theſe inconſiderable, and not to be much relied upon. The engagement began near the coaſt of Cananor: the ſounding of trumpets, the wild ſhouts raiſed by the enemy, and the frequent firing of the cannon, made the ſcene at firſt appear moſt terrible to the Portugueſe, till at laſt the ſhips grappling each other, came to cloſe quarter. Laurence attacked the flag ſhip, which, after ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts, he at laſt ſeized with his grappling irons. The fight was maintained with great obſtinancy on both ſides:

Laurence

Laurence immediately boarded her, and was followed by Philip Roderigo, John Homo, Ferdinand Petreio Andrade, Vincent Pereira, Roderigo Pereira, and ſeveral other brave fellows. There was aboard the enemy's ſhip ſix hundred men, who in this extreme danger fought with the moſt deſperate reſolution: but all of them were at laſt either killed or taken priſoners, excepting a few who ſaved themſelves by ſwimming. The enemy's flag ſhip being thus taken, Laurence went to the relief of Nunez Vaſco Pereira, who, though his veſſel was very ſmall, yet had engaged and grappled one of the largeſt of the enemy, which by her ſuperior bulk, had like to have run him down. His men in this extreme danger, fought with amazing intrepidity; but they were ſo annoyed by the enemy's darts and weapons, that they thought they muſt all have been deſtroyed. But on Almeed's coming up, this ſhip was alſo taken, and of five hundred aboard, all were cut to pieces, excepting a few who ſwam aſhore. In the enemy's fleet, there was likewiſe ſeveral merchant ſhips, who were under the protection of the ſhips of war. Theſe, when they obſerved two of the largeſt ſhips taken, began to fear the event: they therefore took the opportunity, whilſt the Portugueſe were engaged in the fight, to ſail off. Some of them made to the port of Calicut, and others ſteered their intended courſe: the reſt of the enemy's ſhips of war nevertheleſs maintained the fight with great obſtinacy, firing their iron and braſs cannon, and ſometimes fighting hand in hand with their ſpears and ſwords. One of the Portugueſe ſhips being ſurrounded by the enemy, was in the moſt extreme danger. The fight for ſome time was maintained with great obſtinacy on both ſides: the Calicutians, however, were at laſt entirely defeated, after having loſt three thouſand men. Ten of their ſhips and many of their paroas were ſunk: nine of their largeſt ſhips were taken, in which was found a conſiderable booty. The Portugueſe loſt only ſix men in the action. Laurence having been thus ſucceſsful, ſailed for Cananor, where he was received by the king with all demonſtrations of joy, and his bravery was highly extolled by every body.

Mean while Zabaio king of Goa having received intelligence of the mighty preparations made at Calicut, and that the Portugueſe fleet was ſailed from Anchedive, was reſolved to ſeize this opportunity of carrying on his hoſtile deſigns. By the advice therefore of a certain Portugueſe, who had abjured his religion, (one of the condemned exiles) he fitted out ſixty ſhips to attack the fort of Anchedive, and the command was given to this Portugueſe, who having been bred a ſhip carpenter, had formerly been of great ſervice to the Portugueſe in repairing their ſhips. His name was Antonio Ferdinand; but after he renounced his religion, he called himſelf Abedella. This man having come before Anchedive with his fleet, began to aſſail the fort; but he met with ſo brave a reſiſtance from Pazagna the governor, that he loſt many of his men, and was obliged to deſiſt from the attempt with great ſhame and infamy. But Almeed conſidering that the Portugueſe could reap but little advantage from Anchedive, and that the fort being at ſo great a diſtance from Cochin, could not be maintained but at a vaſt expence and great danger; he therefore reſolved, with the approbation of all his officers, to demoliſh it. He accordingly diſpatched his ſon with a fleet to raze it from the foundation. Laurence executed his orders with great expedition, and having taken Pazagna and the reſt of the Portugueſe aboard his fleet, he returned to his father at Cochin.

The following year Emanuel fitted out fourteen ſhips for India; A.D. 1507. theſe, at different times, as they were ready, ſailed from Liſbon. None of them, however, reached India that year. Vaſco Gomez Abreo, one of the commanders, was appointed governor of the fort of Sofala. When they came upon the coaſt of Ethiopia, Vaſco ordered a torch to be fixed on the ſtern of John Chanogua's ſhip, the beſt ſailer in the fleet, and the reſt to follow her. This veſſel, however, by the careleſſneſs of the pilot, was ſhipwrecked, but moſt of the crew ſwam aſhore, many of whom falling into the hands of the natives, were put in fetters, and detained till they were ranſomed by ſome of the Portugueſe ſailing upon that coaſt. Roderigo Soarez, one of the commanders, fell in with an Arabian ſhip manned with five hundred men, which he took, after an obſtinate engagement, and put to the ſword all the Arabians aboard. Three other ſhips were loſt; and thoſe that eſcaped, being unable to make India, wintered at different ports on the African coaſt.

But as ſoon as it was known in India that the Portugueſe had received no aſſiſtance that year from Portugal, the Arabians began to be greatly elevated; for now they thought was the time to deſtroy the Portugueſe; they therefore, in the moſt earneſt manner, entreated the zamorin not to neglect ſo favourable an opportunity. The zamorin accordingly, with the utmoſt diligence, made all neceſſary preparations for a war. Almeed received intelligence of this by his ſpies and deſerters; and that he might ſhew the enemy he did not ſtand in need of any aſſiſtance, he immediately fitted out two fleets; one conſiſted of two gallies, two large ſhips, and one paroa: he gave the command of this to Emanuel Pazagna, with orders to protect the ſhips ſailing from Cochin towards Cape Camorin. The command of the other fleet, conſiſting of eleven ſhips, he gave to his ſon Laurence, who was to cruize near Cochin, to prevent any ſudden invaſion from the enemy. Gundiſſalvo Vaſco Goes, one of the commanders in this fleet, not having a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, was obliged to ſail for Cananor to get a ſupply. As he was on his return from thence to join Laurence, he fell in with an Arabian ſhip, which he attacked with great fury. The Arabians made no reſiſtance, for they ſaid they were our allies; and in teſtimony thereof, they produced letters of protection from Laurenzo Britto, governor of the fort at Cananor; for ever ſince the Portugueſe began to build forts in India, no ſhips were allowed to ſail in theſe ſeas, unleſs they had letters from ſome Portugueſe commander, otherwiſe they were liable to be taken and plundered by the Portugueſe; but if they had ſuch credentials, they were ſuffered to ſteer their courſe without any moleſtation. The Arabians in this ſhip accordingly ſhewed their paſſport, by virtue of which they reckoned themſelves entirely ſafe: but Goes, either blinded by avarice, prompted by the natural cruelty of his temper, or hurried on by his antipathy to the Arabians, ſaid it was a forged paſſport, or fraudulently obtained. He ſaid, he knew them to be enemies of the Chriſtians; that they had hoſtile deſigns againſt the Portugueſe, and declared he would puniſh them for their villainy. He accordingly plundered the ſhip, and having ſowed up thoſe miſerable wretches in the ſails, he then ſunk the veſſel with his cannon. This barbarous action was not only contrary to the laws of nations, and ties of humanity, but alſo extremely raſh and impolitic at ſuch a juncture. The Portugueſe had not yet laid a ſufficient foundation for an empire in the eaſt, and their ſtrength was then inconſiderable; they ought therefore, by the moſt faithful and humane behaviour, to have endeavoured to procure the affections of the Indian nations.

About

About this time the king of Cananor died; his ſucceſſor was a moſt inveterate enemy of the Portugueſe, for he had come to the throne by the zamorin's intereſt. He applied himſelf with the utmoſt vigour in making preparations againſt the Portugueſe; however, for ſome time he thought it neceſſary to keep his deſigns ſecret, but they were diſcovered to Britto by the prince who was next heir to the crown of Cananor; he alſo informed him, that the zamorin, beſides other engines of war, had ſent the king of Cananor twenty-four braſs cannon to batter the fort, and moreover promiſed to aſſiſt him with thirty thouſand men. Britto expreſſed himſelf in the moſt grateful manner to the young prince for this intelligence, and promiſed he would do his utmoſt endeavour to make a proper requital for ſuch extraordinary friendſhip. He thought it extremely dangerous for any of his men to be in the city, and therefore commanded them to keep within the fort. He alſo diſpatched a meſſenger to Almeed to inform him of the danger with which he was threatened. Almeed immediately ſent his ſon with a ſupply of men, arms, and ammunition, to ſtrengthen the garriſon, that they might be enabled to hold out a ſiege.

The following year Emanuel fitted out ſixteen ſhips for India.
A. D. 1508. Four of theſe he gave to Diego Sequiero, with orders to ſail beyond the Ganges to Malacca, to examine the ſituation of the principal city of the ſame name, one of the moſt principal marts in the eaſt. He alſo inſtructed him to take a ſurvey of the iſland of Madagaſcar, which, according to report, was very extenſive, and abounded with all manner of commodities. Sequeiro accordingly ſailed from Liſbon on the 5th of April.

George Aquilar was appointed admiral of the other twelve ſhips, who was ordered to cruize with five of them on the northern ſide of Cape Guardafu, at the mouth of the Red Sea, to intercept all the Arabian veſſels ſailing to India. The other ſeven ſhips had alſo their particular commanders, one of whom, Franciſco Pereir Peſtana, was appointed governor of the fort at Quiloa. The reſt were ordered to ſail directly for India.

Aquilar ſailed about five days after Sequeiro, but his ſquadron was diſperſed by a ſudden tempeſt. Peſtana's ſhip having loſt her maſt and rigging, was obliged to put back to Liſbon; from whence, after being refitted, ſhe ſet ſail again on the 19th of May. The ſeaſon of the year being ſo far advanced, Peſtana was not able to reach Quiloa, and therefore was obliged to winter at ſome iſlands lying to the ſouth of Mozambique.

The commanders bound for India having undergone various hardſhips, at laſt arrived at Cochin. Aquilar periſhed by ſhipwreck; Duarte Lemos, another of the captains, a relation of Aquilar, having reached Mozambique, would not depart from thence till he was certain of the fate of Aquilar; but he was ſoon convinced of the admiral's unhappy fate by the wreck floating on the water, where planks, broken maſts, caſks, &c. were ſeen ſcattered on the ſurface.

By the unanimous conſent of all the other commanders, Melos was choſen admiral. As ſoon as the ſeaſon of the year would permit, he ſailed with Peſtana (who had now reached Mozambique) for Quiloa. Lemos having gone aboard Peſtana's ſhip, gave his own to Vaſco Sylveira, and then they proceeded for Cape Guardafu. Pedro Fereira Fogaza, who commanded the fort of Quiloa till the arrival of Peſtana, according to his inſtructions

inſtructions, went for Melinda, where he remained till the proper ſeaſon for ſailing came about. As ſoon as the wind favoured, he went and joined Melos, who having now ſeven ſail of ſhips, directed his courſe for Zocotora. The admiral touched at thoſe places, which belonged to the tributary princes, and collected the tribute: thoſe who refuſed to pay what they had agreed upon, he obliged by force to comply. He had an inclination to ſtorm Magadoxo; but as the place was ſtrong by its natural ſituation, it threatened great damage to the Portugueſe ſhips, and was extremely difficult of acceſs from the ſea, the reſt of the officers diſſuaded him from this enterprize. Whilſt the fleet lay here, it happened, by the careleſſneſs of the watch, that George Quadra's ſhip, had her cables cut, and was carried a great way out to ſea by the ſwiftneſs of the tide; ſo that when the ſailors and ſoldiers aboard awaked, they knew not where they were. They endeavoured to ſtop her progreſs by rowing againſt the wind till day-break; but even then being equally puzzled, they allowed the ſhip to go before the wind, and were at laſt driven into the port of Zeila, ſituated at the entrance of the Red Sea, on the Ethiopian coaſt. Here the whole crew were taken priſoners by the Arabians. Lemos being perſuaded from his deſign on Magadoxo, ſteered for Zocotora, where he appointed Pedro Fogaza governor of the fort.

Having paſſed Cape Guardafu, Lemos ſteered for Ormuz. Upon his arrival, he ſent a meſſenger to the king, to inform him, that he was come there by the command of Emanuel, and was ready to give all the aſſiſtance in his power to promote the ſecurity of the iſland, and the dignity of his perſon. He alſo entreated him to bury in oblivion all the injuries received from Albuquerque, and henceforth to look upon the Portugueſe as his frends and allies. With regard to the defence of the iſland, he added, that he knew the king of Ormuz was ſurrounded with many enemies, againſt whom he hoped the Portugueſe would be a ſafeguard. But that they might live more ſecurely in the iſland, and be more enabled to defend the city, he ſaid there was great neceſſity for a fortreſs, which would be no leſs ſerviceable to the king himſelf than to the Portugueſe; he therefore begged he might be allowed to finiſh the fort which had been begun by Albuquerque. Coje Atar made anſwer, that he would punctually perform what he had promiſed to Albuquerque; but that he would not permit the fort to be built. He accordingly paid fifteen thouſand ducats, as the tribute which had been ſettled. He then invited Lemos aſhore, with the reſt of the officers, and treated all the Portugueſe in the moſt polite manner. Lemos not having a ſufficient ſtrength to carry his deſigns by force, was therefore obliged to ſtifle his reſentment. Having remained in this place two months (for the ſeaſon of the year would not permit him to depart ſooner) he departed, and ſailed for Maſcate, from whence he diſpatched Vaſco Sylveire for India, to deſire a reinforcement of ſhips from Almeed. He touched next at the iſland of Socotora, where he contracted a diſtemper from the unwholeſomeneſs of the marſhy ſoil; ſo that for the recovery of his health he returned to Melinda.

Albuquerque, who by this time had come to the government of India, ſent Antony Noveiro to recal Alphonſo Norhona. He likewiſe ſent a letter to Lemos, informing him, that he had been lately ſo much diſtreſſed by the zamorin, and the other enemies of the Portugueſe, who always watched every opportunity to harraſs them, that he durſt not therefore, at that time, venture to leſſen his fleet; but as ſoon as theſe diſturbances were ſettled, he ſaid he would come himſelf to his aſſiſtance; for he had formed a deſign of ſailing to the Arabian ſea, to engage the ſultan's fleet, which he had

had been informed was to be there in a ſhort time. This report, however, proved groundleſs.

When Noveiro arrived at Ormuz, Lemos was not yet returned from Melinda. Mean while Francis Pereire Berred and Alphonſo Norhona, having gone aboard Noveiro's ſhip, went to ſea, to try what booty they could find. They took one very large ſhip, richly laden, belonging to Cambaya. Elated with this ſucceſs, they reſolved to wait no longer, and accordingly ſailed for India. After they had paſſed Baticale, they met with a moſt boiſterous ſtorm, and the pilot of the prize being an Arabian, ſteered her for the port of Dabul, where ſhe run upon the ſhelves, and was daſhed to pieces. The Portugueſe were made priſoners, and carried to Zabaim. Noveira, being harraſſed by the ſame ſtorm, attempted to make the port of Daman, but his veſſel was likewiſe ſhipwrecked. Alphonſo Norhona, and ſome others, having jumped into the ſea, endeavoured to ſave themſelves by ſwimming, but all of them periſhed: thoſe who remained on board were made priſoners by the king of Cambaya. Franciſco Pantoia, who had likewiſe been ſent to Socotora by Albuquerque, in his way thither, took a large ſhip called Meris. She had ſuffered greatly in the late ſtorm, and was commanded by a near relation of the king of Cambaya. When Pantoia reached Socotora, Duarte Lemos was then returned from Melinda: he claimed the Meris as his right, notwithſtanding all the remonſtrances made by Pantoia, becauſe ſhe had been taken in thoſe parts which were under his juriſdiction: he therefore took the ſhip, and all her cargo, into his power.

Lemos ſailed from thence to India, where he was received in the moſt honourable manner by Albuquerque, who uſed all poſſible means to procure his affection and eſteem; yet, notwithſtanding all his endeavours, he could not ſucceed. When he communicated to him his deſign of ſtorming Goa, Lemos did indeed promiſe him his aſſiſtance; but privately he run down this reſolution, and detracted from the reputation of Albuquerque, by ſaying that Goa could not be taken; or even if it could, it would be of no ſervice to the Portugueſe. This diſcourſe pleaſed many, and might have raiſed great diſſentions, had not Albuquerque, partly by diſſimulation, and partly by complaiſance, checked the growing evil; for he omitted nothing to ſoften this envious or ambitious man. However, he could not prevail on Lemos to perform his promiſe; for he would not give him the leaſt aſſiſtance to carry on the expedition againſt Goa. But it happened by a lucky chance, that the ſeeds of contention were happily removed; for ſoon after Goa was taken, there came ſhips from Portugal, with letters from Emanuel, wherein Lemos was ordered to deliver up his ſhips to Albuquerque, and return to Portugal.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

Voyage of Triſtan Cugno and Alphonſo Albuquerque to India.

A. D. 1506. THIS year a fleet of eleven ſhips was equipped for India, and Triſtan Cugno was appointed admiral. At the ſame time there were five more given to the command of Alphonſo Albuquerque, who was to ſucceed Almeed in the government of India.

Cugna reached Mozambique in December, where he wintered ſome of the fleet; but being ſeparated by ſtreſs of weather, all his ſhips could not make that place. Lopez Coſta was driven into the port of Sofala; Leonela Coutign put into Quiloa; Alvaro Tellez, with the utmoſt danger, at laſt made Cape Guardafau: here after he had repaired his ſhip, and refreſhed his men, he took ſeveral conſiderable Arabian prizes, and afterwards ſteered for Zocotora to join Triſtad Cugno.

Roderigo Pereira Coutign met likewiſe with very boiſterous weather, and was driven into a very pleaſant bay in the iſland of Madagaſcar. Whilſt he lay here, eighteen youths of the iſland rowed to his ſhip. Theſe he invited aboard, entertained them in the kindeſt manner, and decked them with cloaths. Two of them he ſo far engaged by his generoſity, that he prevailed on them to remain with, and carried them to Cugna at Mozambique.

Cugna having heard much concerning the extent of Madagaſcar, and at the ſame time not yet thinking it a proper ſeaſon to ſail for Socotora, he conſulted with Alphonſo Albuquerque, who approving of his reſolution, he determined to ſteer for that iſland, in order to inform himſelf of the manners, cuſtoms, and extent of the country, as well as the ſoil, which in outward appearance ſeemed extremely fertile. He took with him Alphonſo Albuquerque, Antonio Campo, Emanuel Tellez, Franciſco Tavura, John Gomez Abreo, Roderigo Pereira Coutign, and Triſtan Alvarez. The reſt of the commanders were left with the fleet at Mozambique. The admiral touched at ſome of the ports of that iſland, but when he attempted to land his men, he was oppoſed by a formidable body of the natives, of whom he killed ſeveral, and put the reſt to flight. He ſurveyed the whole coaſt lying towards Ethiopia, and intended to have ſailed round the iſland; but when he was about to double Cape St. Maria, a ſudden ſtorm ariſing, prevented his deſign being carried into execution. At this time Roderigo Pereira's ſhip having run upon the ſhelves, was ſunk, and the greateſt part of the crew periſhed. Cugna then gave a ſignal for the reſt of the ſhips to tack about, and he again ſhaped his courſe for Mozambique.

But John Gomez Abreo had turned the Cape before the ſtorm began, and cruizing along the ſouthern coaſt, diſcovered a river in Maratans, a province of that iſland. Here he intended to water, when all of a ſudden, ſeveral of the natives in ſmall boats ſurrounded the ſhip, and by their outward geſtures expreſſed the utmoſt friendſhip towards our people, offering them fiſh, roots, and ſugar canes, in great plenty. The Portugueſe captain, allured by the friendly behaviour of theſe people, ordered his pilot, a man verſed in many languages, to go aboard one of their boats, to endeavour to have a converſation with them; and, if poſſible, by preſents, to entice ſome of them to come aboard the ſhip; but as ſoon as they received the pilot, they plied their oars with

with ſo much vigour and dexterity, that they quickly got out of ſight of the Portugueſe. Their unexpected departure very much ſurpriſed Abreo: he immediately ordered the long boat to be got ready, and having furniſhed it with guns, he himſelf, with twenty-four more, went aboard. When he approached the ſhore, he ſaw the ſame boats with the pilot making towards him, without the leaſt apprehenſion of danger. The pilot, by ſigns, gave him to underſtand, that the people were friendly and hoſpitable, and that he ſhould therefore offer no hoſtilities. The pilot alſo told the Portugueſe that he had been introduced to the king, who behaved to him with the utmoſt humanity, having preſented him with a ſilver chain, together with rings and bracelets of the ſame metal, and had ſent him back, in his name, to congratulate the Portugueſe commander, and to ſolicit his friendſhip, which he was deſirous to cultivate and promote by all the ſervices in his power. Abreo being greatly taken with this courteous behavour, went aſhore, where he was met by the king, who by all poſſible methods endeavoured to gain his eſteem and affection. An entertainment was prepared in the manner of the country, nor was there any thing wanting which the iſland could afford, and the day was ſpent in agreeable converſation.

It being now almoſt ſunſet, the captain took his leave, and went aboard the long boat, when all of a ſudden the weather grew extremely boiſterous: the whole heavens was overſpread with darkneſs, and the ſea ran ſo prodigious high, that he could not return to the ſhip, but was detained on ſhore four days, when this ſtorm abated and the ſea became calm. But Abreo having cruized along the coaſts, without finding the ſhip, returned to the king, who again received him with all the marks of affection, and endeavoured to ſooth this dejected man by the moſt kind and hoſpitable uſage. But all his endeavours were ineffectual, for Abreo finding himſelf thus abandoned, and cut off from all hopes of ſeeing his native country, became quite inconſolable, and was ſo much affected with his misfortune, that he ſoon after pined away with melancholly and deſpair, as did alſo eight of his companions. The reſt having repaired the long boat, took leave of the king, who expreſſed the utmoſt regret at their departure, and directed their courſe for Mozambique. But in their way meeting with the ſhip commanded by Lucas Fonſeca ſailing for Sofala, they were taken aboard and conveyed to Mozambique.

Here it may be proper to give a ſhort deſcription of Madagaſcar, called the iſland of St. Laurence by the Portugueſe, who diſcovered it on that Saint's day. Its length is about twelve hundred miles, and in breadth about four hundred and eighty. The iſland is divided into many different kingdoms: the inhabitants in the inland parts are Pagans, but moſt of thoſe near the ſea coaſt are of the Mahometan religion. The natives are partly black and partly tawney in complexion, with ſhort woolly hair. The better ſort are cloathed in cotton, but the poorer people only cover their private parts. Any man there may have as many wives as he pleaſes. The country is extremely fertile, yielding fruits of all kinds with very little culture. The ground is covered with many delightful woods and foreſts, filled with trees of all ſorts, eſpecially the citron, which yields the moſt grateful fragrancy. The ſoil produces vaſt plenty of roots, which the natives uſe inſtead of bread. The ſugar-cane grows here in great abundance, and ginger alſo, which the people eat green, not knowing the art of drying and preſerving it. The iſland abounds in fine ſprings of the moſt excellent water, and there are likewiſe many ſilver mines in the country: in ſhort the place is very agreeable, and affords all the diverſions of fiſhing, hunting, and fowling. The natives are a people of

the utmoſt ſimplicity, and naturally humane in their diſpoſition. They knew nothing of navigation, having only a few boats for fiſhing. In war they made uſe of no other arms but light darts, but afterwards, by their communication with the Portugueſe, they gained more experience in warlike affairs. This much may at preſent ſuffice concerning the diſpoſition and manners of theſe iſlanders.

Triſtan Cugna having ſet out from Mozambique touched at Melinda, where he had a friendly conference with the king, to whom he gave ſeveral preſents from his Portugueſe majeſty. He then delivered to his care three perſons ſent by Emanuel as ambaſſadors to the king of Ethiopia, whom the Portugueſe uſed ignorantly to call Preſter John. One was a Portugueſe named Ferdinand Gomez Sardo; another a Moor called John Sancho, who had turned Chriſtian; the third was one Mahomed, an Arabian, born at Tunis. Theſe the king of Melinda took under his protection, promiſing that they ſhould be ſafely conducted to Ethiopia lying above Egypt.

Cugna having finiſhed his buſineſs at Melinda, now ſailed for Hoya, a city about eighty miles diſtant, which at that time waged war with the king of Melinda. Having taken this place by ſtorm, he plundered and burnt it, and killed ſeveral of the Arabians. He then proceeded to another city ſixty miles farther, which being unable to make reſiſtance, ſurrendered to Emanuel's arms, and agreed to pay a yearly tribute. He ſteered next for Brava, a ſtrong and well fortified city, and the moſt celebrated mart on that coaſt. Having anchored in this port, he immediately ſent Leonel Coutign to wait on the head inhabitants of the place, offering them peace in the name of Emanuel, and inviting them to a friendly alliance. They pretended not to be averſe to a treaty; but this was only a piece of diſſimulation, in order to detain the Portugueſe, for the ſeaſon was almoſt at hand, when ſuch boiſterous winds uſually blew in thoſe parts, as would daſh to pieces the very ſhips in the harbour. Cugna having diſcovered this artifice, reſolved immediately to aſſault the city. Before day-break he drew up his men on the ſhore, and formed them into two lines; the firſt, which conſiſted of nine hundred men, he gave to Alphonſo Albuquerque; and he himſelf headed the ſecond, in which there were ſix hundred ſoldiers. In the city there was a garriſon of four thouſand men; of theſe two thouſand immediately ſallied forth, and engaged the Portugueſe. The conflict was ſevere, but the Portugueſe charged the enemy with ſo much fury, that they at laſt obliged them to give ground. They made a regular retreat into the city, and ſhut the gates againſt the Portugueſe, who immediately ſurrounded the place, examining with the utmoſt carefulneſs where they could force an entrance. Mean while the enemy from the walls annoyed them with burning torches, and all manner of miſſive weapons. Albuquerque having at laſt diſcovered a weak part in the wall, began the attack there. The beſieged immediately flocked thither, and oppoſed the Portugueſe with amaſing intrepidity. The fight was continued with the utmoſt fury on both ſides, till Cugna came up, whoſe approach ſtruck ſuch a damp into the enemy, that they fled with great precipitation. The Portugueſe ſoldiers wanted to purſue them, but were reſtrained by their commander. The city being plundered, vaſt booty was carried aboard the ſhips. Great numbers of the enemy were ſlain, and many taken priſoners, but moſt of theſe were again ſet at liberty. The Portugueſe loſt about fifty of their men, and ſeveral were dangerouſly wounded; eighteen more periſhed in the long boat, which through inſatiable avarice they had loaded ſo immoderately that ſhe overſet: nay, ſo great was the inhumanity of the ſoldiers and ſailors, and ſuch their eagerneſs after ſpoil, that they cut off the arms of ſeveral women, to

come

come at their rings and bracelets the more readily. But Cugna having ſeverely puniſhed the authors of this cruelty, deterred others from the like barbarity. The city being plundered, Cugna ordered it to be fired, and thus it was reduced to aſhes, the enemy at a little diſtance beholding the diſmal ſpectacle.

He then ſteered for Magadoxo, whither, as he had done at Brava, he ſent Leonez Coutign with offers of peace and friendſhip. The people at this place made a very formidable appearance: great numbers of foot, and cuiraſſiers were patrolling on the ſhore; the walls of the city were lined with armed men, and a conſiderable body of troops were drawn up before it. Coutign being afraid to land, ſent one of the Bravan captives to let the people know, that the Portugueſe came not to denounce war, but to offer peace. In Coutign's ſight they tore the captive to pieces, and threatened to ſerve him in the ſame manner, if he ſhould dare to come aſhore. Coutign therefore returned to Cugna, to whom he related the cruelty and inſolent menaces of the enemy. Cugna was for ſtorming the city, but at the perſuaſions of all his officers and pilots, he dropt this reſolution. The place was almoſt inacceſſible, ſtrong by its natural ſituation, and defended by a numerous garriſon: the ſtation for our ſhips extremely dangerous, and very much expoſed to the enemy: beſides the winter was approaching faſt, and the ſeaſon for ſailing almoſt elapſed, ſo that if our people ſhould have miſcarried in this attempt, their fleet and army would in all probability have met with inevitable deſtruction.

Cugna therefore with all expedition ſailed for Socotora, where he quickly arrived with all his ſhips. This iſland is generally reckoned to be that formerly called Dioſcoridu. The country is very mountainous, and abounds in all kind of corn and fruits. The natives are tawny. They profeſs the Chriſtian religion: their churches are built after the manner of thoſe in Chriſtendom. They have croſſes on their altars, but make no uſe of images. They keep the ſame faſts as other Chriſtians, which they religiouſly obſerve with the ſtricteſt abſtinence, not even eating fiſh at ſuch times. They marry only one wife. They have likewiſe days ſet apart in honour of the ſaints, which thay celebrate with great ſolemnity, and they pay tythes out of their corn and fruits to their prieſts, with the utmoſt punctuality. But notwithſtanding they aſſume the name of Chriſtians, yet they ſeem to be quite ignorant of the doctrines of our holy religion. They know nothing of ſhipping, and are a people quite ſunk in lazineſs and indolence. Moreover, ſuch is their puſillanimity and want of ſpirit, that they tamely ſubmit themſelves to the yoke of a few Arabians, and when oppreſſed in the moſt grievous manner, they never once think of aſſerting their natural liberty. The king of Fartak, a province of Arabia Felix, at that time held them in the moſt miſerable thraldom; and, in order to take away from them all hopes of liberty, he had built a fort near the ſea, which he fortified and furniſhed with all manner of warlike ſtores, and appointed his ſon, a youth of great bravery, to reſide there as governor.

Cugna determined, if poſſible, to make himſelf maſter of this fort, that he might thereby deliver the Chriſtians from ſlavery. However, he firſt ſent a deputy to Abrahem, the king's ſon, commanding him immediately to evacuate the fort, and quit a country which his father had unjuſtly ſeized. Abrahem returned for anſwer, that being ſubject to his father alone, his orders he would punctually obey, but he deſpiſed the commands of any other monarch. He therefore bid the Portugueſe prepare for war; the affair, he ſaid, was not to be decided by empty words, but by force of arms.

Cugno

Cugna accordingly, with great expedition, got every thing ready for an aſſault, and ſounded the depth of the water in that part he thought moſt proper for a deſcent; but Abrahem in the night fortified that place, throwing up a trench, and ſtationing ſome ſoldiers for its defence. Cugna having ordered his men to go aboard their long boats, formed them into two diviſions, and he himſelf, at the head of the firſt, approaching the ſhore about day-break. Albuquerque who commanded the ſecond line, obſerved another place, which, the water being high the day before, appeared then very dangerous, but now it appeared quite otherwiſe; being reſolved, therefore, to perplex the enemy by a double danger, he ordered his men to row thither with all their vigour, where they accordingly landed, without the leaſt obſtruction. Cugna not obſerving this, made towards a grove of palm-trees oppoſite to where ſome of the enemy were poſted. Abrahem having marched out of the fort with a party of ſoldiers, was haſtening to reinforce thoſe who defended the trench; but having perceived Albuquerque and his men drawn up on the ſhore, he directly altered his courſe, and made towards the place where the greateſt danger ſeemed to threaten. Albuquerque, clad in armour, attacked him with vaſt intrepidity: Alphonſo Norhogna, one of Albuquerque's officers, at the ſame time likewiſe charged the enemy with great fury, ſo that they were at laſt obliged to retire; but Abrahem, in order to cover the retreat of his men into the fort, withſtood the ſhock of the Portugueſe with the utmoſt reſolution, and greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his gallant behaviour. He was at laſt left in the field with eight ſoldiers only. Norhogna obſerving this, haſtened to engage him ſingly: the conflict between theſe two commanders, while it laſted, was very ſevere, but it continued but a ſhort time; for the Portugueſe coming up, ſurrounded theſe few of the enemy, who ſeeing their fate inevitable, were reſolved to ſell their lives dear; they fought with the moſt deſperate reſolution, and, before they fell, wounded many of the Portugueſe.

Cugna, in the mean while, when endeavouring to land at the place he had fixed upon, was oppoſed by the enemy's ſoldiers poſted there for that purpoſe; but having attacked them very briſkly, he at laſt put them to flight, and the Portugueſe having got aſhore purſued the enemy. Albuquerque's party having met with the enemy flying to the fort, drove them back again with great precipitation; a few of them, however, got ſafe into the fort. Cugna being wholly intent on beſieging the fort, would not allow any of his men to purſue thoſe who fled. The Portugueſe therefore, purſuant to his orders, came before the place, and attempted to break down the gates, thinking that the enemy, being ſtruck with a panic, would make but a feint reſiſtance; but it happened quite otherwiſe, for the beſieged, from the towers, threw ſtones and all manner of miſſive weapons on the Portugueſe. Albuquerque was ſo ſtunned with the blow of a ſtone, that he continued ſpeechleſs a long time. Cugna then commanded a retreat to be ſounded, and ordered a large cannon and the ſcaling ladders to be brought aſhore. The piece being planted oppoſite the gates, ſoon demoliſhed them. The enemy ſeeing their gates broke down, knowing their numbers to be ſo ſmall, and that they could not withſtand the Portugueſe ruſhing in from all quarters, they therefore betook themſelves to the ſtrongeſt tower in the fort. The Portugueſe having forced their entrance, took poſſeſſion of another tower oppoſite to that which the beſieged intended to defend. The enemy made ſo gallant a defence, that Cugna was not a little concerned to think that ſuch brave fellows ſhould be thus ſlaughtered; he therefore gave them to underſtand, by an interpreter, that he would willingly ſave them, and give them liberty, on

condition

condition that they would ſurrender. They returned for anſwer, that they accounted an honourable death greatly preferable to a ſhameful ſurrender. The tower was at laſt taken, with the ſlaughter of all thoſe who defended it, excepting only one man, who proved a moſt excellent pilot. Of the Portugueſe there were only eight killed, and about the ſame number wounded.

The fort being thus taken, Cugna ſent a meſſenger to the inhabitants of the town, to let them know, that according to the king of Portugal's inſtructions, he had come into theſe parts to reſtore them to liberty; for Emanuel could not endure to think that a Chriſtian people ſhould any longer groan under the oppreſſion of the Arabians. The townſmen, with uplifted hands, returned thanks to heaven for this deliverance, and prayed for proſperity to Emanuel. Cugna and all the Portugueſe repaired to one of the Arabian moſques, which being purified and conſecrated, they performed divine worſhip there, and offered up thankſgiving for their ſucceſs. The fort having ſeveral additions made to its fortifications, Alphonſo Norhogna was appointed governor thereof, purſuant to the orders of Emanuel.

A.D. 1507. Cugna ſailed from thence for India on the 10th of Auguſt, and having anchored in the port of Cananor, made a treaty of peace with the prince of that place. He proceeded next for Cochin, where he was received by Almeed, the viceroy, with the higheſt marks of honour and affection. A few days after his arrival, Almeed having received intelligence that there were ſeveral Arabian ſhips, richly laden, lying in the port of Panane (a conſiderable town belonging to the zamorin, about fifty miles off,) eſcorted by a formidable fleet of Calicutian ſhips of war, under the command of one Curial, a commander of great experience, he reſolved to attack them in the harbour.

Triſtan Cugna offered his ſervice, and very readily joined him in this expedition. Almeed accordingly ſet out for Panane with twelve ſhips of war, drawn up in line of battle. The viceroy having taken a captive, was informed by him that the enemy's ſhips were not yet launched, but lay along the river in their docks; that Curial had fortified the mouth of the river on each ſide with a rampart, which was defended by a ſtrong body of ſoldiers; that the town likewiſe was ſtrongly fortified, and well garriſoned; and that Curial had under his command four thouſand men, partly Arabians, and partly naires, in the zamorin's ſervice.

Almeed had brought with him only ſeven hundred Portugueſe. With this body he attacked the enemy, of whom three hundred fell in this action. Many more perhaps would have been killed, but Almeed would not allow his men to purſue them to any great diſtance. The Portugueſe had only eighteen killed, but ſeveral were wounded. All the enemy's cannon was carried aboard the fleet.

Almeed having been thus ſucceſsful, departed from Cananor, from whence he ſent Triſtan Cugna with five ſhips, richly laden, for Portugal*.

* Oſorio.

CHAPTER VII.

Exploits of Albuquerque and Almeed by Sea in India.

A.D. 1509. AFTER the taking of Socotora, on the 20th of Auguſt, Cugna and Albuquerque parted, the former for India, the latter for the coaſts of Arabia and Perſia, in purſuance of the orders they had from the king. Albuquerque had with him ſeven ſail, and four hundred and ſixty fighting men. The firſt place he touched at in the kingdom of Ormuz, was Calayate, a town once very populous and ſtill beautiful and ſtrong, the buildings after the manner of Spain. He ſent a meſſage to the governor, who offered him refreſhment, and eſtabliſhed a peace.

He went on to Curiate, ten leagues farther, and was ill received. Storming the town, he met with a vigorous oppoſition, but entered it, after killing eighty of the enemy, and the loſs of three Portugueſe. After plundering the place, he burnt it, together with fourteen veſſels that were in the harbour.

From hence he ſailed eight leagues farther, to Maſcate, a place ſtronger than any of the others, and full of people, who reſorted to it from all parts, hearing the deſtruction of Curiate. The governor fearing the like diſaſter, made peace, and ſent great ſtore of proviſions, and the Portugueſe went aſhore for water; but on a ſudden the cannon of the town began to do great execution on the Portugueſe ſhips, which drew off haſtily, not knowing the cauſe of this turn, till ſome time after they underſtood that two thouſand men, ſent by the king of Ormuz for the defence of the place, were juſt arrived, and their officers refuſed to ſtand to the peace. Albuquerque had received no ſmall damage from the great cannon, which was played very ſmartly; but landing his men at break of day, he aſſaulted the town ſo courageouſly and fortunately, that as the Portugueſe entered in at one gate, the Moors ran out at another. The place was plundered.

This done, he ſailed to Soar, all the inhabitants whereof fled, except the governor and ſome of the Moors, who offered it up to Albuquerque, and received it back to hold of king Emanuel, paying the ſame tribute he had given to the governor of Ormuz.

He then ſailed for Orfucum, fifteen leagues farther, where he found little to do, the inhabitants having deſerted it. The town was plundered for three days, during which time he prepared to enter into the harbour of Ormuz.

The city of Ormuz is ſituated in a little iſland called Gerum, at the mouth of the Perſian gulph, about three leagues in compaſs, ſo barren that it produces nothing but ſalt and ſulphur. The buildings of the city are ſumptuous; it is the great market of all goods brought thither from the eaſt, weſt, and north; which is the reaſon, that though it has nothing of its own, it abounds in all things, and is plentifully ſupplied from the province of Mogaſtam, and the iſlands Quixome, Lareque, and others. About the year 1273, king Malec Caez poſſeſſed all the lands from the iſland Gerum to that of Baharem, and bordered upon the king of Gordunxa, of the province of Mogaſtam. This king, artfully obtaining of Malec the iſland of Gerum, as a place of no worth, after he was fortified therein, drove him out of all his country; and tranſlating the city of Ormuz, where the king kept his court before, to this iſland, he grew ſo formidable, that the king of Perſia, fearing he would refuſe to pay the tribute the other had done, prepared to invade him; but the king of Gordunxa prevented him, by impoſing on himſelf



Silva pinx.t *Wooding Sculp.t*

Engraved for a General Collection of Voyages, from an Authenticated Copy from the Royal Printing house at Lisbon.

himſelf a yearly tribute, and offering to do him homage, by his ambaſſadors, every five years.

In this tyrant began the city and kingdom of Ormuz, afterwards poſſeſſed by his heirs and others, for the moſt part violently. When Albuquerque arrived there, Ceyſadim, a youth of twelve years of age, reigned, and over him Coje Atar, a man ſubtil and courageous, who hearing what had been done by Albuquerque, made preparations, laying an embargo on all the ſhips in the harbour, and hiring troops from the neighbouring provinces, Perſians, Arabians, and others, ſo that when Albuquerque came, there were in the town thirty thouſand fighting men; among them four thouſand Perſians, moſt expert archers; and in the harbour four hundred veſſels, ſixty of conſiderable bulk, with two thouſand five hundred men.

Albuquerque was not ignorant of the reception deſigned him; but to ſhew thoſe people the greatneſs of his reſolution, he entered that port about the end of September, and came to anchor between five of their greateſt ſhips. To excite terror, he fired his cannon, and the ſhore was ſoon covered with above eight thouſand men. Receiving no meſſage from the king, he ſent on board the largeſt of thoſe ſhips, which came from Cambaya, and ſeemed to ride admiral, the captain whereof preſently came on board Albuquerque's ſhip, and was received by him with civility and ſtate. Albuquerque told him he had orders from Emanuel to take the king of Ormuz into his protection, and grant him leave to trade in thoſe ſeas, provided he paid a reaſonable tribute; but if he refuſed, his orders were to make war. It was doubtleſs no ſmall preſumption to offer a king the liberty of his own ſeas, and impoſe conditions upon him, with only four hundred and ſixty men againſt thirty thouſand, and ſeven ſhips to four hundred; but the ſucceſs juſtified theſe proceedings, and verified thoſe actions, which to ſome have appeared fabulous. The Moor delivered this meſſage to the king and his governor Coje Atar, and preſently returned one Coje Beyrame, excuſing their not having ſent to know what we demanded in that port, and promiſed the governor would come next day to treat. He came not, but the meſſages continued, only in order to gain time to fortify the city, and receive further ſupplies. Albuquerque ſaw into the deſign, and told Beyrame he need only return with the acceptation of peace as offered, or the declaration of war. He brought anſwer, that the city of Ormuz uſed not to pay but to receive tribute. Night coming on, it appeared they prepared to fight, by the noiſe of warlike inſtruments, and ſhouts that was heard from the walls and ſhips. The morning diſcovered the walls, ſhore, and veſſels, covered with armed men; the windows and tops of the houſes filled with both ſexes and all ages, as ſpectators of what ſhould enſue. Albuquerque having held a council, and given neceſſary orders, began to play his cannon furiouſly, and was anſwered by the enemy. They taking the advantage of the ſmoke, which hindered the ſight, attacked the Portugueſe ſhips with one hundred and thirty boats, well manned, which did ſome damage with ſhowers of arrows, but received more, many being ſunk, and the reſt forced to retire by the Portugueſe artillery. Yet they made a ſecond attack, but were ſo received, that the ſea was coloured with blood.

By this time Albuquerque had ſunk two of the great ſhips, and taken a third, though with great oppoſition, forcing the Moors to leap into the ſea. The mean time the other captains had maſtered other ſhips, and perceiving themſelves victorious ran along the ſhore, and ſet fire to above thirty ſhips, which cutting their cables, were drove flaming upon the Perſian coaſt, where they burnt others that lay aground. This ſtruck ſo great a terror into all the multitude, that they fled for ſhelter to the city, and Coje

Atar ſent to offer all that Albuquerque had demanded, who ſtopped further proceedings, but perceiving the deceitfulneſs of the Moor, threatened a greater effect of his anger in caſe he perſiſted in acting deceitfully.

Albuquerque loſt only ten men in this action, but moſt of the enemy's veſſels, with vaſt riches, were either ſunk, burnt, or torn to pieces, and one thouſand ſeven hundred of them killed.

Coje Atar, conſidering the damage received, and what might enſue, called a council, where it was agreed to ſubmit to what was demanded by Albuquerque. The articles were drawn, and ſworn to by both parties; their ſubſtance was, that the king of Ormuz did ſubmit himſelf to king Emanuel, with the tribute of fifteen thouſand xeraphins yearly (a xeraphin is worth about half a crown) and ſhould aſſign the Portugueſe a place to build a fort. The fort was immediately begun, and much advanced in a few days, but Coje Atar could not bear with it. He pretended ambaſſadors were come to receive the tribute they uſed to pay the king of Perſia, and therefore deſired Albuquerque to give them an anſwer, ſince his king was now ſubject to the crown of Portugal. He gueſſed at the deſign, and bid Coje Atar ſend ſomebody to him who might carry the anſwer; the meſſengers being come, he put into their hands bullets and ſpears, telling them that was the coin the tribute ſhould be paid in. Coje Atar finding his plot fail, endeavoured to corrupt the Portugueſe with money. He prevailed with five ſeamen, (one of them a founder, who caſt ſome cannon there,) to deſert.

Albuquerque began to revenge this affront, but with little ſucceſs, becauſe the captains employed, oppoſed it. Coje Atar perceiving this, at night fired a boat that was building on the ſhore, and one of the Portugueſe deſerters cried from the wall, Alfonſo de Albuquerque, defend the boat with your four hundred men, and you ſhall meet ſeven hundred archers. Albuquerque burning with rage, attempted to fire ſome ſhips in the arſenal, and failed. He reſolved to beſiege the city, and having taken ſome that carried in proviſions, cut off their hands, ears and noſes, and ſent them in to the great terror of all. There was a hot diſpute about filling up ſome wells that ſupplied the beſieged, inſomuch that they were filled with carcaſſes of men and horſes, the captain and guard that maintained them being all ſlain. The king and Coje Atar came to ſecond this action, and Albuquerque was in great danger, his retreat being cut off, but a fortunate cannon ball opened a way, putting the enemies horſe into confuſion. Albuquerque in theſe actions found his men ill diſpoſed to obey; among the reſt, three captains reſolving to leave him and ſail for India. This troubled Albuquerque, yet he reſolved not to deſiſt, though two captains that ſtaid with him oppoſed him, deſirous to accompany the others; but he uſed them with ſuch ſeverity, that they were forced to obey him. From Baharem to Queixome, a fleet ſailed with relief of men and proviſions. Albuquerque having perſued, and miſſing of it, returned to Queixome, and fell upon five hundred archers ſent to the king of Ormuz by him of Lara, under the command of his two nephews, and ſlew them and moſt of their men, having but eighty with him; the brothers he ſent to Coje Atar as a preſent. The town was burned. Finding he had but few men left wherewith to continue his enterprize, and thoſe harraſſed, and winter coming on, he reſolved to go to Zocotora, and gave leave to John de Nova to ſail for India.

Whilſt this happened at Ormuz, the ſoldan of Cayre ſet out a fleet of twelve ſail, and fifteen hundred men, commanded by Mir Hozem, to oppoſe the Portugueſe in India. The timber whereof theſe ſhips were built, was cut in the mountains of Dalmatia,

matia, by procurement of the Venetians. A nephew of the ſoldan carried it in twenty-five ſhips, with eight hundred mamalukes, beſides ſeamen. Andrew de Amarall, a Portugueſe, commanded then the gallies of Malta; he knowing that timber was deſigned againſt the Portugueſe in India, attacked the twenty-five ſhips of the enemy, with ſix hundred men in four gallies and ſix ſhips; and after a ſharp engagement that laſted three hours, took ſeven and ſunk five, the reſt fled to Alexandria, whence the timber was carried up the Nile to Caïro, and thence on camels to Suez.

At this time the viceroy, don Franciſca de Almeyda, was upon the coaſt of Malabar, and had ſent his ſon don Lorenço to guard thoſe of Cananor and Cochin, and ran as far as Chaul with eight ſhips. On his way he took ſome ſhips of the Moors. Chaul is ſeated on the bank of a river two leagues from the ſea; one of the chief of that coaſt for greatneſs and trade, ſubject to the Nizam Aluco, by whoſe order don Lorenco was well received. They had ſome intelligence of this fleet of the ſoldan, but gave no credit to it, till it appeared in ſight as don Lorenço was diverting himſelf on ſhore with his officers. They haſted to the ſhips, giving ſuch orders as the ſhortneſs of the time permitted, and were ſcarce aboard when the enemy entered the harbour, with many demonſtrations of joy, deſigning to board the Portugueſe admiral, and the reſt of the ſhips to board the others. The Portugueſe were ſo placed, that the enemy paſſed between them, and Mir Hozem coming up with don Lorenço, poured in ball, arrows, granadoes, and other fire works, but was ſo well anſwered, that he gave over the reſolution of boarding, though the Portugueſe veſſel was much leſs than his. The others had the like ſucceſs, and ſo paſſed on; night approaching, they prepared themſelves for the next morning.

Don Lorenço gave the ſignal of battle, and endeavoured to board Mir Hozem; the like was done by the others, but only two gallies ſucceeded, which took two of the enemy, having put all their men to the ſword. Mean while the cannon was furiouſly played on both ſides. Don Lorenço ſeemed to have the upper hand, when Melique Az, lord of Diu, came with a great number of ſmall veſſels well manned, to the aſſiſtance of Mir Hozem. Don Lorenço ſent two gallies and three caravels to hinder the approach of that relief. They executed it ſo effectually, that they obliged him to fly to another place for ſhelter, and the fight continued till night parted them, each ſtriving to conceal his loſs from the other. The Portugueſe captains met in council, the reſult was, that it was a raſhneſs to perſiſt in that enterprize, Melique Az being ſo near with ſuch powerful aſſiſtance, that it was convenient to take the open ſea, either in order to eſcape, or to fight with leſs diſadvantage. Don Lorenço reſolutely expected the morning, only making ſome motion to ſave the ſhips of Cochin that were in great danger. Melique Az imagining this motion was in order to fly, launched out from his retreat, not at all daunted to ſee many of his veſſels torn in pieces by the cannon, and charged briſkly; then don Lorenço's ſhip running foul of ſome ſtakes that were drove in the river, made ſo much water, there was no preventing her ſinking, though don Lorenço laboured indefatigably till a ball broke his thigh, and ordering himſelf to be ſet againſt the main maſt, where he ſtood encouraging his men, till another ball broke his back. The body was thrown under deck, and followed down by Laurence Freyre Gato his page, who bewailed him with tears of blood as well as water, being ſhot through the eye with an arrow. After a vigorous reſiſtance the Moors entered the ſhip, and found the page by his maſter's body, who riſing to defend it, killed as many as covered it, and then died upon them. The ſhip ſunk at laſt. Of above one

one hundred men that were with don Lorenço, only nineteen eſcaped; in all the ſhips were loſt one hundred and forty; of the enemy ſix hundred. The other captains got to Cochin (where the viceroy was) with the news of his ſon's death, which he received with wonderful reſolution.

A. D. 1508. This year, about the beginning of April, ſeventeen ſhips ſailed from Liſbon, which being all ſeparated by bad weather, at length met at Mozambique, except one that was caſt away on the iſlands of Triſtan de Cugna; theſe ſhips, with thoſe of the foregoing year, came together to India, and gave courage to the Portugueſe to reſiſt their enemies. The king ordered that don Franciſco de Almeyda ſhould reſign the government to Alfonſo de Albuquerque, and return home in one of the trading ſhips. But he ſuſpended the execution of this order. Previous to this were the actions of Albuquerque at Ormuz and Socotora, where he wintered and relieved the Portugueſe, who were there oppreſſed by famine. To this effect he went himſelf with his ſhip to Cape Guardafu, and ſent Francis de Tavora towards Melinde, and two veſſels to Cape Fum, to make prize of ſome ſhips for their proviſions; they found what they ſought, and ſo put a ſtop to the growing evil. He then reſolved for Ormuz, though too weak to effect what he intended, yet at leaſt to ſound the deſigns of that king and his friend Coje Atar. By the way he reſolved to be revenged on Calayate for injuries done to ſome Portugueſe. This town is ſeated beyond Cape Siagro, called alſo Cape Roſalgate, at the mouth of the Perſian gulph. On the back of it is a mountain, which has only ſome paſſes, that open a communication to the neighbouring country. One of theſe paſſes is juſt oppoſite to the town through which is managed moſt of the trade of that province of the Arabs called Ayaman, becauſe (as they ſay) firſt inhabited by people of that name, which ſignifies plenty, or abundance. This land is full of populous cities, fruitful, and of great trade. Albuquerque no ſooner arrived, but he landed and entered the town, ſome of the inhabitants flying to the mountains, and others being ſlain in the ſtreets. Albuquerque ſtaid there three nights, upon one of which one thouſand Moors entered the town by ſurprize, and did much hurt; but the Portugueſe gathering, killed many, put the reſt to flight, and burned the place. They got great quantity of proviſions, which was moſt of the booty, and arrived at Ormuz the 13th of September. Alfonſo de Albuquerque preſently advertiſed the king and Coje Atar of his arrival, and they anſwered, that as for the tribute of fifteen thouſand xeraphins they were ready to pay it, but would not conſent to build the fort. He therefore reſolved again to beſiege the iſland, and ordered Martin Coello, with his ſhip, to guard the point Turumbaca, where the wells are; James de Melo he poſted oppoſite to the iſland Queixome, he and Francis de Tavora lay before the city. Thence he viewed the growth of the fort, for Coje Atar had finiſhed it, making uſe of what the Portugueſe had began, the better to oppoſe them. The ſucceſs was much the ſame as the other time, but he was in great danger himſelf, and Diego de Melo, with eight private men, being killed, he returned to India, having taken a ſhip that carried much pearl from Baharem, and Francis de Tavora took one of Mecca.

The viceroy having ſent Albuquerque to Cochin, and diſpatched the trading ſhips homeward bound, under Fernando Soerez and Ruy de Cunna, who periſhed by the way, and ordered other matters, ſailed on the 12th of December from Cananor towards Diu in purſuit of Mir Hozem. He had with him nineteen veſſels of different ſizes, and in them ſixteen hundred ſoldiers and ſeamen, whereof four hundred were Malabars. All India was alarmed at this motion of the viceroy, but chiefly the Zamorin

and

and Melique Az, who had uſed all neceſſary precautions to ſecure himſelf againſt this danger. The viceroy being landed with his officers in the delightful iſland, Anchediva, made them a grave and learned ſpeech, touching upon the great actions performed, and reflecting upon the damage received from the Turks; ſhewed how much they were obliged to God, their king and country, to revenge that defect, and the death of his ſon, with many more circumſtances, and concluded, that the more to terrify the enemy, it were convenient firſt to fall upon the city Dabul. On the 30th of December the Portugueſe entered the port and took it. He gave leave to plunder, which was hindered by the ſudden firing of the town, ſo that in a few hours it was reduced to a heap of aſhes, and therefore the booty did not exceed one hundred and fifty thouſand ducats. It was afterwards known that the viceroy was the cauſe of the conflagration, fearing the men, taken up with thoſe riches, might retard his other deſign. The ſhips in the harbour ſuffered the ſame fate, with no ſmall confuſion among the Portugueſe ſhips, the crews of which were ſcarce able to endure the flames ſo near them. The viceroy had laid in no great ſtore of proviſions, not doubting to get enough along that coaſt; but very little was found here, where moſt was expected, the furious flames having devoured all. He thought to remedy this, by ſending to the neighbouring villages, but he was again diſappointed, becauſe all were deſtroyed by the multitude of locuſts.

The viceroy parted from Dabul without proviſions, hoping to get them along the coaſt. Payo de Souſa run up a river in his galley, having ſeen ſome cattle upon the ſhore, and hoping to take ſome of them; the owners oppoſed, and killed him and George Guedez. James Mendez ſucceeded in the command of the galley, and met another paſſing from Diu to Dabul, which was well manned, and commanded by a courageous and expert Turk, who no ſooner diſcovered the Portugueſe galley, but, keeping his men cloſe, ſo that only they that rowed were in ſight, he drew on James Mendez to board him without ſuſpecting any danger, when the Turks that were hid immediately ruſhed out, and nearly took the Portugueſe galley, but the crew recovering themſelves, gained their galley with the death of all the Turks, without loſing one of their own men. The chief prize taken was a noble and beautiful Hungarian young woman, who was brought to the viceroy, and by him given to Gaſper de la India, who gave her to James Pereyra of Cochin, and he married her for her virtuous qualities, ſo well ſuiting with her birth and beauty.

Farther on they took in the river of Bombaim, a bark, with twenty-four Moors of Guzerat, by whoſe means the governor ſent ſome ſheep and rice, whilſt cattle was brought from other places. The ſame was done at the fort of Maim; for the people terrified at what had happened at Dabul, fled to the mountains.

The viceroy arrived at Diu on the 2d of February. Melique Az,
A.D.1509. lord of this city, was about twenty leagues off, with his army againſt Reſbuti, but had ſtill advice of the motions of the Portugueſe fleet, which ſcarce anchored before the city, when, with wonderful celerity, he flew thither. He had already uſed precaution, that Mir Hozem might not perceive how little he was inclined to aſſiſt him; and that he might not altogether exaſperate the viceroy, as both of them equally feared him. The viceroy conſidered the ſtrong ſituation of the place, which was much improved by art, alſo the courage and conduct of Melique Az, and Mir Hozem, and the number of above two hundred veſſels well manned, and furniſhed with all things neceſſary. Having called a council, it was reſolved, that Nunno Vaz Pereira ſhould be the forlorn hope with his ſhip, in which were one hundred and twenty

twenty fighting men, moſt gentlemen, and of known valour. He was to be ſeconded by George de Melo, with the like number, who was to be followed by Peter Barreto de Magallanes, and he by Francis de Tavora, then Garcia de Souſa, and ſo the other veſſels, carrying from twenty-five to eighty men each. The night was ſpent, particularly on the ſide of the Portugueſe, in preparing for the battle, as the danger was to be encountered next morning. Accordingly, between nine and ten in the morning, when there was flood enough for the ſhips to ſwim, the admiral gave the ſignal for entering the port. The veſſels of Melique Az ran to hinder the entrance of the Portugueſe, ſhowering bullets and arrows, which immediately ſlew ten men in James Perez's galley that led the way to Nunno Vaz; yet Nunno preſſed forward, and pouring his ſhot among the great ſhips, ſunk one. He was in great danger, however, between two of them, when George de Melo came up with ſuch fury, that running foul of one of the two he drove it upon that of Nunno Vaz, and thereby gave way to Sebaſtian de Miranda to board it, which he performed. Then George de Melo went on to another, as did the other captains in like manner. The viceroy, in the midſt of the enemy's veſſels, gave them a ſufficient diverſion, that they might not hinder the other ſhips from what they were doing; and though they did him ſome damage with their continual fire, he deſtroyed them with his, till the paroas of Calicut fled, ſpreading the news along the ſhore that the Turks were victorious. Mir Hozem being wounded, in deſpair ſlipped out of his ſhip, diſguiſed, into a brigantine, and thence to ſhore, where taking horſe, he never ſtopped till he came before the king of Cambaya, no leſs fearful of the fury of the Portugueſe than the falſehood of Melique Az, who had aſſiſted him with his veſſels. The abſence of Mir Hozem did not diſcourage thoſe in his veſſel; for being boarded, they never yielded, but were all ſlain. A great ſhip belonging to Melique being attempted by ſome of the Portugueſe, who were not able to carry her, the viceroy diſcharged all his cannon upon her, and ſunk her. Antony de Campo took a galley. Ruy Soarez, one of the laſt in order of battle, but not in courage, running through all, placed himſelf before the city, and playing moſt dexterouſly, took two gallies, having forced the crews to quit them, in ſuch a manner, that the viceroy ſeeing him at a diſtance, in a glorious emulation cried out, "Who is that who ſo much "excels the reſt? Oh that I were he!"—The victory being now no longer doubtful, becauſe ſome harm was done us by the artillery on the ſhore, the viceroy made up to the ſhips, where the Portugueſe gallies and other leſſer veſſels killed all that leaped into the ſea, ſo that the water was the colour of blood.

This victory was not cheap, for the Portugueſe loſt near forty men. Of the enemy above 1500 were killed. The ſhips being plundered, there were great riches found in them; and by the great variety of books in ſeveral languages, it was judged, the men were of ſundry nations; among the books were ſome Latin, Italian and Portugueſe. Of all the veſſels that were taken, the viceroy ordered four ſhips and two gallies ſhould be preſerved, the reſt were burned. The victory would have been more glorious, had not the conquered been treated with ſuch barbarous cruelty, that many, not without reaſon, judged the unhappy end of the viceroy and other gentlemen, to be a juſt puniſhment of that crime.

Next morning Melique Az pretending to be much pleaſed with the viceroy's victory, ſent Cide Ale, a Moor of Granada to wiſh him joy. There was a report, that the city was in a great conſternation, fearing the conqueror would aſſault it, and that many were filled with this apprehenſion. The Portugueſe finding the viceroy inclined to admit

mit Melique Az his deceitful congratulation, began to mutter, and complain that he ſtopped the courſe of his good fortune, which the enemies began now to fear. He, calling together the principal men, told them, that he had no regard to Melique Az, but to the king of Cambaya, who was a friend, and whoſe city that was; that the town was ſtrong and they were tired; that of twelve hundred men he commanded, only ſix hundred were able to bear arms; that though the town was taken, it could not be maintained; and that they might be revenged againſt Melique Az on his trading ſhips. All agreed there ſhould be no more ſaid of the aſſault, and to give ear to the Moor. The viceroy received him courteouſly, and told him, that two motives chiefly brought him to that port, the one to be revenged on the Turks, the other to recover the Portugueſe that were taken, and who were to him, as his children. The firſt doing he had obtained, and the ſecond he muſt gain by having them delivered to him; that they ſhould alſo deliver to him all the artillery and ammunition belonging to the Turks that were in the ſhips haled in, and they ſhould be burned. All this ſeemed little to Melique Az, and was performed with ſuch expedition and exactneſs, that he ſettled a profitable peace with the viceroy, who left one of the priſoners there to load two ſhips with ſuch things as were wanting at Cochin and Cananor. He diſpatched don Antonia de Norhona with proviſions, and ſome of the booty of the ſhips, to relieve his brother, don Alfonſo, at Zocotora. Then the viceroy ſailed, and arriving at Chaul; whoſe king terrified with the late victory, became tributary. Paſſing by Cananor, he was there recieved with honour, and at Cochin in a triumphant manner; but before he had laid aſide his feſtive ornaments, he was accoſted by Alfonſo de Albuquerque, preſſing him to deliver up the government according to the king's orders. The anſwer was, he ſhould give him leiſure to put off that heavy robe, and there would be time enough afterwards. Albuquerque preſſed, and the viceroy delayed.

The king of Cochin, urged by theſe diviſions, delayed the lading with pepper of two ſhips that were to return home, till Albuquerque was poſſeſſed of the government. In fine, the viceroy ſent Albuquerque priſoner to Cananor, where he was courteouſly entertained by the governor, who then was Lawrence de Brito, to whom in a few days the viceroy wrote, that he ſhould treat his priſoner as one who ſoon muſt govern India.

King Emanuel being informed of the preparations made by the ſoldan of Caïro at Suez, reſolved to ſend a powerful relief to India. This conſiſted of fifteen ſail, commanded by don Fernando Coutinho, who had an extraordinary power given him, the king (as was thought) having ſome idea of the diſagreement which was like to be between the viceroy and Albuquerque. Nothing of note happened till he arrived at Cananor, whence he carried Alfonſo de Albuquerque to Cochin, treating him as governor of India. Though there paſſed ſome acts of civility between the viceroy and Coutinho, the reſt was not ſuitable; for the ſhip he had prepared to paſs to Portugal, was denied him, and he was obliged to take another he had no mind to. He ſailed with two more on the 19th of November, and had fair weather till he paſt the Cape of Good Hope, when he ſaid, now (God be praiſed) the witches of Cochin are liars, who ſaid we ſhould not paſs this cape. He put into the bay of Saldanna, to take water; and ſome men going to exchange goods with the blacks, a ſervant of the viceroy treated two of them ſo ill, that they knocked out his teeth, and ſent him away bloody. Some gentlemen looking upon this as an affront, perſuaded the viceroy to go on ſhore, when they ought to have adviſed him to puniſh his ſervant for abuſing people where they ſought relief. He yielded to this, but ſo much againſt his will, that as he

went into the boat he ſaid, " Ah! whither, and to what end do they now carry me " at ſixty years?" Hereby declaring, that was an action of youth. There went with him one hundred and fifty, the flower of the ſhips. They paſſed on to a miſerable village, and returned with ſome cattle and children; when, one hundred and ſeventy blacks coming down from the mountain, whither they had fled, attacked them in defence of their children, caſting ſtakes with ſharp points, hardened in the fire, ſo furiouſly, that in a little time they killed fifty gentlemen, and among them the viceroy, who died kneeling on the ſand, with his eyes lifted up to heaven, ſtruck through the throat with one of theſe ſtakes. George de Melo returned with the wounded men to the ſhips, and when he thought the blacks were withdrawn, went aſhore and buried the viceroy and the reſt. George de Melo carried the news to Liſbon, where it was received with great grief.

Alfonſo de Albuquerque, now poſſeſſed of the government, prepared to fall upon Calicut, with don Fernando Coutinho. The deſign was kept private, but the zamorin provided, as did all the princes of that coaſt, when the Portugueſe were in motion. They ſet out from Cochin with thirty veſſels and one thouſand eight hundred men, beſides ſome boats of Malabars, who followed in hopes of plunder. They arrived at Calicut the
A. D. 1510. ſecond of January, conſulted about the difficulty and manner of landing, and ordered that part of the fleet which belonged to Albuquerque, ſhould be committed to the care of his nephew don Antonio de Norhona; and Coutinhos part to Rodrigo. Every one ſtrove to be ſo poſted as to land firſt. The Portugueſe were in arms all night, and ſo tired in the morning, that they had more mind to ſleep than to land, though the deſire of landing had kept them from ſleep; but they ſoon recovered, the ſignal being given, and the cannon firing. Coutinho had eight hundred men, and ſome field pieces: Albuquerque had the ſame number, and beſides them ſix hundred Malabars. They marched with more confuſion than order, each ſtriving to be foremoſt; the firſt attacked the bulwark of Cerame with George de Cunna and Francis de Souſa; they found there ſix hundred men, who made a vigorous reſiſtance, till Albuquerque coming up, they quitted it. Albuquerque being fearful of the diſorder of his men, gave notice to Coutinho, who running with all ſpeed to his relief, and the colours being already ſet up, judging it had rather been a contrivance of the governor, than diſorder of the men, took the liberty to ſay unto him, " What means this Sir? Was you ambitious the rabble of Liſbon ſhould report you " were the firſt at taking Calicut, which you ſo extol to the king? But I ſhall go to " Liſbon and tell the king I could have entered it with only this cane in my hand. " And ſince I find no body to fight with, I will not be ſatisfied till I enter the palace of " the zamorin, and dine in one of his rooms." This ſaid, without expecting the anſwer Albuquerque was about to make, he marched with his men towards that palace, where the zamorin was not. He was tired when he reached it, being above five leagues from the ſhore, the road encumbered with palm trees; and having marched hard, and met with oppoſition by the way, he reſted a while in a plain before the palace. Which being then attacked, though well defended, was entered; the Moors flying to the mountains. The Portugueſe now poſſeſſed of the palace, began plundering without ſhame or ſenſe of honour, and with as much diſorder, as if their enemy had been deſtroyed. The enemy now reinforced, returned, and falling upon their diſordered men, put all into confuſion, killing many under their burthens, and doing great

great harm, though Vaſco de Sylveyra ſignalized himſelf, killing two of their chiefs, whom they call caymales. In the mean time Albuquerque had entered the city, and fired it; and having nothing to employ him, marched to ſee what Coutinho had done. He found all about the palace thronged with armed men, and that Coutinho was within in imminent danger. Finding it beſt to hinder the enemies from preſſing upon him, he ſent him word he waited his coming. Coutinho did not anſwer till the third meſſage, and then returned, that Albuquerque might march, and he would follow, being buſy in gathering his men, who were diſperſed about the houſe. Albuquerque marched, and the enemy preſſed him, doing great damage, till news was brought that Coutinho's life was in great danger. He endeavoured to return to his relief, but was hindered by the multitude of the enemy, who ſlew many of his men, and wounded him with a dart in the throat, and a ſtone in the head, in ſuch a manner that he was carried ſenſeleſs to the ſhore. By this time Coutinho and many more were ſlain in the palace, and ſeveral on the way, being oppreſſed by the multitude, and ſpent with the labour and heat, and ſtifled with the duſt, doubtleſs would have all periſhed, if James Mendez Vaſconcellos, and Simon de Angrade, whom Albuquerque left in the city with two thouſand men, had not ſtopt the fury of the enemy, and obliged them to retire. There happened as great a conteſt about being the laſt on ſhore, as had been about landing firſt, not conſidering that all their misfortune had proceeded from that fooliſh diſpute. At laſt they ſailed, having loſt eighty men, and among them many of note, of which Coutinho was one. Albuquerque being come to himſelf, gave ſeveral orders at ſea, and diſpatched the trading ſhips homeward bound; and when arrived at Cochin, made preparations for a third attempt upon the iſland Ormuz.

We ſhall now endeavour to give ſome account of what was done by two of the captains ſpoken of in the beginning of the chapter. One of theſe two captains was Duarte de Lemos, who, after a ſtorm, arrived at the place called Medones de Oro, from thence he went to Madagaſcar, or the iſland of St. Lawrence, and thence to Mozambique, where the reſt of his ſquadron joined him. George de Aguiar being loſt he took upon him the command of the coaſt of Ethiopia and Arabia, given him by the king, that government being then divided into three parts. From Mozambique he ſailed to Melinda; then ſet out to viſit ſome iſlands of that coaſt, that had neglected to pay the uſual tribute to Quiloa ſince it was taken. Monfia ſubmitted immediately; Zanzibar made reſiſtance, but the people were drove to the mountains, and the town plundered. At Pemba the ſame happened, the inhabitants flying to Mombaza, leaving nothing in their houſes; but ſome little plunder was taken in a fort whither the ſheik had conveyed ſuch things as he had not time to ſecure otherwiſe. Lemos gave the neceſſary orders at Melinda, particularly in relation to the factory for the trade of Zofala. Hence he ſailed with ſeven ſail for the coaſt of Arabia; one veſſel commanded by Gregory de Quadra, was inſenſibly ſeparated from the reſt in the night on the coaſt of Magadoxa, and carried by the current to the mouth of the Red ſea, where the city Zeila is ſeated, and was there taken. Lemos reſolved to take a view of Ormuz, and managed the towns of that coaſt more with cunning than force. The ſame at Ormuz, where he received of the king and Coje Atar, the fifteen thouſand xeraphins, impoſed on them as tribute by Albuquerque, and was well treated. Hence he ſent to India, Vaſco de Sylveyra, who was killed at Calicut. Then he ſailed to Zocotora, and gave the command of that fort to Peter Ferreira, ſending to India, don Antonio de Norhona, who took a rich ſhip of the Moors which being manned by ſome Portugueſe, was caſt

away in a ſtorm between Dabul and Goa, and the men made priſoners: his own ſhip was ſtranded in the bay of Cambaya, where he and ſome others endeavouring to eſcape in the boat, were all loſt; about thirty that remained in the ſhip were taken by the Moors and ſent to the king of Cambaya. Lemos, on his return to Melinda, took a veſſel richly laden. The winter being paſſed, he returned to Zocotora, and found there Francis Pantoja, who came from India with proviſions, and had taken a rich ſhip of Cambaya, the great wealth whereof he ſhared with Lemos his men, ſaying they had a right to it, as being taken in the precincts of his government. A rare example of juſtice. Lemos finding himſelf unprovided for other undertakings, ſailed to India, and was received by Albuquerque with great pomp and civility.

The other of the two captains mentioned was James Lopez de Sequiero, who was entruſted with the diſcovery of the iſland of Madagaſcar and Malacca. In the iſland St. Lawrence he arrived in the port of St. Sebaſtian. He run along the coaſt, making uſe of a Portugueſe as interpreter, who had been left there, and forced by neceſſity to learn the language. He ſpoke with a king called Diaman, and was by him civilly treated, but had no intelligence of any ſpice or ſilver, the great end of his voyage. Having had much trouble and no profit, he ſailed to India. Don Franciſco, then viceroy, received him well, and to aſſiſt in the diſcovery of Malacca, gave him another ſhip, commanded by Garcia de Souſa. He paſſed by Pedir, and that king ſent him ſome preſents, and made him great offers. The ſame did the king of Paçem; in both places he erected croſſes. At laſt he anchored in the port of Malacca, and terrified the coaſt with the thunder of his cannon, ſo that all the people running to the ſhips and veſſels in the harbour, ſhewed the apprehenſion they had of their new gueſt. A boat came to Lopez's ſhip to inquire who they were; he anſwered, there was an ambaſſador from the king of Portugal, who came to propoſe ſuch things as might be advantageous to that city. There came back a meſſage from the king in doubtful language, ſuch as is uſual when the deſigns are pernicious; for ſome foreign merchants, enemies to the Portugueſe, had perſuaded him and his favourite Bandara, with the powerful argument of rich preſents, to deſtroy James Lopez. The third day Lopez ſent Hierom Teixeyra with a handſome retinue as ambaſſador, who was well received on the ſhore, placed upon an elephant, and ſo carried to the king, from whom he returned well pleaſed.

All this was but a bait to enſnare the Portugueſe, and therefore the king gave out he would do Lopez the honour to dine with him in publick. He ſent to invite him, and the invitation was accepted, till he was informed by a friend of Jao Utimutiraja, that the invitation was to murder him. He then gave credit to the advice ſent him from a Perſian hoſteſs by Duarte Fernandez after ſhe had endeavoured to come aboard at night, and was not admitted by Sequeyra, judging it ſome love intrigue, but it proved one means to ſave thoſe ſhips. Lopez excuſed himſelf by counterfeiting an indiſpoſition. Another way was contrived to carry on the treachery, which was by offering a lading of ſpices, ſaying it was requiſite to ſend for it to three ſeveral places. This took ſo well, that thirty men were ſent according to agreement, whilſt a fleet of ſeveral veſſels was behind a point of land, ready to aſſault the ſhips; at the ſame time thirty were killed in the town. Mean while a ſon of Utimutiraja came to viſit Lopez, and found him playing at draughts. He perſuaded Lopez to continue his game, that he might the leſs obſerve him, who offered a thouſand times with a dagger to kill him, and only waited the ſign from the town, when a ſeaman, who was centinel upon

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one of the tops ſeeing a throng, and hearing a noiſe, cried out, "Sir, ſir, treachery, treachery!" Lopez threw away the draught-board with ſuch fury, that Utimutiraja's ſon and thoſe with him, in a conſternation leaped into their boats: all was done that could be expected upon a ſudden, and having ſunk many of the enemies boats, they forced the reſt to retire, and left ſixty of our men in ſlavery, and eight killed, they ſailed; and ſoon after took two veſſels bound for Malacca. Lopez arrived at Cape Comorin, ſent Teixeira and Souſa with their ſhips to Cochin; reſolving to return to Portugal alone, being fearful of Albuquerque, becauſe he had ſided with the viceroy.

Albuquerque having now fixed every thing for his deſign upon Ormuz, diſpatched the trading ſhips, and other affairs with great expedition. About the
A.D. 1510. end of January he ſailed from Cochin with one thouſand ſeven hundred men in twenty-one veſſels of ſeveral ſorts and ſizes. Albuquerque, at the river Onor, ſent for the pirate Timoja, who, deſirous of his friendſhip, and being powerful, came preſently with much proviſion. He being ſkilful in the affairs of Aſia, Albuquerque communicated his deſign to him; but Timoja perſuaded him from it, ſhewing how much better it was to attempt Goa, which was unprovided, and would be more advantageous. This pleaſed Albuquerque, and hereupon calling his captains to council, it was propoſed to them by Timoja; the deſign was approved of and commended by all. Timoja furniſhed twelve ſhips, giving out he would accompany the Portugueſe to Ormuz, to the end that Goa might be leſs provided. Timoja had been diſpoſſeſſed of his fortune, and ill treated by his kindred and neighbours. The deſire of revenge, and recovering what he had loſt, cauſed his love to the Portugueſe.

On the 25th of February Albuquerque came to anchor in the port of Goa. It was neceſſary to ſail up the river, on whoſe bank the city is ſeated; therefore he ſent his nephew don Antonio de Norhona and Timoja to ſound it. A light veſſel leading the way, ſaw a brigantine of the Moors, and giving chace, found they drew under a fort, well ſtored with artillery and four hundred men, commanded by Yaçu Gorgi, a valiant Turk, to ſecure the entrance of the river. Don Antonio ſeeing the other in the chace, preſſed after him; and though the attack of the bulwark ſeemed difficult, they made an attempt, and after a ſtout reſiſtance took it: the commander having almoſt loſt a hand, and not able to ſtop the flight of his men, retired to the city. Mean while Timoja, not to be outdone, took another bulwark on the continent, defended by ſome artillery and thirty men. Then they ſounded the river. Next day as Albuquerque entered the river, he was met by Mirali, and other chief men of the city, who came to ſurrender it, upon condition that their lives, liberties, and eſtates, ſhould be ſecured. The reaſon of this ſurrender was, that the Turk Yaçu had terrified them with the relation of what they had ſeen a few Portugueſe do, and that a Jogue (theſe are religious men, and among thoſe people eſteemed ſaints and prophets) not long before had declared that Goa would ſoon be ſubject to ſtrangers. Albuquerque accepted the offer, and anchoring before the city on the 17th of February, was received on the ſhore as if he had been their natural prince. He mounted a horſe they brought him, with rich furniture; at the gate he received the keys, and went on to the palace built by Sabayo. He found there much cannon, arms, tackle, and many horſes. Next he gave ſuch orders as were to the ſatisfaction of all they city; the diſpatched ſeveral embaſſies to divers kings, which produced no effect, and only ſhewed the greatneſs of his mind. The neighbouring

bouring towns depending on Goa came inſtantly to make their ſubmiſſion, and were kindly received.

Albuquerque underſtanding that ſhips of Ormuz, and the coaſt of Arabia were lading at Baticala, ſent four veſſels thither, which took and carried them to Cochin, ſending plenty of proviſions to Albuquerque.

The Moors now began to exerciſe their treachery. Thoſe whom Albuquerque moſt relied upon conſpired againſt him, and after four months revolt, notwithſtanding the moſt faithful Timoja blamed his confidence. They had delivered themſelves up ſo eaſily, to ſhun their own ruin, and gain time till Iſmael Hidalcam prepared to come to their relief. It ſo fell out, and he came on with great power, ſending before his famous general Camalcam, with fifteen hundred horſe and eight thouſand foot. Albuquerque diſpoſed his men with great diligence and order to receive him.

The firſt ſtep was to ſecure the heads of the conſpiracy, and the chief being Mir Cazem, to whom he had given the command of four hundred Moors, and his nephew, they were hewed to pieces by his guards; others were hanged in public places, and ſome kept priſoners, there being near an hundred convicted.

This diſcovery, with the puniſhment, terrified the city. Camalcam attempted to paſs over to the iſland, having prepared boats to that effect. Don Antonio oppoſed him, and took twelve boats. Many of the enemy were killed, and many devoured by the crocodiles, wherewith that river abounds. Nevertheleſs Camalcam landed in the iſland, which was quitted by the Portugueſe, and ſome cannon would have been loſt, had not two maſons maintained it, though the Portugueſe fled, till they were killed, and the cannon brought off.

After ſome reſiſtance, all retired into the city. Camalcam encamped about it, playing his cannon effectually; Albuquerque did what the place permitted; and now comes up Hidalcam with ſixty thouſand men, whereof five thouſand were horſe. Part of this army paſſed the river, and the reſt was divided into two parts, one commanded by a famous officer, the other by his mother and women, who maintained their ſoldiers by the gain of four thouſand common women they had with them; ſo that the women lived upon them, and they upon the women.

The ſiege was cloſed by the coming of the king, and no opportunity left Albuquerque to act any thing conſiderable; it was therefore reſolved in a council to abandon the city before day. This was executed with great hazard; for the way to the ſhips began to be ſtopped by Hidalcam, and Albuquerque had his horſe killed, yet got off without loſs, after a ſiege of twenty days.

It was reſolved to winter in that ſea; and to effect this he drew into a bay, though not commodious, was the beſt there; and becauſe the port of Pangi, with much artillery, incommoded them, they had no remedy but gaining of it. Three hundred Portugueſe were appointed for the attack. Don Antonio de Norhona, with a party, was appointed as a reſerve, to relieve where there was moſt need, and Albuquerque to guard the ſhore. At the ſame time that they prepared by night to appear with the day before the fort, there marched five hundred men, ſent by Hidalcam, to reinforce it. The joy of theſe people was ſo great, that thoſe without as well as thoſe within, being drunk, miſtook the Portugueſe, one ſide thinking they were the relief ſent them, and the other believing it was the garriſon come out to receive them. They were undeceived by the execution done upon them, three hundred and forty being ſlain, and the reſt routed, with the loſs of only one Portugueſe accidentally drowned. The ſame

happened

happened at the bulwark Timoja had before gained at Bardes. Hidalcam hearing of this, was ſo terrified, that he went from the city, and his fear was the greater, becauſe ſome conjuror had told him he ſhould be killed by a great ſhot near ſome river. He ſent ſome ceremonious meſſages to Albuquerque, to diſcover what was doing aboard the ſhips, whoſe anſwers ſtill added to his fear. By this means he exchanged thoſe Moors he had kept priſoners, for the Portugueſe that were left in the city at their abandoning it.

Albuquerque had intelligence that ſome veſſels were preparing to burn his ſhips; this he reſolved to anticipate by firing them; and they being drove up the harbour, Don Antonio de Norhona was killed in the action. This man uſed to moderate the violent paſſions of his uncle Albuquerque, who immediately after ſhewed the effect of his rigid ſeverity, by hanging a ſoldier becauſe he found him with one of the ſlaves he called daughters, that he uſed to give in marriage: and when ſome of the officers aſked him what authority he had to put this in execution, he putting them under deck, lifted his ſword over them, ſaying, that was his commiſſion againſt all that were diſobedient, and then broke them all. They all ſuffered much hardſhip this winter, eſpecially hunger.

This year king Emanuel had diſpatched two ſquadrons for India, one of ſeven, the other of four ſhips; after them went out two ſhips more, and a third to ſettle a trade at Madagaſcar. The four ſhips under James Mendez, were thoſe Albuquerque met at his ſetting out from Goa, and gave him the news of the other ſhips that were on their way, which was a great ſatisfaction to him, being the better enabled to proſecute his great deſigns. Gonſalo Sequiero, with the ſeven ſhips, arrived at Cananor ſoon after Albuquerque, who communicated the enterprize upon Goa, but was over-ruled by Sequiero, and went to Cochin. By the way he obtained a victory over the Malabars of Calicut, who oppoſed his lading pepper; he then diſpatched Sequiero with the trading ſhips homeward-bound, and ſoon after Duarte de Lemos, with four more, and then turned his view again to the affair of Goa. James Mendez, who commanded the four ſhips, and was before inclinable to the deſign, now excuſed himſelf. Albuquerque finding this, commanded him and his captains, upon the ſevereſt penalties, not to ſtir without his orders. It troubled them, becauſe they feared loſing the opportunity of going to Malacca, whither the king ſent them; but they obeyed. Albuquerque ſet out from Cananor with twenty-three ſail, and therein fifteen thouſand fighting men. He paſſed by Onor to join Timoja, whom he found buſied in his wedding, being to marry the daughter of a queen: he deſired to be honoured with the preſence of Albuquerque, and obliged him to land, which proved very dangerous, for a ſtorm ariſing kept them on ſhore three days; and when he returned to his ſhips, a boat with thirty men was loſt. Timoja ſent with him three ſhips, and promiſed to join him at Goa with ſix thouſand men.

On the 22d of November, Albuquerque anchored the ſecond time before the bar; calling to mind the dangers he had there eſcaped, and the diſcontent that was among ſome of his officers, he thought fit to ſooth the principals with an obliging harangue; and therewith won all their affections. At break of day, on the feaſt of St. Catharine, the city was aſſaulted with great ſlaughter of the enemy that maintained the ſhore, but (though it ſeem ſtrange) not one Portugueſe killed. The enemy fled to recover one of the gates of the city, and the Portugueſe to enter with them. Here the fight was renewed,

newed, till many Portugueſe forced their way in, doing great execution in the ſtreets. They cleared all to the palace with great danger, and the loſs of five men of note there was a moſt furious conteſt begun with equal valour on both ſides. Albuquerque now having done what became him, came up, and fortune appearing wholly on the Portugueſe ſide, the Moors fled, and abandoned the city, endeavouring to get over to the Continent, but through haſte and confuſion periſhed in the river. After the victory it was found, that of nine thouſand fighting men who defended the town, ſix thouſand had periſhed, and fifty Portugueſe. Medeorao, who commanded the three ſhips ſent by Timoja, behaved himſelf well. Timoja, with three thouſand men, came too late; he was only witneſs to the ſlaughter. The booty of horſes, artillery, arms, proviſions, and ſhips, was exceſſive, and ſuch as was neceſſary for the great deſigns Albuquerque had conceived.

The dead were honourably buried; thoſe of the enemy in the bellies of the crocodiles of that river, into which they were caſt. Not one Moor was left alive in the iſland. The Gentiles, who were countrymen, were reſtored to their farms, and the government of them given to Timoja, and after to Melrao, a nephew of the king of Onor. Whilſt Albuquerque ſettled theſe affairs, he received many ambaſſadors with congratulations of his ſucceſs from ſeveral princes of Malabar. Many of Hidalcan's officers then, and afterwards, made inroads as far as Goa, but always returned with loſs; James Mendez and his two other captains deſirous to get to Melacca, ſtole away out of the port by night, contrary to Albuquerque's orders. He ſent after them, and being brought back priſoners, he ordered they ſhould be ſent to anſwer it in Portugal, and two pilots condemned to be hanged at the yard-arm. Some were ſuſpicious that Albuquerque detained James Mendez, leſt he ſhould take Malacca, which action he deſigned for himſelf; others ſaid, he kept him from the danger Sequiero met with there, that enterprize requiring a great power.

Albuquerque providing for the ſafety of Goa, laid the foundation of a fort, which he called Emanuel, being the king's name.

The city of Malacca whither Albuquerque now directed his courſe, is ſeated on that part of land, being a Peninſula, commonly called by the name of Aurea Cherſoneſus, and upon that channel which parts the iſland Sumatra from the continent of Aſia, about the middle of that channel, in ſomething more than two degrees of north latitude, ſtretched along the ſhore about a league. It is divided by a river, and the two parts joined by a bridge. The buildings of wood, except the moſque and palace, which were of ſtone. It afforded a pleaſant proſpect to the ſea, and was well ſecured with fortifications. The port was filled with abundance of ſhips, as being the great market of all thoſe parts. It was firſt built by the Celates, a people for the moſt part employed in fiſhing, who joined themſelves to the Malayes, that before inhabited the mountains. They were aſſiſted by Pariſamora, ſubmitting to him. This man had been great in the iſland of Java, and expelled by a tyrant who uſurped his lordſhip, fled to Sincapura, where being well entertained by that king, he rebelled againſt him, and was again caſt out by the king of Siam, and ſo forced to wander about Malacca; a juſt puniſhment for his ingratitude. He having increaſed the new colony, gave it the name of his fortune; for Malacca in that language ſignifies a baniſhed man. The country of Malacca is ſubject to inundations, full of thick woods ſtored with hurtful and dangerous creatures, chiefly tigers, which oblige many people to paſs the nights on the tops of high trees, becauſe they fetch them off the low ones with

with a leap. The men are courageous, the women wanton. The trade of the eaſt and weſt makes Malacca moſt rich and populous. Mahomet reigned at this time, againſt whom the king of Siam had ſent an army of forty thouſand men, moſt whereof periſhed by ſundry accidents, and partly by the treachery of Mahomet, which he practiſed with James Lopez de Sequiero; but now Albuquerque came to revenge them all. Mahomet feared the reward of his baſeneſs, and therefore brought to his aid the king of Pam with a great force, and had now thirty thouſand men and eight thouſand pieces of cannon, and yet his fear was greater than his preparations.

Albuquerque ſailing from Cochin, by the way took five ſhips of the Moors bound for Malacca, off Ceylon. The king of Pedir, in the iſland Sumatra, ſent ſome Moors to viſit him, and with John de Viegas, one of the Portugueſe left behind by Sequiero, who, with others, flying from ſlavery, arrived at Pedir. The ſame was done by the king of Paçem. Nehoada Beeguea, of the principals of the treachery of Malacca, was fled from Pedir, and being beaten and taken at ſea by Ayres Pereyra, to the general aſtoniſhment of all that beheld him, he ſhed not one drop of blood, though pierced with ſeveral mortal wounds; but ſcarce had they taken off his arm a bracelet of bone, when the blood guſhed out. The Indians diſcovered the ſecret, ſaying it was the bone of a beaſt that breeds in Java, which has that virtue; it was eſteemed a great prize, and brought to Albuquerque.

Next they met a veſſel with three hundred Moors, ſo reſolute, Albuquerque was forced to come up himſelf to take it, not without ſome danger. In this veſſel was Geniall, the rightful king of Paçem, baniſhed by the tyranny of the preſent poſſeſſor. Three other veſſels were taken ſoon after, whereof one gave intelligence of the affairs of Malacca, in which port the fleet anchored on the 1ſt of July with much noiſe of warlike inſtruments and cannon, terrifying all the people that covered the ſhore; for the guilt of what they had before acted, made them ſenſible what this fleet was deſigned for; there being no ſurer foreteller of their puniſhment to wicked men than their own conſcience.

Next day came a gallant Moor, with a deceitful meſſage from the king to Albuquerque. He received him with great ſtate, the greateſt was that of his perſon and venerable beard, which had never been cut ſince he was at Ormuz, he ſaying it ſhould never be cut till he ſat for that purpoſe upon the back of Coje Atar; ſo it grew to ſuch a length, that he knotted it to his girdle. He treated the Moor courteouſly, whoſe meſſage contained, that if he came for merchandize it was ready. The anſwer was, that the merchandize he ſought for, were ſome Portugueſe that were in the city ever ſince Sequiero went away; that having got them, he would let the king know what more he demanded of him. The Moor at his return ſpread the terror of this anſwer, and it was generally agreed to buy off that danger by reſtoring the Portugueſe, and paying a ſum of money. Prince Alodim and his brother-in-law the king of Pam prevented the executing this, and made ready to defend themſelves. Albuquerque began ſome military execution, whereupon the king reſtored the captives. Other meſſages were ſent by the king in order to appeaſe Albuquerque, who anſwered, that he offered him peace upon condition he permitted him inſtantly to raiſe a fort there, and he repayed the charge of his and Sequiero coming to that port, ſince his falſehood had been the cauſe of all the damage ſuſtained; and that he muſt immediately return an anſwer, whether he choſe peace or war. The king deſired an accommodation, but his ſon and the

king of Pam oppoſed it. At laſt they all made the neceſſary preparations to repel the danger.

On the eve of St. James the apoſtle, the ſignal was given for landing, with great ſhouts and noiſe of guns; immediately the Portugueſe leaped on ſhore, and mixed with the enemy. The hotteſt of the diſpute was about gaining and maintaining the bridge, which Albuquerque had undertaken himſelf, and was vigorouſly defended till the enemy being preſſed, leaped into the river, where many were killed and drowned. The prince and king of Pam bravely withſtood another party of the Portugueſe that would make their way to the bridge. King Mahomet came out on a bulky elephant, with two more carrying caſtles on their backs, whence flew a great number of darts. The Portugueſe attacked the beaſts, and ſo wounded them, that they fled, trampling their own men, and making way for the Portugueſe to join thoſe at the bridge. Albuquerque then fortified himſelf there, and becauſe much harm was done with poiſoned arrows from the tops of neighbouring houſes, he cauſed them to be burned. Albuquerque beſtowing great praiſes on his captains for their valour, and perceiving they were ſcorched with the heat, and faint for want of meat, retired with them to the ſhips about night, where ten died of poiſoned arrows. The enemy's loſs was not known. The king of Pam went away, on pretence of bringing more ſuccour, but returned not.

Whilſt Albuquerque reſted in his ſhips refreſhing his men, the king harraſſed him, undermining the ſtreets to blow up the Portugueſe, and covering them with poiſoned thorns that might gore the Portugueſe at coming in; he planted more artillery in many places, and ſecured the bridge. Albuquerque ſent Antony de Abreu in a veſſel well manned, to gain it; from the bridge flew ſhowers of bullets, and Deniz Fernandez de Melo ſeeing him near killed, endeavoured to carry him off to the ſhips to be dreſſed, but he with wonderful conſtancy ſaid, "Though I have neither ſtrength to fight, nor voice to command, I have ſtill life to keep my poſt." Floats of wildfire were drove along the river to burn the veſſel, and no remedy to prevent it, till Albuquerque effected it by gaining the bridge; then the veſſel had liberty to act. The Portugueſe commander entered the city through ſhowers of bullets, arrows, and darts. Underſtanding the danger of the mines which were in a broad ſtreet, he took another way and gained the moſque; and at laſt with vaſt ſlaughter of the enemy, took entire poſſeſſion of the city, having with him in this action only eight hundred Portugueſe and two hundred Malabars.

In nine days time all the Moors were killed, or driven out of that great place. It was peopled again by ſtrangers, and ſome Malayes, to whom leave was granted. Among them came that powerful native of Java Utimutiraja, whoſe ſon had like to have killed Sequiero. The ſoldiers had three days liberty to plunder. There were found three thouſand pieces of great cannon out of eight thouſand that king Mahomet relied upon, being with the reſt retired to Bintam, where with prince Alodim he fortified himſelf.

This would have been of dangerous conſequence, therefore Albuquerque ſent out four hundred of his men, and with them went four hundred of Utimutiraja, and three hundred belonging to the merchants of Pegu. Theſe put the prince to flight, took ſeven elephants with coſtly trappings, and retired. The king now wandered among the woods, blaming the obſtinacy of his ſon and the king of Pam; ſo the father and ſon fell out and parted, each ſhifting for himſelf.

Albuquerque inſtantly built the fort, which he called Famoſa for its beauty, and a church, dedicated to the viſitation of our lady. He coined money (as had been done at

at Goa) of ſeveral names and different value, which was proclaimed about the ſtreets, and ſome ſcattered among the people. By theſe and other honourable actions he gained the hearts of the ſtrangers, and ſecured this moſt important place.

Albuquerque, though he ſaw into the ſoul of Utimutiraja, knowing it ſometimes convenient to truſt an enemy, gave him the command of the Moors who remained in the city; but he kept private correſpondence with prince Alodim, on pretence to reſtore him, but in reality with an intent to ſet himſelf up. This was not ſo private but it was diſcovered, and he, his ſon, and ſon-in-law, were apprehended, and, after conviction, publicly executed on the ſame ſcaffold they had erected for Sequiero. This was the firſt piece of public juſtice executed by the Portugueſe in India.

Pate Quitir, a native of Java, to whom Alfonſo gave that government, took a ſum of money of the wife of Utimutiraja, whom he had ſucceeded, and a promiſe to give him her daughter, upon condition that he would revenge the death of her huſband on the Portugueſe, to whom ſhe had offered one hundred thouſand ducats for his life. Pate accepted the offer, with the ſame intention of ſeizing the city. The king of Campar alſo having this deſign, ſent to congratulate with Albuquerque, offering his ſervice, and aſking the command of Pate Quitir; but this had no effect now.

Albuquerque received here ſeveral embaſſies, particularly from the king of Siam, who rejoiced to ſee his quarrel revenged, though by another hand. He alſo ſent ambaſſadors to Siam, to Pegu, and two to diſcover the iſland of Malacca and Banda. They had all orders to publiſh every where what had happened at Maluca, and offer the trade of that place on better terms than it was before. All things being ordered the beſt the time would permit, he reſolved to return to Cochin, leaving Ruy de Brito Patalim to command in the fort with above three hundred men, and the like number to guard the ſea, in ten ſhips, under Fernando Perez de Addrade.

Albuquerque ſailed from Malacca to Cochin with four ſhips. Off Cape Timia, in the iſland of Sumatra, his ſhip ſtruck upon a rock, which ſo ſplit the keel, that thoſe in the poop and thoſe in the forecaſtle could not come to each other; neither could the other veſſels, by reaſon of the darkneſs of the night, come to relieve them till the approach of day, when Albuquerque was ſeen holding in his arms a girl chance had conducted to him in the confuſion. Peter de Alpoem coming up, though with much danger, ſaved him. The loſs he moſt lamented was the bone which hindered the wounded Moor from bleeding, and ſome iron lions of curious work, which he had deſigned for ſupporters to his tomb. Some men were loſt.

Albuquerque went into Alpoem's ſhip, and proſecuting his voyage, took two Moorish ſhips, which, though richly laden, made not amends for his great loſs. Immediately upon his arrival at Cochin, being informed of the diſtreſs of Goa, he diſpatched thither eight veſſels with men and proviſions, and a promiſe of his ſpeedy coming in perſon. There were then in the town one thouſand men, and the beſiegers were twenty thouſand ſtrong.

A. D. 1512. Six ſhips arrived in India from Portugal, commanded by don Garcia de Norhona, who had a tedious voyage, having ſpent a whole year without touching at any port; and though the men were tired and ſick, yet they relieved ſome places. The mean while ſailed from Portugal for India a fleet of thirteen ſhips, whereof one periſhed at the iſlands of Angoxa. This fleet containing one thouſand eight hundred men, anchored at the bar of Goa on the 15th of Auguſt.

Auguſt. They preſently viſited the enemy in the fort of Benaſtarium, and then don Garcia and George de Melo with their ſquadrons paſſed on, carrying with them John Machado and others, newly delivered from the ſlavery of Cambaya.

Albuquerque rejoiced more than at his victories to ſee his nephew don Garcia with that command, the great ſuccour he and Melo brought, the captives releaſed, and all things concurring to further his deſigns. His ſatisfaction was increaſed by the arrival of Antony de Sadanna with the garriſon of Quiloa, which place being of ſmall importance, they had quitted. At the ſame time came an ambaſſador from the king of Perſia, and one from Ormuz, to go to Portugal. Albuquerque ordered the affairs of Cochin to paſs to Goa, and by the way left George de Melo in the fort of Cananor.

He was received at Goa as a public father, and being informed of the paſt as well as the preſent poſture of affairs, he viſited the fortifications, and ſtudied how to drive Rotzomo Cam from his works. The ſixth day from his arrival, being on an eminence with ſome gentlemen, viewing four thouſand Moors and two hundred horſe, who diverted themſelves in the field, and although it was Friday, which was their ſabbath, he could not hinder the Portugueſe from ruſhing upon them, and driving them up to their fortifications, where was a hot ſkirmiſh, and the Portugueſe proved victorious, having killed above an hundred men, and taken great booty, with the loſs of only one captain and one man, with ſome wounded.

Albuquerque reſolving to take that fortreſs from the enemy, gave the aſſault by land and ſea; but thinking it was not vigorouſly carried on by ſea, he leaped into a boat, and went ſo near that a cannon ball killed a man that ſteered the veſſels, daſhing his brains and blood on Albuquerque's beard. This ſo inflamed him, that he promiſed a reward to any one that ſhould break that cannon; and immediately one of the gunners directed a ball into the mouth of it, which broke it to pieces and killed the canonier. This made way for the Portugueſe to come up the river, and lay cloſe ſiege to the fort, when Zufolari appeared on the continent with ſeven thouſand men, coming to the relief of it; but finding nothing could be done, he retired with ſome loſs ſuſtained by the cannon.

Albuquerque ſat down before the place with four thouſand men, whereof three thouſand were Portugueſe, in two bodies, one commanded by himſelf, the other by his nephew don Garcia de Norhona. At firſt he received ſome damage, but afterwards did ſo much, that Rotzomo Cam ſurrendered, upon condition that he ſhould leave the fort with all the cannon and ammunition, but would deliver all the ſlaves and renegadoes, which laſt Albuquerque puniſhed by cutting off their noſes, ears, right hands, and thumbs of the left, and ſending them ſo maimed to Portugal. One of theſe was Ferdinando Lopez, who, to do penance for his ſins, voluntarily ſtaid with a black on the iſland of St. Helena, where he was afterwards ſerviceable to ſome ſhips, and began to ſow that iſland.

Albuquerque endeavoured to bring Rotzomo Cam over to the Portugueſe ſervice, but ſucceeded not; yet his fortune terrified many princes.

The king of Calicut concluded a treaty with don Garcia de Norhona, whom his uncle had ſent to Cochin to take charge of affairs. Thoſe of Narſinga and Biſa, Hidalcam and others ſent ambaſſadors, to all which he anſwered, extolling the power of the Portugueſe amity, and the terror of their arms; and being diſpatched, ſent after them meſſengers of his own to inform thoſe princes, and gain intelligence of them.

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Now arrived at Goa, Matthew, ambaſſador from Preſter John, in order to go to Portugal. He brought with him a piece of the holy croſs, and letters from queen Helena, who governed that kingdom during the minority of her ſon David. The deſign of this embaſſy was to ſettle amity with the king of Portugal, and aſk aid againſt the Moors, who ever infeſted that empire. The ambaſſador ſaid, that at his maſter's court there were then three Portugueſe, one called John, who ſtiled himſelf ambaſſador of the king of Portugal, and two who ſaid they had been lately ſet aſhore at Cape Guardafu, to diſcover the country. Theſe were John Gomez and John Sanchez, ſet aſhore there by order of Albuquerque himſelf, with a Moor for that diſcovery.

Finding the affairs of Goa in ſo good a poſture, Albuquerque reſolved to put in execution an enterprize he had been charged with by king Emanuel. This was the conqueſt the city Aden. He fitted twenty ſhips, without acquainting any one with the deſign. When ready to ſail, he acquainted the captains with his intentions. The number of the men was one thouſand ſeven hundred Portugueſe, and eight hundred Canaras and Malabars. They ſet ſail the 18th of February, and arrived ſafe at Aden. Miramirzan, governor of the town, ſent to compliment Albuquerque, and a preſent of proviſion. Several meſſages paſſing, and no hopes of a ſurrender appearing, it was reſolved to give the aſſault.

The city Aden is ſeated on the coaſt of Arabia Felix, near the mouth of the Red Sea, called by Ptolomy, Modocan. Over it appears the mountain Arzira, all a barren rock, in many cliffs. The town from the ſea looks beautiful and ſtrong. It is rich, and famous for the great reſort thither of many nations; the ſoil ſo ſcarce of water, that it has only a few wells and ciſterns. Even from the clouds it is ſcarce watered above once in two or three years; whence it is void of all trees, plants and orchards, the delight and pleaſure of other towns.

Albuquerque found the enterprize was more difficult than it had been repreſented. On Eaſter-eve in the morning the Portugueſe landed with ſcaling ladders, this being thought the proper method for gaining the place. It was doubtful who firſt mounted the wall, but ſeveral being already upon it, the ladders overburdened with the multitude that preſſed to get up, broke ſeveral times, ſo that there was no hope of relieving thoſe who had gained the top, and ſtood in great danger; and Albuquerque was forced to order them down a ladder made out of the broken ones, ſome fighting while the others came off. After four hours engagement, they retired with great danger and loſs, ſuſtained by the accident more than the enemy. George Silveyra and five men were killed; ſome died after of their wounds, and ſome with the fall from the wall.

Albuquerque complying with his ill fortune, and the perſuaſions of his captains, to ſave time, reſolved to give over that attempt, and ſail towards the mouth of the Red Sea. But firſt they took a bulwark that guarded the port, where many Moors were killed, and thirty-ſeven great pieces of cannon found.

The ſhips were all firſt plundered, and then burnt. The fourth day after their arrival they ſailed out of this port, and arrived at the mouth of the Red Sea, next the coaſt of Arabia, which was much celebrated with great ſigns of joy by Albuquerque, as being the firſt of our nation that had entered thoſe ſeas.

Albuquerque ſailing along this ſea, arrived at the iſland Camaran, abandoned by its inhabitants for fear of his coming. Here he took four ſhips richly laden, one belonging to the Soldan of Caïro, two more he had taken by the way. From this iſland he

viſited others. There now appeared in the ſky, viſible to all, a red croſs very bright, ſeeming to be about a fathom athwart, and of a proportionable length. They all kneeled, and Albuquerque made a devout prayer; the viſion was celebrated with joy, with ſound of muſic, and cannon, till by degrees it was covered by a bright cloud. He returned to Comorin, deſigning to winter there, the wind having failed him to ſail to Ioda, as he had deſigned.

Here they ſuffered extremely by famine, and many died by ſickneſs, cauſed by the ill food. Albuquerque ſailed hence when the weather would permit, which was in July, reſolving to appear again before Aden. He touched at the iſland Mehum, at the mouth of the ſtreight, and called it Vera Cruz, becauſe he erected there a very high croſs on an eminence. He diſpatched two ſhips to diſcover the city Zeyla, where they burnt two veſſels in the harbour, and joined him again at Aden.

Albuquerque found this city newly fortified. The cannon on both ſides was played with almoſt equal damage. Nothing conſiderable was performed, but ſome ſhips taken and burnt; he then ſailed for India.

About the middle of Auguſt he anchored off Diu; the lord of it, Melique Az, more out of fear than affection, ſent him ſome proviſions, and a courteous meſſage. Albuquerque knowing him, dealt cautiouſly, and demanded leave to raiſe a fort there; he referred him to the king of Cambaya; at the ſame time adviſing him to deny it, if aſked. However, it was agreed a factor and ſome others ſhould be left there to ſettle trade; and at parting Melique treated Albuquerque with ſuch civility and cunning, that he afterwards ſaid he had not ſeen a more perfect courtier, more fit to deceive, and at the ſame time pleaſe an underſtanding man. Afterwards leave was obtained of the king of Cambaya to raiſe a fort at Diu, upon condition he might build another at Malacca, and other reaſonable propoſals, which were admitted.

Two ſhips now arrived in India from Portugal, a third being caſt away, but the men ſaved, and taken up by the others at Melinda; the captain of her was afterwards loſt in a boat. Albuquerque went to Goa, and ſent his nephew Norhona to diſpatch theſe two, and three other ſhips homewards. They carried an ambaſſador from the Zamorin to king Emanuel, he being now in amity, and having permitted a fort to be erected where it was deſired.

He likewiſe diſpatched Don Garcia de Norhona to Cochin, and to encourage the work of the fort that was building at Calicut. He appointed four ſail to cruize in the mouth of the Red Sea, under the command of his nephew Peter de Albuquerque, with orders to touch at Ormuz, and receive the tribute when it became due, and then diſcover the iſland of Baharem. He diſpatched ambaſſadors, well attended, to ſeveral princes. James Fernandez de Beja went to the king of Cambaya, to treat about the fort of Diu, which he had conſented to before, and now refuſed, induced thereto by Melique Az. The ambaſſador returned with preſents to Albuquerque; among other things a rhinoceros, or abada, which was afterwards loſt in the Mediterranean, being ſent by king Emanuel to the pope, with other rarities of India. John Gonzalez de Caſtellobranco was ſent to Hidalcan about the pretenſions of Goa, to leſs effect than the other in the affairs of Diu.

In September arrived at Goa five ſhips from Portugal, under the command of Chriſtopher de Brito; one was afterwards loſt, bound for Cambaya; care was taken to diſpatch the lading of the others. Albuquerque eaſed of theſe more profitable than honourable cares, prepared to ſet forwards, yet unreſolved, whether he ſhould ſteer to Ormuz or

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the Red Sea, the king having ordered both. In order to determine, he conſulted with his captains. It was agreed the enterprize ſhould be upon Ormuz, a determination ſuitable to Albuquerque's deſires. On the 20th of February he directed his courſe thither. His fleet conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſail, with one thouſand five hundred Portugueſe and ſix hundred Malabars and Canaras. They anchored in the port of Ormuz the 26th of March. Immediately came aboard a viſit, or with preſents from the king. But what pleaſed Albuquerque beſt was, that he found there Michael Ferreyra whom he had ſent to ſcheik Iſmael of Perſia, to procure amity with him, whereof he brought great hopes.

Raez Hamet was now poſſeſſed of the favour of the king of Ormuz, as Coje Atar had been with his predeceſſor, both theſe being dead. Among other things Albuquerque ſent to demand of him the delivery of the fort he had begun there, and that he ſhould ſend ſome principal men with the inſtrument of the ſubmiſſion of that kingdom made by king Ceyſadim. All was conſented to, becauſe there was no power to reſiſt. The governor Raez Nordim came with his nephew to ratify all, to whom Albuquerque gave rich preſents, and by them ſent the king a rich collar of gold, no leſs valuable for the workmanſhip than the metal, and a ſtandard with the Portugueſe arms, to declare the union between both nations. Public demonſtrations of joy were made on both ſides for this agreement, with ſound of warlike inſtruments and noiſe of cannon. On Palm Sunday Albuquerque took poſſeſſion of the fort before begun, which in a few days roſe to a great height, and Albuquerque with ſome of his captains went into the neighbouring houſes.

While the fort was building, or rather finiſhing, Albuquerque perſuaded the king it was for the ſafety of the city to put all their cannon into it, pretending thereby to ſecure them againſt their enemies, but in reality to diſable them from offending him. Security is a powerful argument where there is fear. The king and his governor, though with ſome reluctance, conſented to all that was demanded. The command of the fort was given to Peter de Albuquerque. Thus was that rich and powerful kingdom brought under the Portugueſe ſubjection, rather to the advantage than detriment of its natural kings; more oppreſſed before by the tyranny of their miniſters, than by the tribute they afterwards paid.

Theſe affairs ſettled, Albuquerque applied himſelf to diſpatch the trading ſhips homeward-bound. He ſent for this purpoſe his nephew Don Garcia de Norhona with moſt of the fleet to Cochin, and ſtaying behind himſelf to conclude ſuch affairs as required his preſence. Soon after he fell ſick, and the diſeaſe increaſing, was perſuaded for the recovery of his health, to go to India, which he conſented to, to the great grief of the king, who looked upon him as a father. By the way he met the news, that there were arrived in India twelve ſhips from Portugal, who brought orders for him to return home. Lope Soarez who commanded them, being appointed his ſucceſſor; hearing this, he cried out, "Lope Soarez, governor of India; it is he, it could be no other. Don James Mendez and James Pereyra, whom I ſent priſoners for heinous crimes, return, the one governor of Cochin, the other ſecretary? It is time for me to take ſanctuary in the church, for I have incurred the king's diſpleaſure for his ſubjects ſakes, and the ſubjects anger for the king's ſake. Old man fly to the church, it concerns your honour you ſhould die, and you never omitted any thing that concerned your honour." Then lifting his eyes and hands to heaven gave God thanks a

governor came ſo opportunely; not doubting he ſhould die. He was ſoon ſeized with a profound melancholy, and arrived at Dabul, almoſt in the arms of death, and there writ his laſt lines to the king. Upon the bar of Goa (which he called his land of promiſe) he gave up the ghoſt on the 16th of December, in the ſixty-third year of his age, in his perfect ſenſes, and like a good Chriſtian. He was ſecond ſon to Gonçalo de Albuquerque, lord of Villaverde, and of Donna Leonora de Meneſes, daughter of Alvaro Gonzeles de Atayde, firſt count of Atouguia. He had been maſter of the horſe to king John the Second; was of a moderate ſtature, his countenance pleaſing, and venerable by his beard which reached below his girdle, to which he wore it knotted; that was white, and his complexion fair; his picture ſhews he wore his breeches, doublet, cloak, cap, and coif, all black, with gold trimming; the waiſtcoat ſtriped with green velvet, with ſmall ſpots like ſtuds. It was doubted whether he was a better man or officer. When angry, his looks were ſomewhat terrible; when merry, pleaſant and witty. He was twice before Ormuz, twice before Goa, and twice before Malacca, three famous iſlands and kingdoms in Aſia, over which he glorioufly triumphed.

CHAPTER VIII.

Voyage of Andrea Corſali from Liſbon to India, and the Red Sea.

RAMUSIO, from whom this voyage is tranſlated, tells us, that he obtained two letters of Corſali's, which, by advice of a nobleman of Padua, he prefixed to Alvarez's account of the conducting an ambaſſador to the celebrated Preſter John. The firſt letter only falls within the compaſs of our deſign.

Ramuſio, who alſo explains the motives of this voyage, tells us, that many different ambaſſadors were ſent to Preſter John, who was then about ſeventeen years of age, and who took the name of David. And ſuch an effect had the report of the ſeveral battles which were gained by the Portugueſe, that the queen Helena, grandmother of the ſaid king, who then held the reigns of government, determined to ſend an ambaſſador to Portugal, and fixed upon an Armenian named Matthew, who was maſter of various languages; in order to give him ſtill greater credit at the court to which he was going, he had a young Abyſſinian to accompany him.

Having embarked on board a veſſel in a port of the Red Sea, they ſailed for India, and landed at the city of Goa, where, at that time, don Alphonſo Albuquerque was viceroy, who received them moſt graciouſly; and having put them on board his galley, diſpatched them to Liſbon, where, as ſoon as they arrived, they delivered their credentials and letters from queen Helena.

As ſoon as the letters and credentials were opened and read by king Emanuel and his officers of ſtate, they all appeared in a ſtate of ſuſpence and doubt, thinking that the things offered were too conſiderable to wear the face of probability, and at length began to doubt whether theſe ambaſſadors were diſpatched from the queen Helena or no. Theſe ſentiments pervaded the whole court; but the king, ever anxious to continue, and as much as poſſible to augment the friendſhip then ſubſiſting between her majeſty and himſelf, and to avail himſelf of the countenance and power

power of a kingdom of that conſequence and import to his affairs in India and the Red Sea, made choice of an ambaſſador named Edward Galvam, whom he diſpatched, in company with the ſaid Matthew, ambaſſador from queen Helena, charged with very conſiderable preſents, on board the ſquadron bound to India, commanded by don Lopez Soarez.

As ſoon as this officer arrived at Cochin, and had taken in water and victualled his whole fleet, he determined to return towards the Red Sea, in order to land the ſaid Matthew and Edward Galvam. Here they found Andrew Corſali, who embarked on board the fleet, and who wrote the following letter from India:

" Unwilling to break the promiſe I made you previous to my departure, I was induced to inform you of the ſucceſs of my voyage to India; and though it may not be ſo diffuſive as I wiſhed it, and in many parts by no means correſpondent to my own ideas, yet I could not withhold from you what was a tribute due to friendſhip, relying on your candour for the criticiſm it may meet with, and offering, only as an apology, my firſt reſolution, to give you the whole in a more ample manner the firſt convenient opportunity.

" From the time we quitted Liſbon we ſailed with the wind in our favour, always having it a ſouth-eaſt or a north-eaſt; and beyond the line, in thirty-ſeven degrees ſouth latitude, oppoſite the Cape of Good Hope (the climate being cold and windy, the ſun in the northern ſigns, and the night fourteen hours long), we ſaw a ſingular range of ſtars, moving about in infinite number in that part of the firmament oppoſite to our polar ſtar.

" From this time we began to alter our courſe, and ſteered due north, having the Cape of Good Hope in view, and dropped anchor off Mozambique, a barren iſland, not very conſiderable, cloſe in with *terra firma*, ſituated in fifteen degrees under the antarctic pole, inhabited by Mahometans, under the dominion of Portugal, of no other uſe than a convenient port to touch at for ſhips going to India. The *terra firma* is inhabited by a ſavage race of people, as is the whole coaſt from the ſtreights of the Red Sea as far as the Cape of Good Hope, and they are all of the ſame language; and from the Cape of Good Hope as far as the Cape de Verde Iſlands, they ſpeak a different language. On this coaſt, beginning at Cape de Verde, as far as the Red Sea, we found no merchandiſe but gold, which is carried for ſale to Sofala, a territory of the king of Portugal, in the neighbourhood of Mozambique, where great quantities of amber and ivory are found.

" During our ſtay at Mozambique, we found two ſmall Portugueſe veſſels, which came from the iſland of St. Lawrence, oppoſite Mozambique, and may be reckoned among the great iſlands which have been found in our times. This iſland is very productive, abounding in cattle. There are great quantities of rice and other ſeeds, on which the natives ordinarily ſubſiſt. Here are likewiſe ſilver, ambergris, ginger, Turkey corn, and cloves, not like thoſe of India, but ſhaped more like our acorns. They have great quantities of honey and ſugar canes, which they make no uſe of, and of which they have no idea as a productive article in commerce; alſo ſaffron like the Indian, lemons, citrons, and oranges, in the greateſt plenty. The country is well watered with rivers, and every where abounding with the fineſt ſprings, and in many parts of the iſland moſt excellent harbours. The people are ſavage, and their language differs from thoſe of Mozambique; they are not ſo black, but have woolley curled hair, like the

the reſt of the natives on that coaſt. The harbours are under the command of the Moors, who, with cotton cloth and other merchandiſe of India, come and purchaſe the produce of this iſland. They informed us, that near to this iſland there is another ſmall one, named Œtacabam, abounding in ſilver, the probability of which is ſtrongly confirmed by the quantity which is manufactured in Mozambique and all along the coaſt, and which was hitherto totally unknown to the Portugueſe.

" We quitted Mozambique, and purſued our voyage to India, keeping to the north and north-eaſt, it being our direct courſe always going before the wind; for in this part of India, the wind blows weſt and ſouth for ſix months, which are proper for coming to India; and from June to November, the other ſix months, north-eaſt and eaſt, which ſerve to return from India.

" In twenty-five days we reached Goa, a diſtance of three thouſand miles, with a wind ſo favourable that few navigators have made it in leſs time. Here we croſſed the line a ſecond time, having the ſun for our zenith, making no ſhadow; and being already returned to the arctic pole, we had ſeen the north ſtar in ſix degrees. Certain clouds which roſe above the horizon, rendered it impoſſible for the ſight to diſtinguiſh any ſtar under ſix degrees of elevation. Within an hundred leagues of India the ſea puts on a milky appearance that proceeds from the bottom, which is a white ſand, or at leaſt this is my opinion of the matter. An infinity of ſerpents is alſo another unerring ſign of the approach to India. Theſe ſerpents are ſuppoſed to be carried down by the torrents from the land, during their fall in the ſpring ſeaſon.

" In three days we had the pleaſure of diſcovering land. Sailing along the coaſt, the firſt place touched at was the iſland of Goa, which is fifteen miles in circumference, and ſituated in ſixteen degrees north latitude. It is joined to the main land, ſurrounded on the weſt by the ſea, on the north and ſouth by the coaſt, on the eaſt by part of *terra firma*, called Palleacat, from whence runs a river, which, dividing in two parts, embraces the ſaid iſland. There Albuquerque has built a moſt beautiful fortification, a mile in circumference, ſurrounded with walls and a ditch, with houſes within the fortreſs, and regular ſtreets, after the European faſhion, and is, in fact, the moſt perfect thing, and the moſt important poſſeſſion the Portugueſe have in India. The iſland is inhabited by Pagans, who, from being better treated by us than by the Moors, feel a certain degree of partiality in favour of the Portugueſe. The beſt ſilverſmiths in India reſide here.

" The original ſovereign of this iſland, was Idalcam de Sabio, the king of Paleneate, a Mahometan, of Turkiſh extraction, a man of a warlike ſpirit. The natives of this kingdom are Pagans, of a ſwarthy complexion, but good features and a pleaſing aſpect. They are cloathed after the manner of the Turks, particularly the merchants; the Bramins are habited ſomewhat after the manner of our prieſts; the reſt of the natives have only a piece of rag tied round the middle to cover the private parts, the reſt of the body being naked. The land is highly fertile and abounds with many of our European fruits, and others, the natives of India. There are here great quantities of animals wild as well as domeſtic. Some diſtance within the country tigers and ſerpents of a moſt enormous ſize are found in quantities. The rivers are full of crocodiles, ſome of which are twenty feet long, every other part correſponding; they frequently ſally out of the water, and prey upon whatever animals they find near the banks of the river.

" The iſland is greatly productive, and its revenue is every day conſiderably increaſing from the quantity of horſes which come from Ormuz, in the gulph of Perſia, and

and are ſold to the perſons of rank of Paleanet, and of the kingdom of Narſinga. They are obliged to reſort to this iſland, for if they preſumed to diſembark them elſewhere, the Portugueſe, who are maſters of the ſea, and under whoſe permiſſion and paſs, they ſail, would undoubtedly ſeize upon their veſſels, and the whole would be confiſcated. Perhaps you will not be a little ſurprized at hearing that a horſe, like one of ours, ſells here for four hundred, five hundred, and ſometimes ſeven hundred ducats; and when it is any thing more than ordinary, nine hundred, a thouſand, and two thouſand ducats. For each horſe a duty of forty ducats is paid to the king; and in one year the ſum paid for the duty on horſes imported, amounted to the ſum of thirty thouſand ducats. For this reaſon it happened that the commandant, with a ſquadron of twenty-five ſail and three thouſand men, repaired to Ormuz, which is ſituated in the gulph of Perſia, and after taking the place, killed the governor, who was in rebellion againſt his prince. Having reduced the city to its obedience, he built a fortreſs, which, independant of its ſtrength and the other buildings thereto belonging, is one of the moſt important ſituations in India, as no merchant from Perſia, Armenia, Arabia Felix, or in ſhort any other nation who comes into the gulph of Perſia, can take horſes, carry ſpices, &c. without firſt going to Ormuz, taking out a paſs, and paying the duty to the king of Portugal.

" In the iſland of Goa, as well as all throughout India, there are an infinite number of Pagan edifices; and in a ſmall iſland adjoining called Dinori, the Portugueſe have deſtroyed a conſiderable Pagan temple, built with great taſte, and adorned with many curious ſtatues of black marble.

" After quitting Goa, we ſailed along the coaſt, keeping to the ſouthward, and arrived at a place called Batticala, to receive the tribute paid to the king for permiſſion to navigate theſe ſeas. It is ſubject to the king of Norſinga, a Pagan prince. Here as well as in two other places near, called Onor and Brabaron, grow immenſe quantities of ginger, mirabolan, corn, ſugar, and rice, which the merchants load for the Red Sea, Aden, and Ormuz. It is ſituated in thirteen degrees north latitude. The natives are ſimilar to thoſe of Goa, and their language is nearly the ſame.

" Above Batticala you ſee two mountains, from the ſummit of which riſe two rivers, which winding and running down the back of the mountain towards the ſea, have the appearance of two beaten ways, and has a wonderful effect at a little diſtance. Here the natives are called Conconi and Decani, and in Balagat, Commari; and near Batticala begins the coaſt of Malabar, where the pepper grows, and where the language and the cuſtoms of the natives are different from thoſe of Goa and Commari. This country points ſouth, and ends at Cape Comorin, called, according to Ptolemy, Peluſa; and turning to the north to a place called Camaira, formerly Meſſoli. The ſaid Cape Comorin is in eight degrees north latitute, but that of Camaira I cannot at preſent exactly aſcertain.

" From Batticala we went to Cananor where the king's magazine of arms is kept. The king made a viſit to the new governor, attended by two thouſand of his guards, armed according to the cuſtom of Goa, and preſented him with a beautiful gold chain, highly ornamented with rubies and pearls, valued at a thouſand gold ducats. Cananor is in twelve degrees and an half north latitude.

" From Cananor we ſailed to Calicut, the capital of the Malabar country. From the buildings, public as well as private palaces, temples, and the royal manſion, it is evident that this has ever been conſidered as the principal place in all India. Here the

the merchants from every other port, brought all their ſpices and other merchandiſe for ſale. From the time that the Portugueſe were eſtabliſhed in India, they always took in their loading at Cochin, and Cananor, having been driven out of Calicut, and after that received by the king of Cochin. The king of Calicut has always been at war with the Portugueſe, till within theſe two years the king finding himſelf without a remedy, entered into compact with the commandant, and gave him leave to erect a fortreſs in his territory, and which is now in poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe. The king paid a viſit to the commandant, accompanied by four thouſand of his ſoldiers, armed and accoutred, and made a preſent of a chain of gold, like that preſented by the king of Cananor, but of much greater value.

" The climate on the coaſt of Malabar is mild and temperate, never cold or hot, except about two hours in the day; the remainder being ſufficiently cooled by the freſh breeze, which blows the whole night, and till mid-day. This country has never been viſited by the plague, or any ſuch calamity.

" No one can navigate theſe ſeas without firſt having a licence from the Portugueſe, at the riſk of loſing both ſhip and cargo if they ſail without a proper paſs; and this is properly ſecured by keeping forty ſail of veſſels perpetually cruiſing in thoſe ſeas to intercept any veſſels engaged in illicit commerce. The Portugueſe veſſels are ſo ſtrong and well built, when compared with the veſſels built in the country, that one is capable of oppoſing three or four. The country veſſels employed in victualling and going from one port to another with proviſions, are ever liable to be taken or plundered by the ſhips the Portugueſe have out at ſea. Such is their ſubmiſſion to them, that the natives in every part of India have ſuffered them to build caſtles and fortifications in whatever ſituation they thought proper, many of which were raiſed by Albuquerque. The principal fortification, the moſt important, and the laſt completed, is Ormuz, finiſhed the laſt year; and which place is reſorted to by all the merchants from Perſia, Turkey, Armenia, or Arabia Felix, who either tranſport horſes, or other merchandiſe into theſe parts, to carry away ſpices in return. Ormuz is an iſland in the gulph of Perſia, and no one can paſs the ſtreights without bringing to at Ormuz, paying the duties, and taking out a paſs. Ormuz is ſituated in twenty-ſeven degrees north latitude, with Arabia Felix to the ſouth weſt, on the ſtreight of Baharem, where there is a pearl fiſhery. To the north, by the river Tigris, from the city of Tauris, and all the other parts of Perſia, are under the ſovereignty of ſchiek Iſhmael, called with us Sophi, whoſe territories join on thoſe of the king of Samarand, which I believe to be the kingdom of the Parthians.

" In Perſia, lapis lazuli is found in great quantities, as alſo turquoiſes. The eaſtern confines of Caramania, at preſent called Raſigut, is a deſert inhabited by Arabs and robbers.

" Betwixt Goa and Raſigut, or Caramania, is a country called Cambaya, (where the river Indus enters the ſea), inhabited by Pagans, called Guzerats, who are moſtly merchants. In general they are dreſſed after the manner of the Turks; they do not eat of any thing which contains blood, nor will they permit any thing which has life to receive harm. Their food principally conſiſts of rice and milk.

" In this country are found indigo, liquid ſtorax, cornelians, and calcedonians, in great abundance, of the laſt of which they make very elegant handles for their daggers and ſabres. The complexions of the men are of the olive caſt. They are very ingenious and excellent artificers. The country of Cambaya has the ſea to the ſouth.

Raſi

Raſigut or Caramania to the weſt, and Paleacat to the eaſt. The kingdom of Paleacat joins to the territory of the king of Narſinga, who, though a Pagan, is the principal king in all India, and the richeſt of any on that ſide as far as the ſea of Baticala, Onor, and Brazabor; and leaving Malabar, which lies upon the ſea coaſt, reaches on the *terra firma* as far as the bay of Bengal, which is governed by the prince of Coromandel and Paleacat; and from thence to the Cape of Comorin, formerly called Pilura.

"There are three other fortreſſes in the Malabar country, viz. Cananor, Calicut, and Cochin, where at preſent the Portugueſe take in their lading of pepper and ginger for Portugal, not permitting ſhips to load for other places, and particularly for Aden and for Mecca, that they may not go to Alexandria; on which account particular attention is had, and a ſquadron every year diſpatched to the ſtreights of the Red Sea, to prevent other ſhips paſſing. Such precaution has been taken, that the Venetians are obliged to go to Liſbon to ſupply themſelves.

"The natives of Malabar are all Pagans, but ſome of the inhabitants are Moors, Jews, and Chriſtians, from the iſland of St. Thomas. There are ſeveral churches in it, of tolerable architecture; one within five leagues of Cochin, at a place called Elongalor; the other ſituated at Colon. The perſons who officiate at theſe churches are certain Armenian prieſts, who come to India as miſſionaries. The principal of all is in Coromandel, where Peter Andrew Strozzi was the laſt year. Here it is ſaid lies buried the body of St. Thomas; there is yet viſible an old ſepulchral monument of ſtone, and near it another monument of a Chriſtian Ethiopian of the kingdom of Preſter John, who went in his company. In many parts of the church are inſcriptions, but they are hardly legible. There is the form of a foot, hollowed out in ſtone, of a ſize much beyond the human, ſaid to be a miraculous work of the above ſaint.

Near to Coromandel, anciently called Meſſoi, is another province called Paliacat, and formerly called Salaceni. Here is found an immenſe quantity of jewels of every ſort, part of which came from Pegu, where the rubies are brought from, and part from an iſland oppoſite to Cape Comorin, called Ceylon. Here the greateſt quantity is produced, and in greater variety than in all the other parts of India, viz. ſapphires, rubies, ſpinelli, baſtard rubies, topazes, hyacinths, chryſolytes, cats eyes, in much eſteem with the Moors, and granates. It is ſaid that the king is in poſſeſſion of two rubies of a colour ſo beautiful and bright that they reſemble a flame of fire; from which deſcription I ſhould be ſtrongly induced to believe them to be carbuncles, a ſpecies not very common, and ſeldom found. Here great quantities of cinnamon are annually gathered, and much is every year exported; alſo great numbers of elephants, which the natives ſell when young to the merchants of India, who tame them; and what regulates the price is the ſize of the animal, the value increaſing in proportion to his growth.

"This iſland is not laid down by Ptolemy, whom I find greatly deficient in many things; nor has he put down twelve thouſand iſlands on the coaſt of Mozambique, in the way to Malacca, under the line. It is evident from the navigation of the Portugueſe, that he is totally wrong in the longitude, beginning from the country of Senaras, as far as the iſlands which he calls the Iſlands of Good Fortune: he has miſtaken the ſituation of Taprobana, as is evident from the ſea chart brought from Rome by don Michael de Selva, preacher to the king.

" Paliacat produces alſo ambergris and diamonds, but the laſt are not near ſo fine as thoſe produced at Narſinga, being of a yellow caſt, though they are in higher eſtimation with the Moors than thoſe perfectly clear and tranſparent. In this place Peter Strozzi bought a moſt beautiful clear diamond, which weighed twenty-three carrats, though in its natural ſtate, and many perfect and beautiful gems, which, on his return to Liſbon, he will expoſe to ſale. I do not know of what country emeralds are natives, but here they are much more eſteemed than all other gems.

" The laſt fortreſs which the Portugueſe hold in India is Malacca, a country of greater extent than any other, to which the ſhips of Bengal carry on a conſiderable trade. In this part of Bengal the river Ganges falls into the gulph, which takes its name from the ſaid river, and is ſituated in twenty-three degrees under the tropic of Cancer. This gulph is alſo navigated by the people of Pegu, which joins on the coaſt with the ſaid kingdom of Bengal and Liqui. In Pegu are found conſiderable quantities of rubies, lac, and benzoin. Malacca is ſituated in two degrees of latitude, ſaid to be the Aurea Cherſoneſus.

" The territories of Bengal and Pegu are governed and inhabited by Moors, and Malacca by the Portugueſe. The Moors are always at war with the Pagans on *terra firma*.

" From Malacca they ſail to the iſland of Sumatra, ſaid to be Taprobana, which has not been totally diſcovered and ſailed round, on account of its ſize. Here are great quantities of pepper, which is carried to China; there are alſo grown here long pepper and benzoin; gold is alſo produced in no inconſiderable quantity. This year Giovanni D'Empoli, of Florence was ſent there, as governor.

" To the eaſt are the iſlands called Malacca, which produce cloves, nutmegs and mace; in ſome of them aloes of every ſpecies grow in quantities, and ſeveral ſorts of ſanders wood.

" Sailing towards the eaſt, it is ſaid, lies the country of Piccinnæoli, and many are of opinion that this country extends to and joins with the coaſt of Brazil, which, from its conſiderable extent, has not been diſcovered, or poſitively aſcertained. The Brazils are ſaid to join with the Antilles Iſlands, belonging to the king of Caſtile, and with the *terra firma* of that prince. To the north the Chineſe merchants ſail through the gulph to the ſaid Malacca, in queſt of ſpices, and bring from their own country muſk, rhubarb, pearls, tin, china, ſilk, and pieces of manufactured goods, ſuch as damaſks, ſattins, and brocades in the greateſt perfection. The natives are very induſtrious, their complexions not ſo good as the European, with ſmall eyes, and their feet confined in ſmall ſhoes. Their religion is Pagan. The laſt year the Portugueſe made a voyage to China, but were not ſuffered to land, foreigners not being permitted to enter their habitations. Their merchandiſe they ſold to good account, and ſaid that ſpices in general bore as good a price in China as in Portugal, on account of the cold of the climate, and the natives being much addicted to the uſe of them.

" Steering to the north, Malacca cannot be leſs diſtant from China than five hundred leagues. The king of this country never permits himſelf to be ſeen, nor ever ſpeaks but to one perſon; and when any buſineſs is to be diſpatched, he communicates it to one deputed for the purpoſe, he to another, and ſo on.

" All the foregoing fortreſſes were built after our plans, by the laſt of our commanders in chief, don Alfonſo Albuquerque, who on our arrival in India reſided at Ormuz,

Ormuz, at which place were then reſident many perſons of diſtinction from the gulph of Perſia, and among them the ambaſſador from the ſophi, named Scheik Iſhmael, a perſon of great credit. He made a preſent of ſome remarkable fine horſes, a great quantity of turquoiſes, and a ſcimiter, very rich and highly ornamented, the ſheath of gold, ſtudded with pearls and precious ſtones. Scheik Iſhmael was particularly anxious to obtain the friendſhip of the king of Portugal, and ſhewed a certain ſpirit of liberality and benevolence towards all the Franks. At the court of Perſia there have been ſeveral Portugueſe, who have been treated with the greateſt politeneſs and civility by the ſaid ſcheik.

"While we were in India, about a month after this, don Garcia Della Crognia, nephew of the commodore, had ſome intention of going to the ſtreights of the Red Sea, to deſtroy the army of the ſultan, and build a fortreſs in Dalaccia, or in Snacham, an iſland in eighteen degrees of latitude, where ſeveral of the religious orders embarked when they were on their way from Ethiopia to Jeruſalem; it being the will of the Almighty we ſhould this year make a diſcovery of the Chriſtians of Ethiopia.

"After this the ſaid commander in chief having left Ormuz, well provided with arms, and garriſoned with one thouſand men, returned with ſixteen ſail to the Indian ſea, and on his way received letters from Melchias, of Diupatam, a province of Cambaya, ordering him to return to Portugal, as another commander in chief was appointed in his room on the Indian ſtation. Albuquerque finding, on peruſal of his letters, that certain gentlemen which he had ſent priſoners to Portugal were returned to India, loaded with honours, and taking it for granted that as the king had ſent them to India, he diſapproved of his conduct and was diſpleaſed; he therefore took it ſo much to heart, that he had a relapſe of the complaint with which he had been attacked at Ormuz; and in going out of the boat at Goa, he finiſhed his glorious earthly career; and if we attend to the numerous exploits of this great and celebrated man, in the courſe of ten years reſidence in this country, we ſhall find few who are deſerving to be placed in competition with him; for in the cabinet and field he was equally great.

"In India at preſent there are four thouſand Portugueſe, and in the courſe of a month one thouſand are deſtined to go to Ormuz, and afterwards to the ſtreights of the Red Sea, to ſtop the paſſage of the veſſels to Mecca, and they are then to ſteer to the ſouth, to thoſe iſlands which are in number twelve thouſand, to take all the veſſels which ſhall be found navigating thoſe ſeas without a proper paſs; and after that to the iſland of Ceylon, and to the coaſt of Coromandel."

CHAPTER IX.

Further Exploits of the Portugueſe by Sea, during the Remainder of the Reign of King Emanuel.

A.D. 1515. THE great Alfonſo de Albuquerque was drawing towards the laſt period of his life, when king Emanuel, as if he had foreſeen it, ſent a new governor with a fleet for India. The governor was Lope Soarez de Albergaria; the fleet conſiſted of thirteen ſhips, and in them fifteen hundred fighting men, many gentlemen by birth, moſt ſuch by their actions. Among them was Duarte Galvam, a perſon of learning, authority, and judgment, who went ambaſſador to Preſter John, with rich preſents. The governor being arrived at Cochin, by his reſerve became diſagreeable to many, and particularly to the king, who was uſed to Albuquerque's diſcreet civility. Don Garcia de Norhona, who took charge of the diſpatch of the homeward bound trading ſhips, went away with them after no ſmall diſagreement with Lope Soarez. Till this time the gentlemen had followed the dictates of true honour, eſteeming their arms the greateſt riches; from hence forward they ſo wholly gave up themſelves to trading, that thoſe who had been captains became merchants, ſo that what had been duty became a ſhame, honour was a ſcandal, and reputation a reproach.

This year ſailed from Liſbon five ſhips under the command of John de Silveyra, three of them arrived in India, the other two were loſt on the ſands of St. Lazaro. The governor prepared, according to the king's order, for the Red Sea; and being informed, that the Soldan was fitting out a great fleet at Suez, he
A.D. 1516. ſailed in ſearch thereof from Goa, on the 8th of February, with twenty-ſeven ſail of ſeveral ſorts and ſizes. In this fleet were twelve hundred Portugueſe, eight hundred Malabar ſoldiers, and eight hundred ſeamen of the ſame nation. He arrived before the city Aden, the commander whereof Miramirzan, finding himſelf defenceleſs, as a piece of the wall was beaten down by Raez Soliman, made a virtue of neceſſity, and offered the keys to Lope Soarez, affirming he would have done the ſame to Albuquerque, had not he begun by acts of hoſtility. Lope Soarez pleaſed with this flattery, truſted to him, and did not take poſſeſſion of the city, but went away in ſearch of Raez Soliman, thinking firſt to find him out, and then take the city; but he neither took Aden at his return, or met Soliman as he went. He went up the Red Sea, in queſt of Soliman, but with bad fortune; for don Alvaro de Caſtro was loſt with forty men through covetouſneſs, he having taken ſome veſſels, ſo overloaded his own with the goods, that it ſunk. Other ſhips ſuſtained much damage. Hearing that Soliman was drove by ſtreſs of weather to Jidda, and had no defence, he reſolved to ſail thither.

The port being dangerous, Lope Soarez anchored a league from the city, in which there were ſuch good cannon, that three or four pieces reached the ſhips at that diſtance. There came a meſſenger from Soliman, offering a private combat between man and man, or as Soarez ſhould propoſe. The challenge was received by Gaſpar de Silva, and don Antonio de Meneſes, but the governor would not permit it, ſaying he would anſwer aſhore. He ſounded a channel that goes up to the city. Lope Soarez delayed

layed the landing two days, when his men began to complain of the delay. He appeaſed them by ſhewing his inſtructions, wherein he was ordered to fight the fleet, not to attack that city where there might be much danger and little profit; it was therefore reſolved in council to deſiſt. He retired to the iſland Camaran, whence he ſent ſhips to ſeveral parts of that ſea.

After ſuffering much through famine, by which ſome men died, and loſing ſeventeen Portugueſe, taken by the Moors, and carried to Jidda, Lope Soarez ſet ſail, and appeared before the city Zeyla, on the mouth of the Red Sea, on the African ſhore, being the great market of thoſe parts. The town was eaſily taken being unprovided, and burnt; the fleet then bent its courſe to Aden.

Here Soarez found how much he had been to blame in not taking poſſeſſion when offered by Miramirzan; for he, finding his enemy now weaker, and the wall repaired, refuſed by delays what before he offered with haſte. Lope Soarez fearing to loſe time, durſt not call Miramirzan to account, but ſet ſail, deſigning to do the ſame at the city Barbora, as he had done at Zeyla. But the fleet was ſcattered by ſtorms, and drove to ſeveral ports, and when they came after to hear of one another, it was found that above eight hundred men had periſhed by hunger, ſickneſs and ſhipwreck.

A. D. 1517. Antony de Saldana arrived now in India with ſix ſhips from Portugal. Soarez ſent D. John de Silveira to the Maldive iſlands, don Alexis de Meneſes to Malacca, Manuel de la Cerda to Diu, and Antony de Soldana with ſix ſhips, by the king's order, to the coaſt of Arabia. They arrived at the city Barbora near to Zeyla, a place not unlike to it, but much leſs. This was taken without reſiſtance, the inhabitants being all fled. It was burnt, and the fleet, without doing any thing remarkable, returned to India at the time Lope Soarez was ſailing for the iſland Ceylon.

The king of Columbo in Ceylon had a trade with the Portugueſe, deſired their friendſhip, and furniſhed them with cinnamon from the time of Albuquerque. Lope Soarez went thither now with a deſign to oblige him to pay tribute, and to build a fort as king Emanuel deſired. He had with him ſeven gallies, two ſhips, and eight ſmall veſſels with materials and workmen for building, and ſeven hundred Portugueſe ſoldiers. They had bad weather, but arrived ſafe. The king preſently granted leave to build a fort, but the Moors ſoon induced him to alter his mind. He received Soarez in ſuch manner as to put him to a difficulty; but in the end the enemies were put to flight. They had fortified themſelves to hinder the work, and Lope Soarez did the ſame now to begin it. The king came to a compoſition, the articles were that he ſhould be ſubject to Portugal, paying a yearly tribute of twelve hundred quintals of cinnamon, twelve rings of rubies and ſaphires, and ſix elephants.

At this time arrived from the Maldives, John de Silveyra with four ſail; in his way he took two ſhips of Cambaya; the king of the iſlands granted leave to erect a factory. He went with the ſame deſign to Bengala, where he was in great danger, for there a Bengalian young man that ſailed with him, diſcovered the taking of the two ſhips which were ſent to Cochin; ſo that he was looked upon as a pirate not worthy to be heard. It had been worſe with him, had not John Coello arrived then with his ſhip from Pacem, being ſent on the ſame errand by Ferdinando Perez de Andrade, to the king of Bengala. Don John de Silveyra, ſet ſail hence after paſſing the winter with

with great hardſhip, eſpecially from famine. He was invited by the king of Arracam to his port, who, with the meſſenger ſent him a preſent, but all his kindneſſes tended to deſtroy him at the inſtigation of the governor of the other port. This treachery took no effect, and he arrived at Ceylon at the time that Lope Soarez finiſhed the fort, who gave him the command of it, and left Antony de Miranda de Azevedo with four ſhips to cruiſe in that ſea.

About this time Fernan Perez de Andrade (ſent by the king to make diſcoveries) ſailing towards the bay of Bengala, arrived at Pacem the metropolis of one of the kingdoms of Sumatra, where he found Portugueſe trading, and was well received of that king. Here he loſt his biggeſt ſhip, burnt careleſsly by a candle, and was thereby obliged to return to Malacca, ſending John Coello in a ſhip of Bengala to wait for him there with what intelligence he could get till he returned from Malacca. Hence Coello ſet out with freſh inſtructions for China, and met with furious ſtorms and other dangers. On the coaſt of Chiampa in taking in freſh water, it had like to coſt him his life. At Patane he eſtabliſhed peace and commerce with the governor, the ſame at other places, and ſpent the winter without reaching China. He returned to Malacca, and refitted for his voyage, on which he now ſet out with eight ſhips.

Arriving there after ſome dangers and difficulties, he had a conference with the three governors of this city, and ſent to them Thomas Perez with an embaſſy and preſents from the king of Portugal, to their king. He ſettled a peace with that city and traded in it and the neighbouring parts; then ſailed for Malacca, having received advice of the dangerous condition it was in, by reaſon of the war with the king of Bintam and the diſcord between the Portugueſe.

Fernan Perez loaded with riches, ammunition, and good ſucceſs in China, was no leſs welcome at Malacca, than don Alexis de Meneſes had been not long before.

About the end of March ſailed from Liſbon nine ſhips bound for In-
A. D. 1518. dia, with fifteen hundred fighting men, all under the command of James Lopez de Sequiero, to whom the king gave the government of India as a reward of his good ſervice in Africa, his diſcovery of Malacca, and worthy qualities. At the Cape of Good Hope, one ſhip was in danger of periſhing by means of a great fiſh, which running againſt her ſtuck the length of two ſpans of a long beak it has into her ſide; this was afterwards found to be the fiſh called the Needle. Lope Soarez preſently reſigned the government to James Lopez, and ſet ſail for Portugal with nine ſhips. Sequiero began to act. Don Alonſo de Meneſes was ſent againſt Baticala, becauſe it refuſed to pay tribute. John Gomez went for Maldivia, where he was to command and build a fort. Theſe things diſpatched at Cochin, James Lopez went away to Goa, whence he diſpatched others, Anthony de Saldana to the coaſt of Arabia, and Simon de Andrade to China.

James Pacheco going with two ſhips in ſearch of the iſland of Gold, was loſt, and moſt of his men.

This year king Emanuel ſent a fleet of fourteen ſhips to the relief of
A. D. 1519. India, which was diſperſed to ſeveral parts. The commander in chief George de Albuquerque and four more arrived in India. Six ſtayed at Mozambique. Some fell in with the coaſt of Brazil, where fifty of the men were killed, and one of the captains don Luis de Guzman wickedly ſlew the others and turned pirate, whereby he grew very rich, and at laſt died as he deſerved. One was drove back to Liſbon,

Liſbon, another watering at Matira loſt ſome men, and ſix more at Oja, the king keeping them long with kind entertainment, the ſhip ſailed and left them, and was loſt upon a bank off of Quiloa, and the Moors of that iſland, Monfia and Zanziber, ſlew all but one young man. George de Albuquerque paſſed with much difficulty from Mozambique to India, not able to follow James Lopez de Sequiero to the Red Sea, as he had ſent orders by Gonzalo de Louli, who by the way took up the men that had been caſt a ſhore in the late ſtorms.

James Lopez de Sequiero having diſpatched the trading ſhips homeward-bound, commanded by Ferdinando Perez de Andrade, and ſettled other affairs, ſailed from Goa on the 13th of February with a fleet of twenty-four ſail, and in it one thouſand eight hundred Portugueſe, and almoſt as many Malabars and Canaras. On the coaſt of Aden, the ſhip Lopez was in ſtruck upon a rock and was broke in pieces, the men were ſaved, and he went on board the galeon of Peter de Faria. At the entrance of the Red Sea they took a Mooriſh ſhip, who informed them there were ſix Turkiſh gallies at Jidda with one thouſand two hundred men deſigned againſt Aden. The weather hindered his going in ſearch of them, and it had been to no purpoſe, for they hearing of this fleet had haled in ſhore. James Lopez deſigned for the iſland Maçua, when by the way, on the 9th of April being Eaſter-Sunday, they thought they ſaw in the orb of the ſun about the time of its ſetting, a little black flag with ſome motion. Being arrived at the iſland, they found the inhabitants were fled, yet they took ſome booty and veſſels in the port, and ſome prizes in the neighbourhood. The inhabitants of Maçua had fled for refuge to the port of Arquico belonging to Preſter John; the governor of the town ſent a meſſenger with a letter to James Lopez, deſiring he would make peace with thoſe people that had fled to him for protection. He aſked nothing in behalf of the town becauſe they were all Chriſtians, and becauſe there was a prophecy among them, foretelling the coming of foreign Chriſtians to ſettle a correſpondence with them, which, on ſeeing the Chriſtian colours, he looked upon to be fulfilled. James Lopez returned a courteous anſwer, and ſtood in ſhore, where ſome Chriſtians came aboard to him. They told him their prince Preſter John, had ſome years ſince, ſent an ambaſſador whoſe name was Matthew, to a king of the other end of the world, whoſe fleet then conquered India, to inform him of thoſe remote Chriſtians, and demand ſuccour againſt the Moors, but that he never returned. Sequiero hearing this, was convinced thoſe men dealt ingenuouſly, becauſe he brought that ambaſſador with him, and had orders from king Emanuel to land him ſafe in his prince's dominions. The ambaſſador was placed before them, who received him with great reſpect and joy, his joy was no leſs on being reſtored to his country after ten years abſence. Next day came ten religious men from the neighbouring convent of the Viſion with the ſame gladneſs to ſee him; they were received by the prieſts of the fleet in their ſurplices. There were great demonſtrations of joy for the union of two ſuch diſtant nations agreeing in the ſame faith, and the fruit of this meeting was, that thoſe who from the beginning had not acknowledged the ſupremacy of the Roman church, now ſubmitted to it.

The ſeaſon being fit to ſail (which in thoſe parts is very uncertain) James Lopez ſet out from Ormuz, and went to meet George de Albuquerque at Calayate, where he found one ſhip arrived from Liſbon, of nine that ſailed together, all the others afterwards came ſafe. One of theſe ſhips ſailing before the wind beyond the Cape of Good Hope, ſtopped all of a ſudden, the ſails, though full, gave her no motion. The cauſe being examined into, it appeared that a great ſea-monſter bore the veſſel upon its back,

the

the tail about the rudder, and head up with the bowſprit, caſting up ſtreams of water. The ſailors ſaid it was the fiſh called ſambrero or hat-fiſh, becauſe the head reſembles it, and ſuch a one, though leſs, had been ſeen on the coaſt of Portugal.

Lopez diſpatched the homeward bound trading ſhips under the command of Antony de Saldana. Being eaſed of this care he applied himſelf to that of the attempt upon Diu. In order thereunto he gathered the greateſt fleet that had been ſeen on thoſe ſeas, conſiſting of forty-eight veſſels of all ſorts; in them three thouſand Portugueſe, and eight hundred Malabars and Canaras. A great power lamentably diſappointed as will appear in the ſequel.

On the 9th of February, James Lopez appeared with all his pomp before Diu; Melique Az was then abſent, being gone to the king of Cambaya, to prevent him granting the leave to the Portugueſe for building the fort. And being ſuſpicious this preparation was made againſt him, had fortified and intrenched the city in a wonderful manner. He had left in it againſt all accidents his ſon Melique Saca, and three brave commanders with a ſtout garriſon. The governor having obſerved the difficulties, had it debated in council what was fit to be done, and all agreeing the city ſhould not be aſſaulted, they afterwards accuſed him becauſe it was not done.

James Lopez went to winter at Ormuz, ſome of the captains to ſeveral markets, and don Alexis de Meneſes, with the reſt of the fleet, retired to Cochin, with power from the governor to act as ſhould be expedient in thoſe parts.

Don Alexis, at his arrival at Cochin diſpatched the trading ſhips for Portugal, and other appointed for ſeveral places.

George Albuquerque arriving at Sumatra, and aſſiſted by the neighbouring king of Ara, propoſed to the uſurper to quit the kingdom to the lawful prince, who had ſubmitted himſelf to the king of Portugal. Genial the uſurper offered the ſame ſubmiſſion to keep his poſſeſſion. The offer was refuſed, and Albuquerque went to attack him in his fort, which was ſcaled, and the gate broke open, but valiantly maintained by thirty men who were in a tower over it with the uſurper himſelf, till Cid Cerveyra with a muſket ſhot, which went through his forehead, brought him down, whereupon the thirty men were diſmayed and fled. Next day the diſpoſſeſſed prince was reſtored with great ſtate, and made tributary to king Emanuel, and a fort raiſed there as in other places.

At this time arrived at the ſame port, Antony de Brito with the fleet that had been commanded by his brother George, who with the braveſt of his men was killed on the ſhore of Achem, twenty leagues diſtant from Pacem, who had been ſent thither with ſix ſail and three hundred men. Behold an example of avarice and ingratitude. John de Borba, after ſuffering ſhipwreck, having been toſſed nine days on the waves with nine companions, and caſt upon the ſhore of Achem, was received and relieved by that king, as if he had been in his native country. But George de Brito arriving, he informed him there was great ſtore of gold in the tombs of the kings, and the more to induce him to commit the robbery, ſaid the king had taken away the goods of ſome Portugueſe. Brito, after ſome enquiry into the buſineſs, began to pick a quarrel with the king, and ſeize upon that gold. He landed with two hundred men, and finding a fort in his way, took it. Two drunken men iſſuing out after the taking were killed by the enemy, and ſeveral following to relieve or revenge them, George de Brito was at laſt obliged to come to their ſuccour at the time the king came on with a thouſand men and ſix elephants. Here Brito and moſt of his men were killed, among them

fifty

fifty of note. The ſad remainder retired to their ſhips, the command whereof fell to Antony de Brito, (brother to him that was ſlain) who now joined Albuquerque in the port of Pacem, where he left ſome men, and three ſhips, which were afterwards of uſe againſt a Moor who infeſted that coaſt.

George de Albuquerque returning to Malacca, and taking poſſeſſion of that command, prepared to make war upon the king of Bintam, who was forty leagues diſtant from Malacca, in the iſland Bintam of forty leagues circumference. The iſland was well fortified, having two ſtrong caſtles, and the rivers ſtaked, ſo that it ſeemed almoſt inacceſſible. Albuquerque ſet out from Malacca with eighteen ſail, and ſix hundred men. Finding it impoſſible for the ſhips to come up, he landed his men in boats to attack a fort, but the water being up to their middles, and the enemies ſhot very thick, they were forced to retire without doing any execution; they loſt twenty men, and had many wounded.

Hence Antony de Brito ſet ſail for the Molucco iſlands, which are in the midſt of many others under the equinoctial, about three hundred leagues from Malacca eaſtward. The principal of them are five, about twenty-five leagues diſtant from each other. Their names (though in general called Moluccos) are Ternate, Tidore, Mouſell, Maquien, Bacham; the biggeſt not above ſix leagues in circumference. They are covered with woods and fogs, therefore unhealthy. Theſe five produce cloves, but no manner of food; and the iſland Batochina, ſixty leagues in length, produces food but no cloves. In ſome there are flaming mountains, chiefly in Ternate. Their chief ſuſtenance is meal made of the bark of trees like to the palm; from theſe and others they have wine and vinegar. There is a ſort of canes that in the hollow have a liquor delightful to drink. The inhabitants are not great lovers of fleſh, though they have plenty; more of fiſh, of which there is an infinite quantity. They are not affable, but warlike, and moſt ſwift either in running or ſwimming. Idolaters as to their religion. Of their origin there is no account. They were in proceſs of time poſſeſſed by Moors, ſince whoſe firſt coming to them there was yet living an old maſter when Brito arrived.

To theſe iſlands, and particularly Ternate, Brito was ſent to build a fort, which long ſince Boylefe the king thereof had deſired. Others had gone before but to no effect, as in the time of Albuquerque, Antony de Abreu, who loſt one of the three ſhips he carried, but ſaved the men. He arrived in the iſland Banda; five go under this name, but it is moſt proper to the chief, which is like an earthly paradiſe, one great ornament of it being the plant which produces the mace. Antony de Abreu returned to Malacca, but his other captain Francis Serram was drove to Ternate, the king whereof ſeeing him, and ſome of his men in armour, concluded a prophecy was fulfilled, which foretold, that men of iron ſhould come to that iſland, who would make it famous. Antony de Miranda went thither afterwards, Francis Serram ſtaying there to expect an anſwer from king Emanuel, to the letters of the kings of Ternate and Tidore, each ſtriving to have the fort built in this iſland. Don Triſtan de Meneſes afterwards carried this anſwer. Becauſe the difference increaſed about the ſame thing between the two kings and the king of Bachan who deſired the ſame, Triſtan deferred the work to avoid the danger, and get loading for five ſhips he had with him. This was what happened from the taking of Malacca, till this time when Antony de Brito undertook the affairs of Molucco.

He had ſix ſhips and above three hundred men. At the iſland Agacim he met don Garcia Enriquez with four ſail. They ſailed together, and Brito arrived at Ternate

ſome time after the king Boleyſe was dead, and he of Tidore had ſubmitted to the Spaniards, thinking himſelf as happy in them, as Ternate could be in the Portugueſe. Yet ſeeing the queen of Ternate governeſs of her ſon, received Brito with great joy; he viſited and finding him diſpleaſed on account of the new gueſts he had entertained, offered to deliver them up to him. This he thought would oblige him to build the fort at Tidore, which at length was done at Ternate as the moſt convenient, Brito laying the firſt ſtone, attended by all the captains and men of note crowned with garlands, it being upon the feaſt of St John the Baptiſt.

A. D. 1521. It is neceſſary ſomething be ſaid of thoſe captains who the foregoing years were ſent to ſeveral parts, though what they did was in relation to trade, a ſubject unbecoming a grave hiſtory. Fernan Perez de Andrade had ſecured the trade of China in the city Quantung. The profit was exceeding great, and all mens deſires were directed thither. His brother Simon de Andrade obtained leave of the governor to undertake that voyage with five ſhips. They anchored in the port of the iſland Tamou, oppoſite to Quantung where the other had been. The ambaſſador to the king of China was not yet gone thence, but went ſoon after up a large river with three veſſels richly furniſhed, with Portugueſe colours, it being a received cuſtom that none but thoſe of China ſhould be ſeen there, which are gules a lion rampant. Thomas Perez landed, and travelled northwards to the province and city Nanquin, where the king then was, having ſpent four months on the journey without ſtaying at any place. So large is that empire. That prince deſigned to give him audience at Peking, a city farther diſtant. The ambaſſador followed. But now appeared the effects of trading avarice, for whilſt he travelled, Simon de Andrade behaved himſelf after ſuch a manner in the iſland Tamou, that an account of his bad proceedings was ſent after Thomas Perez. The ambaſſador ſet out, but the information reached the king firſt, and was fully credited. He and his companions were condemned to death as ſpies. The rigour of the ſentence was mitigated, but the embaſſy not received, and they were ſent back priſoners to Quantung, with orders, that in caſe the Portugueſe would reſtore Malacca to its king, who was a ſubject to China, they might be reſtored and heard, otherwiſe they ſhould be puniſhed, and none ever after admitted, but treated as enemies.

Simon de Andrade was proud and conceited, and thought by a high hand to authorize his unjuſt dealing. To this end, as if he had been king of that iſland, he raiſed a fort, and ſet up a gallows to terrify the people. He committed violence upon the merchants who reſorted thither, contrary to their privileges, and bought young people of both ſexes without the uſual precautions, giving occaſion to thieves to ſteal them from their parents. Theſe extravagancies were heard by the king before Thomas Perez, and had the effect above related.

At this time arrived there James Calva, with one ſhip from Liſbon, and others from Malacca. The Portugueſe agreed in acting more inſolently, which very much exaſperated the governors of Quantung, who, to puniſh them, ſecured ſome, and contrived to take the ſhip laſt arrived. They began to act, when Duarte Coello arrived with two veſſels from Malacca, well manned and provided. The itao, or admiral of that ſea attacked them with fifty ſail, and did ſome damage, but received greater from the Portugueſe artillery; he was forced to retire, and lying off, kept them beſieged. Forty days he had kept them in, when Ambroſe del Rego came with two ſhips more from Malacca, and it was reſolved to force their way through the itao's fleet, and get out of the

the iſland. The fight was bloody, but a ſtorm ariſing, diſperſed the enemy's fleet, and left the Portugueſe in ſafety.

The itao revenged this diſaſter upon ſome of the Portugueſe that arrived there, and upon their ambaſſador, Thomas Perez, and his companions, who being returned to Quantung, were all ſlain, and robbed of the preſent ſent to that king, and what Perez had gained. This man, who was choſen ambaſſador for his good parts, was of baſe parentage, and by trade an apothecary, yet at this time there was found with him two thouſand weight of rhubarb, ſixteen hundred pieces of damaſk, four hundred of other ſilks, above an hundred ounces of gold, and two thouſand of ſilver, three quarters of a hundred of looſe muſk, and above three thouſand purſes of it, at firſt called Papos, and much other merchandiſe.

Mocrin, king of Laſah, refuſed to pay the tribute due to the king of Ormuz for the iſlands of Baharem and Catifa, on the coaſt of Arabia; and the king of Ormuz was backward in paying the Portugueſe, excuſing himſelf with the failure of the other. He had already ſent a great force, with ſome Portugueſe, to reduce him, but to no effect. He now reſolved to do it effectually, and treated about it with James Lopez de Sequiero, who, to ſecure the tribute, conſented to aſſiſt him againſt his enemy. The king of Ormuz ſent out two hundred veſſels with three thouſand Arabs and Perſians. The Portugueſe party conſiſted of ſeven ſhips and four hundred men, commanded by Antony Corea. All the Portugueſe ſhips arrived at Baharem; Raez Xarafo commanded the Ormuzians, ſome whereof came not up.

Mocrin was well prepared to receive them, with three hundred Arabian horſe, four hundred Perſian archers, twenty Turkiſh muſqueteers, beſides natives, and above eleven thouſand armed with ſeveral weapons, ſtrong intrenchments, and other works, the wall well furniſhed with cannon, all under the care of tried commanders.

Raez Zarafo was ordered to relieve where he ſhould ſee the greateſt need, whilſt Corea landed with one hundred and ſeventy Portugueſe, to which his brother Ayres led the van with fifty, all of them knee-deep in water. The trenches were aſſaulted, the fight was hot, the king encouraging his men at the head of them, till wearineſs and heat obliged both parties to take breath. Being recovered, they returned to the attack, and the king was ſhot through the thigh, whereof ſix days after he died, his men fainted, and great numbers being killed and wounded, they left the Portugueſe a complete victory. Raez Zarafo from his veſſel looked on all the time; but after knowing the dead body of the king was carried over to be buried at Laſah, he obtained leave to go and take it, which done, he cut off his head, and carried it to Ormuz. The Portugueſe had many wounded, ſeven killed, and the iſland in two hours was reſtored to them. For this reaſon Antony Corea had the title of Baharem added to his name, and the head of a king to his arms, which continues in his poſterity.

James Lopez now deſigned to reaſſume the buſineſs againſt Diu, and therefore ſent James Fernandez de Beja, with four galleons, to hinder any ſhips entering that port, which he effectually executed, and took ſeveral veſſels; but the ſhips of Melique Az coming out with much cannon, ſunk one of the Portugueſe ſhips, and did much damage to the others, till the wind, which had failed, favouring, they were obliged to retire. With like fortune James Lopez drew near, for having taken a ſhip by the way, and divided the Moors that were in her among his ſhips, thoſe who were allotted to

Antony

Antony Corea ſet fire to the powder, which blew the poop into the air, and ſunk the veſſel: thus miſerably ended that brave captain, who had triumphed over king Mocrin.

Theſe misfortunes obliged James Lopez to deſiſt from the enterpriſe, and go over to Chaul. Here he found Ferdinando Camelo, who came from the court of Nizamaluco, with leave for the Portugueſe to build a fort there for his own ends, and chiefly for the importation of horſes, which at that time was the trade of Goa only. The work was begun, and Melique Az, fearing it would leſſen the trade of Diu, and encreaſe the power of the Portugueſe, reſolved to obſtruct it. He appeared in the ſea of Chaul, with above fifty veſſels of his own and confederates, and preſently ſunk a ſhip in which Peter de Silva de Meneſes was juſt come from Ormuz; and for the ſpace of twenty days did much damage in the ſhips and gallies, wherewith don Alexis de Meneſes oppoſed them. Notwithſtanding all dangers, the work was carried on with good ſucceſs. But it being neceſſary for the governor to repair to Cochin, becauſe his ſucceſſor was arrived, and he muſt prepare to return home, he ſet out of Dabul, ruſhing through the dangers that ſurrounded the work. He left his nephew Henry de Meneſes to command the fort, and Antony de Corea at ſea, while James Lopez de Sequiero, with his ſhips, ſet out from Cochin for Portugal*.

CHAPTER X.

Voyage to the Iſland of St. Thomas.

WE ſhall conclude this ſection of Portugueſe voyages, with a voyage written by a Portugueſe pilot, and addreſſed to Count Raymond de la Torre. It was written originally in Portugueſe, tranſlated into Italian, and inſerted in Ramuſio's Collection, from which we take it.

Your lordſhip knows, that before I left Venice, I received letters from ſignor Pieronimo Fracaſtoro, in which he ſignified to me his pleaſure, that I ſhould make a tranſcript of the memoirs I had in my poſſeſſion, reſpecting the voyage to the iſland of St. Thomas. He was of opinion, that a voyage to the equinoctial line, under which that iſland lies, muſt be highly intereſting, and worth general notice. By the addition of your lordſhip's command, my firſt buſineſs at my arrival in the ſaid place was to put them into immediate execution.

As I am a mariner, and unpractiſed in literature, I flatter myſelf your lordſhip will eaſily excuſe me, if the materials are not ſet in the requiſite order, and written with that elegance which ſo much enhances the merit of the like relations.

The veſſels deſtined for the commerce of ſugars to St. Thomas, commonly ſail from Liſbon in the month of February, although there is no time in the year in which they do not ſail. Their courſe is ſouth-ſouth-weſt until they arrive at the Canaries. They touch at Palma, from which iſland there are two courſes, one of which is generally taken.

* Faria y Souſa.

If

If a ſhip happens to be provided with fiſh to ſalt, which is a ſubſtantial ſupport to the crew, they ſteer to the iſland of Sal, which is one of the iſlands of Cape Verde. Its ſterrility muſt be the cauſe of its being uninhabited: for there is not any animal to be met with but wild goats; and being, moreover, of a low ſituation, it is often expoſed to inundations in its moſt acceſſible parts. When the ſun darts its beams perpendicularly on this iſland, which happens when it is in the tropic of Cancer, the water congeals and brings forth that ſalt for which it is famed. The ſame muſt be ſaid of the other iſlands of Cape Verde and the Canaries, but of that iſland in particular; which, for this reaſon, goes by the name of Sal.—Bonaviſta is the next place to Sal, and after it, Majo; in which there is a lake above two leagues in length, and as many in breadth, of nothing but ſalt, where a thouſand ſhips may be loaded, without the leaſt fee to its ſovereign. It is remarkable, that the goats of all the Cape Verde iſlands are ſo teeming, as to bring forth three or four little ones at a time, repeating the ſame every four months. The kids are moſt delicate for eating, as their fleſh is fat, and fine flavoured, owing, perhaps, to the ſea water, which their mothers drink.

But if the ſhip has no fiſh to ſalt, the courſe to be taken from Palma to St. Thomas, is towards the coaſt of Africa, to the Rio d'Ouro, which is one hundred and ten miles from Palma. Here, if they have calms, and ſmooth ſeas, they may take in, with their nets, or with a certain number of thin long ſtrings, armed with angles or fiſh-hooks, in leſs than three hours, ſuch a ſtore of fiſh, as will laſt them the reſt of their voyage; the attractive power of their bate is ſo efficacious, that the fiſh come to it by ſhoals. When they are taken, they open them on the back, and ſalt them, a food not unpalatable, and indiſpenſible in this voyage. However, the Portugueſe are never ſuffered to live upon them; as it is their opinion the fleſh is productive of diſorders, though we have the contrary examples in the Caſtilians, who never fail to lay in a quantity for proviſion on their way to the Weſt Indies. Should the weather, on the ſaid river, happen to be turbulent, they run along the coaſt towards Cape Blanco, in expectation of its becoming calm; afterwards they ſteer as far as Arguim. It ſhould be mentioned, that from Cape Bajador the whole coaſt is low and ſandy, as far as Cape Blanco, and which continues even to Arguim. Arguim is inhabitated by Moors and negroes: and here are the limits that divide Barbary from Negro-land.

From the iſland of Sal, they paſs to that of St. Jago, one of the Cape Verde iſlands, in fifteen degrees north latitude: thirty leagues diſtance from Sal. Its length is computed to be ſeventeen leagues. It has a town on the ſea ſide called Ravina Granda, with a good port, being ſheltered by two high mountains, and has a river of freſh water riſing about two leagues off. This river, from its ſource down to the city, is bordered on both ſides with orange, lemon, cedar, grenade, and fig-trees of every deſcription. Some years ago, they planted palms, which produce the cocoa, or nuts of India. There is no kind of herb that does not proſper here; but their ſeed are all unproductive and uſeleſs, and they are obliged to recur every year to Spain for a freſh collection. The town lies ſouthward, and is remarkable for its good houſes, which are built of ſtone and lime: it is peopled by a number of Portugueſe and Caſtilians; and is reckoned to contain about five hundred families. Our king keeps a *corregidor* there, and there are annually two juſtices elected; the one to preſide over maritime affairs, and the other for adminiſtering juſtice to the inhabitants of that and the circumjacent iſlands. Barren and ungrateful as the iſland is in the mountainous and

rocky parts, it is rich and cultivated in the vallies. When the ſun enters Cancer, it rains without intermiſſion; wherefore the Portugueſe have called that month *Luna de las aguas*, or the watery month. At the beginning of Auguſt they ſow a grain called *zaburſo*, millet, the ſame that grows in the Weſt Indies under the name of maize. This grain is as common on the coaſt of Africa as in theſe iſlands, and is the chief ſuſtenance of both theſe countries. They gather their crops in forty days. They alſo cultivate rice and cotton, which ſerves them very well, as they know how to manufacture cloths of various colours, which they barter on the weſtern coaſt of Africa for negroes.

From the iſland of St. Jago the navigators ſteer for Rio Grande, or the Grand River, in Ethiopia, in nine degrees of latitude; which river is generally reputed to be the Niger of the ancients, and a branch of the Nile flowing weſtward, ſince there are alſo crocodiles and ſea-horſes, whoſe teeth the modern negroes hold in great value, as they wear rings of them, which they affirm to preſerve them from certain maladies. Leaving this river, they come to a mountain called Siera Leona, whoſe ſummit is involved in thick miſt; let the ſun be ever ſo ardent and perpendicular, it will never diſpel that miſt. Our ſhips always keep ſight of the coaſt, though at a great diſtance, ſolicitouſly anchoring when the ſun declines; and thus they keep on in a ſouthern direction, until they find themſelves under the fourth degree north, when they tack to the eaſt, and ſteer with the coaſt of Ethiopia on their left, until they arrive at the iſland St. Thomas, when they are exactly under the equinoctial line. Often at twenty miles diſtance from the coaſt, the ſea has hardly fifty fathoms depth; but farther out it increaſes diſproportionately. The Portugueſe pilots keep an ordinary regiſter, in which they inſcribe all particularities of the voyage from day to day. At our arrival in the Gold River, which flows directly under the tropic of Cancer, we began to deſcry four ſtars, in form of a croſs, of an admirable brightneſs, and of the largeſt degree of magnitude: they are three degrees from the antarctic pole, and are called the *Cruſero*. They appeared very low: we directed an inſtrument, called caliſtra, to one of them, which made the foot of the croſs. When we were at St. Thomas's, they were very high. Some years, after rain, a kind of lunar iris, or rainbow, may be ſeen there in night time; but the colours the moon produces are like white fogs. About the tides, I muſt obſerve, that from the ſtreights of Gibraltar to the tropic of Cancer, the flux of the ſea is hardly perceptible; but from that latitude to Rio Grande, which was called the Niger, the tide on that river is more viſible. The frequent rains in Ethiopia, cauſes that river to ſwell and roll in mud, at the ſame time as the Nile increaſes. The red and muddy waters of the former river may be diſtinguiſhed at forty miles diſtance at ſea. In the iſland of St. Thomas, the tide does not flow higher than a fathom and an half.

The iſland of St. Thomas, which has been diſcovered above eighty years, by the captains of our king, having been unknown to the ancients, is of a circular form, and is ſixty Italian miles in diameter, or one degree. Its horizon extends to both poles: its days and nights are equal the whole year. The arctic polar ſtar is inviſible, but its ſatellites may be ſeen; and the ſtars of the croſs appear in conſiderable elevation. Eaſtward of St. Thomas lies a ſmall iſland, called the Princes, and its diſtance is one hundred and twenty miles: it is inhabited and cultivated at preſent. The income from the ſugar is the property of our prince, and therefore it is called the Princes.

There

There is alſo another uninhabited iſland near, called Anobon, which is ſmall, ſtoney and deſart; but there are excellent fiſheries about it, and the inhabitants of St. Thomas make the beſt of them. It lies forty leagues diſtance, in two degrees ſouth latitude. It is a neſt of innumerable crocodiles and poiſonous ſnakes.

When St. Thomas was firſt diſcovered, it was nothing but one thick foreſt, compoſed of green and ſuperb, though unfruitful, trees, extending their branches not out and round, as in our parts, but ſtrait and upright. Since they have levelled a great part of it, a principal city has been built there, which they call Povoaſan, where there is a good port. The houſes are all built of wood. They have their biſhop ordained by the ſupreme pontiff, at our king's requeſt, with a corregidor, whoſe province is to diſtribute juſtice. There may be about ſix or ſeven hundred houſes: its inhabitants are, in great part, Portugueſe, Caſtilians, French, or Genoeſe merchants. All foreigners are received with diſtinction; and marriages are much promoted. Thoſe who are born in that iſland, preſerve our colour; but it happens ſome times that our European merchants intermarry with negro females; the more readily, as there are ſeveral opulent and intelligent negroes ſettled there, who have their daughters educated after the European manners and cuſtoms, and then the offspring of ſuch marriages form a tawny generation, which are known by the name of Mulattoes.

The ſtaple commodity of the inhabitants of St. Thomas, is ſugar; which they ſell to the merchants annually reſorting thither; and for which they receive meal, Spaniſh wines, oil, cheeſe, leather for ſhoes, ſwords, glaſs cups, glaſs toys, and a kind of ſmall white ſhell, which are called in Italy *porcellette*; they ſerve as the current ſtandard of prices in Ethiopia, in lieu of money. Thoſe merchants would be greatly expoſed, if they were not relieved by this commerce with Europe, as they could not ſubſiſt upon the victuals of the negroes. Each inhabitant, therefore, procures himſelf a certain number of ſlaves, both male and female, from Guinea, to work his land, and bring his ſugar to perfection. There are ſome wealthy perſons who keep even three hundred ſlaves of both ſexes, whom they compel to work the whole week, except on Saturday, when they are allowed to work for their own ſubſiſtence: and in ſuch days, they ſow their zaburſo, the roots of *igname*, and many other domeſtic herbs; ſuch as lettuces, radiſhes, and parſley: all thoſe vegetables thrive in the ſhorteſt time, and arrive to high perfection. The ground is of a red and yellow colour; and through the ſhowers that fall every night, it never diſſolves into duſt, but is conſiſtent, like ſoft wax; and to this quality of the ground is to be aſcribed its vegetative power. This ſingle inſtance of the extraordinary virtue of that ſoil, will ſuffice as a proof. When the ground is but indifferently overturned and cultivated, there immediately ſpring up trees, which will in a few days attain the ſame ſize, as in our countries in many months: ſo that they are obliged to cut down and burn them. The ſpot where they are burned is admirably fit for the plantation of ſugar canes, which remain five months in the ground before they come to ripeneſs. This plant receives no hurt from the perpendicularity of the ſun in March and September, as in thoſe periods the ſky is covered with dark and pregnant clouds, which continually diſtill rains, and thereby ſhelter it.

This iſland has been computed to yield more than one hundred and fifty thouſand arobes of ſugar, to thirty-one pound the arobe. This calculation has been deducted from the tythe paid to the king, which generally amounts from twelve to fourteen thouſand arobes, omitting an infinity of privileged coloniſts, which do not diſcharge the

whole. There are about ſixty mills conſtructed on different waters, in which the canes are ground, the liquor running into large kettles, wherein it is boiled, and afterwards caſt into loaves of fifteen and twenty pounds each; they cleanſe it with aſhes. In ſuch places of the iſland as are unprovided with water, they employ negroes in this office, or horſes, if they have any. The juice extracted from the canes are given to the ſwine, who have no other food, and to which it has been found extremely congenial, as it fattens them to a ſurpriſing degree. Their fleſh is ſo delicate and wholeſome, that it is preferred to poultry; and they never fail ſerving ſick perſons with it. Thoſe iſlanders have tempted over from Madeira many expert manufacturers of ſugar, to give their own that ſolidity and whiteneſs, which they ſtill wanted: but no induſtry of theirs has ever been ſufficient to remedy thoſe defects. The reaſon has been imputed partly to the ſoftneſs and fatneſs of the ground, which is transfuſed into the plant, and partly to the humid air that continually reigns in that iſland. We muſt, however, except the months of June, July, and Auguſt, during which time, keen and dry winds ariſe from Ethiopia; but as they are not efficacious enough, art has been applied to.

They erect a high roof of tables, as it were, diligently cloſed, and covered on all ſides; without windows; and with a ſingle door, the better to preclude the acceſs to the air: therein they erect a large beam, whereupon they fix leſſer ones, about four feet diſtance from one another; and on which they diſtend tables for ſupporting the ſugar loaves. Underneath the ſaid tables, they ſet on fire ſome large dry pieces of wood, which being ſmothered, emit neither flame nor ſmoke, but are conſumed like coals: by this machinery they dry their ſugar, as it were, in a ſtove. They are ſtudious to ſell them on the firſt opportunity, as they would riſk having them melted if they ſhould preſerve them only two or three years.

More than one-third of this iſland is ſtill covered with woods, or unplanted. The king has wiſely provided, that any foreigner who comes to ſettle there, ſhould be allotted, at an eaſy rate, a competent ſpace of ground, by way of encouragement, to cultivate, the firſt ſtep of ſuch a new coloniſt, is to purchaſe a quantity of negroes, which he employs in rooting out thoſe trees, and burning them; they fertilize the ſoil, and prepare it for the reception of the ſugar canes. Theſe ſlaves are not ſupplied with any cloaths or dwelling, but are left to furniſh themſelves with theſe neceſſaries; and therefore, except a cover of cotton or palm-rind over their privacies, they go quite naked, both men and women. Their food is the above-deſcribed millet, which is a kind of white bean, or they make bread and cakes, baked under aſhes, out of its meal. The root of *igname* is a principal article in their food: they drink water, or palm-wine, of which they have plenty, and ſheep or goats milk.

As there are ſeldom winds in this iſland, it is infeſted with innumerable flies, which are much bigger than ours, and more troubleſome, particularly to thoſe who live in the neighbourhood of woods, as many are neceſſitated to be, on account of the great want of wood conſumed in the boiling of ſugar: for this reaſon, the negroes have deviced another way of building their dwellings. They fix four poles, as high as poſſible, in the ground, in form of a ſquare: on the top of which they conſtruct a roof, with a high fence about it, which they cover on the ſummit and ſides with a certain herb, ſomewhat like thick ſtraw, with a long ladder to mount it by night, when they are going to ſleep. The women get their little children eaſily up and down, and ſhelter themſelves from this troubleſome infection. At the city of Pavoaſan, there is little incon-

inconveniency from them, as it has no wood in its vicinity. In ſome years there are ſeen ſuch a multitude of little black ants, that they devour and gnaw all they can find, nor can they be kept from laying hold on the ſugars; but a ſingle rain ſuffices to diſpel, or to exterminate them. The mice are likewiſe to be ranked among the vexatious and detrimental claſs of animals in this iſland.

The root which is called by the Indians of Hiſpaniola Batata, is named Igname at St. Thomas, and is one of the moſt eſſential articles of their food. Its colour, or the rind, is black without, but within it is white, and reſembles a turnip. It taſtes like a cheſnut, but is much better, and more tender. They eat them baked under aſhes, and alſo boiled: they are very ſubſtantial, and ſatiate like bread: they are neither impregnated with cold or heat, digeſt eaſy, and are ſalubrious. Thoſe roots are divided in various kinds, as the igname, and the ſimory, of which a vaſt quantity is exported for the conſumption of the crews that repair thither for the ſugar trade. It has the advantage of preſerving its freſhneſs during ſeveral months, and will be palatable after a whole year. The other ſpecies of igname are that of Benin, that of Manciongo, and a yellow one; but they are not ſo preſervable as the former. That of Benin, however, excels all the reſt in ſweetneſs of taſte; it is more planted than the others, and the demand of our ſhips are frequent and conſiderable. When they plant it, they cut the root in more ſlices, leaving on each a little of the black rind. After having well dug the ground, and cleanſed it from all weeds, they put it in, fixing a long ſtick near it, as the igname grows very high, and winds round it. It produces a leaf ſimilar in colour and luſtre to that of the citron, but leſs, and thinner. It is five months ripening; they know the time of gathering only by the ſticks, and the dryneſs of the leaves about them; for the ground is ſo much overgrown with weeds, that without theſe marks, it would be very laborious to find the root. Upon this they dig near the ſtick, and diſcover four or five fruits, the produce of a ſingle ſlice; then they put them together on heaps, and afterwards ſpread them in the ſun and wind for a few days, whereby they reach their laſt ripeneſs and flavour.

There is an eminent mountain, almoſt in the middle of this iſland, whoſe ſummit is ſeveral miles diſtant from the level of the ſea. It is covered all over with lofty, ſtrait, and green trees, in ſuch a thickneſs, that it may be ſaid to be almoſt impenetrable. On the top a gloomy fog reigns, which no ſeaſon, or any time in the day or night can diſpel, not unlike the ſnow, which in our parts perpetually crowns the heads of high mountains. That fog diſtils, uninterruptedly, water, which moiſtens thoſe trees, and guſhes down on all ſides of the mountain in different rivulets, and ſerves to the negroes for watering their ſugar fields. There are ſome freſh fountains beſides in this iſland, which they uſe for the ſame purpoſe. In Pavoaſan itſelf, a river of the cleareſt water flows through its middle. It is pretty wide, but ſhallow; its water is given to ſick perſons, as it is particularly light on the ſtomach. It is the opinion of all the inhabitants, that without the advantage of this water, and ſome other fountains, that iſland would not be habitable.

Moſt of the trees growing in this country are wild and unfruitful; when felled, they are generally hollow, and without any appearance of marrow. The inhabitants take this to be the effect of the great moiſtneſs of the iſland. Spaniards who have ſettled there, have attempted to plant olives, peaches, and almonds, which have produced magnificent and fine trees indeed, but no fruit; and this is the caſe with all other fruits that have

ſtones

ſtones in them. They have brought the palm-tree from Ethiopia, which yields the cocoa, and which is known in Italy by the name of Indian Nuts. The almond-tree produces fruit, which, when freſh, is exceeding good; and from the piece preſerved in the middle of the nut, which is itſelf very ſweet, they make a thouſand delicious things. They make inciſions on that tree, round which they hang a gourd, into which a white and clear liquor diſtils, which has the taſte of a delicate wine the firſt day, turns ſharp afterwards, and is at laſt converted into vinegar. They have alſo began to plant that herb, which in one year grows to the height of a tree. It produces fruit like the figs called Muſe in Alexandria, and it is called Abellana in this iſland.

The ſeaſons of this iſland are very different from ours, as it is twice in the year perpendicularly viſited by the ſun, viz. in March and September, in which period the ſun attracts vapours from the ſea, which diſſolve into rains, whence the air is continually gloomy and cloudy. In proportion as the ſun declines, the weather turns more ſerene and clear. For this reaſon the above two months are conſidered by the inhabitants as their two winters. They have, however, ſome months ſtill, which they call wind months; theſe are May, June, July, and Auguſt, which happens when the ſun is in the northern ſigns; the winds that reign then are the ſouth, the eaſt, and the ſouth by eaſt, which are the only ones felt in this iſland, as it is covered by Africa on the other ſides, and are impeded in their effects by the efficacy of the ſun. However, as the negroes go naked when any freſh wind ſets in, their lean and chilly complexion is violently ſhocked, and they have often been ſeen ſick and dying for no other reaſon. As to the white inhabitants, this is the moſt temperate and favourite time in the year to them. December, January, and February are their warm months, on account of the ſun's ſtifling the winds, whence an inſufferable heat ariſes, owing, in great part, to the vapours ſettling over the whole iſland. This ſeaſon is the reverſe of what the former had been to the negroes: they at once reſume their gaiety and vigour, work with chearfulneſs, and find themſelves in perfect health in that benign ſeaſon: whereas the white inhabitants are all fainting, and broken in their whole perſon. They are not thrown into any poſitive illneſs or fever, but they ſeem to be deprived of their ſtrength, and hardly able to walk. Several of them go about only in a gown, with a ſtick to ſupport them; they have no appetite for eating, but an inſatiable longing for drink. They ſubmit themſelves to frequent bleedings in their arms and front, as they are moſtly ſanguine. This bleeding is a kind of panacea to all the inhabitants of the iſland, black and white.

In the city of Pavoaſan they have a cuſtom in the calm and gloomy days, where they are moſt oppreſſed by the influence of heat, to meet four or five families together, in ſome extenſive ſubterraneous cave, where they reſpectively bring their wives and children, and what they have prepared at their houſes, laying it upon a table, when every one eats what he likes beſt; and by various diſcourſes they alleviate, as much as poſſible, the languor of thoſe ſultry days. They never go out for buſineſs on thoſe days, and if they walk, they wear a double ſole of leather on their ſhoes, and carry with them a pair of thick flippers.

The white inhabitants of Pavoaſan are commonly every eighth or tenth day aſſailed by paroxiſm of a fever, which begins cold, and diſappears again in two hours, or leſs, according to the complexion of the patient, after ſome heat. This diſorder extends only to ſuch as have been inured to that climate by an habitual reſidence, and they bleed themſelves three or four times in a year. But the firſt fever that attacks

ſtrangers

ſtrangers is very dangerous, and laſts twenty days. They bleed with the greateſt profuſion from the arm, to the meaſure of a whole pint at once. After the operation, they are preſented with a ſup of bread, water, ſalt, and oil. If the patient eſcapes the ſeventh and fourteenth days, he is looked upon as ſafe, unleſs he abandons himſelf to ſome exceſs; ſo they add every day to his diet of chicken, till at laſt they permit him the eating of pork.

Two ſcourges are common to this iſland, the French diſtemper and the ſcab. The negroes are but little concerned about either of thoſe diſeaſes; their women know how to prepare a plaiſter which carries it off; they alſo give the water of certain roots to drink, of equal efficacy.

In the time the ſouth wind blows, which is freſh, and comes on in June, the negroes ſicken with a fever, and on the day they feel a dimunition of it, they make an inciſion with a razor, about the temples and on the front, which recovers them. Sometimes they bleed themſelves on their ſhoulders, and then their diet is very ſtrict, wholly living upon a ſmall portion of bread and Spaniſh oil, with a vegetable of their own.

It is not commemorated that any plague or peſtilence has reigned in this iſland, as in thoſe of Cape Verde, where it is ſaid to have once raged with ſuch fury as to ſtop the circulation, and ſuffocate the heart. If the white inhabitants are ſometimes ſubject to fevers and fluxes, they are in great part themſelves the cauſe, in drinking without eating in times of calm. Few ſurvive fifty years, and it is a phænomenon to ſee a white man with a grey beard; but the negroes arrive to an hundred and ten years, the climate being congenial to their complexion. I have been five times in that iſland, the firſt in 1520. I had occaſion to ſee an old negro called Giovam Menino, who told me he was one of the firſt negroes tranſported thither from the coaſt of Africa by order of our king. He was very rich, had ſons and nephews, and ſaw his nephews children married and bleſſed with other children. The inhabitants are much troubled by fleas, and the negroes with lice, of which the white are exempt, and their beds ever free from bugs.

Corn has been ſown on this ſoil, in all times of the year, but it has been found only to loſe itſelf in high ears, void of any grain. This the inhabitants have found to be the effect of the fatneſs of the ſoil. It is the ſame with the vines planted about the houſes of St. Thomas; for in the iſland it would be ſtill more unavailing; only in the yards of houſes there are ſome grapes thriving, which appear in a ludicrous manner, bearing at once ſome ripe berries, ſome imperfect and ſour, and others in the bud or flower. January and February, Auguſt and September, are the months in which they are gathered. The figs appear alſo twice in the year, and in the ſame months; their flavour is exquiſite. Melons yield but once in the year, viz. in June, July, and Auguſt. As to gourds, they are of all ſeaſons. There are innumerable hoſts of land crabs, (like the marine,) who grow over the whole iſland, but thoſe found in the mountains are the beſt. There is no want of birds, ſuch as partridges, green ſparrows that ſing, and the ſmalleſt of tawny parrots. They are alſo provided with ſeveral ſorts of good fiſh. Between this iſland and the coaſt of Africa there form ſuch a multitude of whales as is hardly credible.

Theſe are the chief particulars I have noted about that iſland; and if your lordſhip is diſguſted at the compoſition, I muſt beg you to remember my being unlettered, and only an humble mariner by profeſſion.

BOOK

BOOK IV.

SPANISH VOYAGES

IN THE BEGINNING OF THE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAPTER I.

Voyage of Baſtidas to the Weſt Indies. Voyage of Ojeda. Voyage of Obando. Fourth Voyage of Columbus.

THE report ſtill daily increaſing that pearls and gold were brought from the continent in exchange for things of ſmall value, and Spain being then poor in coin, much notice was taken of it. The people being earneſt to grow rich, laid aſide the dread of ſailing over ſuch immenſe and unknown ſeas, and this more eſpecially among the inhabitants of Triana, who were moſtly mariners. On this one Roderick de Baſtidas, a man of great knowledge, reſolved to fit out two ſhips upon diſcovery, and to barter for pearls. He contracted with ſome perſons, and particularly with John de la Coſa, who was the beſt pilot for thoſe ſeas. Having obtained a licence,
A. D. 1501. he ſailed as captain about the beginning of January from Gadiz, whence all the ſhips at that time were diſpatched. They ſteered to the continent, keeping the ſame courſe Columbus ſteered when he diſcovered it. Arriving on the coaſt, they ran along it, touching at all harbours and good roads, where a vaſt multitude of people came out to trade and barter.

When they came to the bay of Veneçuela, which was called Coquibocoa, and had been diſcovered by Alonſo de Ojeda, they ſailed down the coaſt to the weſtward, and paſſed by that part of the ſhore which is now called Santa Marta and Cartagena, as far as the inlet or bay now called the Gulph of Uraba, within which is the province of Darien. They kept along ſtill to the weſtward, and came to the port they called Del Retrete, where was afterwards the city and port of Nombre de Dios. All that was at this

this time newly diſcovered, amounted to above one hundred leagues, and they gave names to Carthagena, and all the iſlands near.

The ſhips being no longer in a condition to keep the ſea, as they were very leaky and worm-eaten, they turned back, after having bartered for much gold and abundance of pearls. They arrived in the bay of Xaragua, where the ſhips ſunk, and the men went away by land to St. Domingo, which is ſeventy leagues diſtant. They alſo carried with them ſome Indians, who walked about at St. Domingo naked, as was uſual in their country, their private parts being in caſes made of pure gold, like funnels, ſo that nothing was ſeen.

During all that voyage Baſtidas never gave the Indians the leaſt offence. Francis de Bovadilla, pretending that he had bartered for gold with the Indians of Xaragua, impriſoned him; but at laſt he went away to court, and paid their majeſties the fifth part of the gold and pearls he had brought, and all people rejoiced to hear that they were brought from the continent.

When Roderick de Baſtidas ſailed from Cadiz, Alonſo de Ojeda was fitting out for his ſecond voyage, and ſteered the very ſame courſe, without knowing that Baſtidas had taken it. He arrived at the Bay of Uraba, and thought proper to build at the mouth of it a fort of timber or boards, that he might the better go up to diſcover the country. He ſent one ſhip down to the coaſt weſtward, which came to the port Retrete, that Baſtidas had diſcovered.

Americus Veſputius, Herara ſays, was with Ojeda, though ſtill perſiſting in arrogating to himſelf the honour of having diſcovered the continent. Alonſo de Ojeda being always niggardly in diſtributing proviſions among his men, they were continually at variance with him, ſeized and put him in irons, and the men ſteered the ſhips to Hiſpaniola, to the port of Yaquimo, which the admiral called Braſil, eighty leagues diſtant from St. Domingo. There Ojeda, truſting to his ſtrength and activity, though he was a little man, threw himſelf one night as privately as he could into the ſea, thinking to ſwim away to the ſhore, which was a large ſtone's throw diſtant. As he ſwam with only his arms, the two pair of fetters ſinking him, he cried out for help, becauſe he was drowning, and they went immediately in the boat, by which means he was ſaved.

In Spain the admiral exhibited ſo many complaints againſt Bovadilla, that their majeſties reſolved to ſend another governor to Hiſpaniola; they therefore appointed Nicholas de Obando, knight of the order of Alcantara, whom they looked upon as a diſcreet perſon. The fleet appointed to carry him over conſiſted of thirty-two ſail; and he was enjoined to notify to the Indians that it was their majeſties pleaſure they ſhould be as free as the Spaniards, only paying their tribute, and that thoſe who would work at the mines ſhould be paid for it.

For the better peopling thoſe parts, a contract was made with Lewis de Arriaga for him to carry over two hundred inhabitants to ſettle there, without any pay, but upon certain conditions. It was alſo agreed with James de Lepe, that he ſhould go out upon diſcovery with four ſhips, upon condition that he ſhould pay to the crown half of all he ſhould get, after deducting the charges. Vincent Yanes Pinzon was alſo appointed governor of ſome part of thoſe lands he had diſcovered. John de Eſcalante had likewiſe licence to make diſcoveries with three ſhips, and Alonzo Velez de Mendoza

doza contracted to carry over fifty men and their wives to the Indies, under the new governor Obando.

The fleet that was to carry over Obando being fitted out under the command of Antony de Torres, there went on board it two thouſand five hundred men, moſt of them well born, and ten Franciſcan friars. He ſailed from St. Lucar on the
A. D. 1502. 13th of February, and at the end of eight days there came on ſuch a dreadful ſtorm at ſouth, that the whole fleet were in great danger of periſhing. A large ſhip, called the Rabida, immediately ſunk, with one hundred and twenty men; the other veſſels, thirty-one in number, were diſperſed, throwing overboard all that was upon deck; but at laſt, after many perils, they all met again at the Gomera.

At Grand Canaria Obando hired a ſhip to carry over thoſe people that would go from thence to Hiſpaniola. He divided the fleet into two parts, becauſe ſome ſhips were very bad ſailers, chuſing fifteen or ſixteen of the beſt ſailors to go with him, and and left Antony de Torres to command the reſt. He entered the port of St. Domingo on the 15th of April: the people of the town, as ſoon as they ſaw the ſhips, haſted to the ſhore, and knowing ſome of the veſſels that had been before in the iſland, enquired for news, and were told that Nicholas de Obando, was come to be their governor. The landmen alſo told what ſtrange things happened to them; among others, that abundance of gold was found, and particularly one grain that was prodigious; that ſome ſtone was mixed among the gold, which would certainly in time be converted into that metal; and the ſtone that is intermixed with the gold in ſuch large grains as are found, being like little ſpots, almoſt all the grains looked like ſolid gold.

Columbus being come to court, never ceaſed ſoliciting to be reſtored to his full rights and prerogatives, offering (though he was old, and his conſtitution very much broken) to make conſiderable diſcoveries, believing that he might find a ſtrait or paſſage about that part where Nombre de Dios now ſtands. Their majeſties fed him with fair words and promiſes, till they could hear what account Obando would ſend them about the affairs of the iſland.

Columbus demanded four ſhips, and proviſions for two years, which they granted him, with a promiſe, that if he died, his ſon don James ſhould ſucceed him. The admiral ſet out from Granada to forward his buſineſs at Seville and Cadiz, where he bought four veſſels, the largeſt not above ſeventy tons, and the leaſt not under fifty, and engaged one hundred and forty men and all neceſſaries.

On the 9th of May he ſet ſail, taking his brother the adelantado with him. He arrived at Grand Canaria on the 20th of May, and having wooded and watered, proceeded on his voyage on the 25th, and the wind proving favourable, he arrived without handing his ſails at the iſland of Martinico on the 15th of June. There the men landed to refreſh themſelves, and three days after he ſailed again, among a parcel of ſuch delightful iſlands, that they looked like gardens, though they were five, ſix, or ten leagues aſunder; and one of his ſhips being a ſlug, and not able to carry much ſail, he was neceſſitated to repair to St. Domingo, either to change it for one of thoſe that belonged to the fleet that had carried over the new governor, or buy another. He arrived there the 29th of June, and ſent Peter de Terreros, captain of a ſhip, to acquaint Obando

Obando with the neceſſity he was under of leaving that ſhip there, and to deſire he would permit him to enter the port with his ſhips, not only to change or buy another, but alſo to ſhelter himſelf from a great ſtorm that he was ſure would ſoon happen. Obando would not conſent to it, and Columbus being informed that the fleet of thirty-one ſail was ready to put to ſea, ſent to adviſe him not to permit it to go out theſe eight days, becauſe there would be a moſt dreadful tempeſt, for which reaſon he was going to put into the next harbour he ſhould find, as accordingly he did into Puerto Hermoſo, ſixteen leagues from St. Domingo. Obando would not believe it, and the pilots made a jeſt of it, calling him a prophet. Among the many tokens of an approaching ſtorm, as obſerved by mariners, one is the porpoiſes and other ſuch fiſh playing upon the ſurface of the water, from which, and other obſervations, Columbus concluded that there would be a ſtorm.

Obando's whole fleet ſet ſail about the beginning of July; there were on board it Francis de Bovidilla, Francis Roldan, and all who had been concerned in his inſurrection, beſides one hundred thouſand caſtellanos of gold (worth more than two millions), the vaſt grain of gold before-mentioned, and one hundred thouſand more belonging to paſſengers. Within forty hours there aroſe ſuch a violent ſtorm that twenty ſhips were caſt away, and not a man ſaved; and the whole town of St. Domingo was blown down. Columbus's ſhips were diſperſed, and in the utmoſt danger, but met again at Puerto Hermoſo, and thus he and his ſhips eſcaped. There Francis de Bovadilla periſhed, as did Francis Roldan and his companions who had rebelled againſt the king. The two hundred thouſand caſtellanos of gold, and the vaſt grain above-mentioned, were alſo loſt. The worſt ſhip in the fleet, on board of which the admiral had four thouſand peſons, eſcaped, and was the firſt that arrived in Spain.

Columbus ſailed from Puerto Hermoſo, and proceeded to the weſtward to port Yaquimo, which he left on the 14th of July, and making towards the con-
A. D. 1502. tinent, met with many calms, he therefore drew near the iſlands about Jamaica, but finding no water, dug pits near the ſea, where he got ſome. The currents carried him to the iſlands near Cuba, which he had before called the Queen's Garden. He ſtood again for the continent, and not being able to gain upon the contrary winds, and ſtrong currents, ſpent ſixty days in tempeſtuous weather, rain, thunder, and lightening, without ſeeing ſun or ſtars, and during all that time he advanced only ſixty leagues. The ſhips being much beaten with the great ſea, became leaky, and abundance of the ſeamen ſickened with the extraordinary toil, the admiral himſelf being reduced to a very weak condition by over watching and care. At length, after many dangers, he diſcovered a ſmall iſland, which the Indians called Guanaja, having three or four ſmaller iſlands by it, all well inhabited, and the Spaniards called them all by the ſame name. The admiral ordered his brother the adelantado, who was captain of one of the ſhips, to go aſhore. He took two boats full of Spaniards, found the people very peaceable, and like thoſe in the other iſlands, ſaving that they had not ſuch large foreheads, and becauſe they ſaw many pine-trees in it, the admiral gave it the name of the iſland of Pine-trees, being twelve leagues from the cape of Honduras, or the city of Truxillo. When Don Bartholomew had landed, there came to the ſhip an Indian canoe, as long as a galley, and eight feet in breadth, laden with weſtern commodities, which it is likely belonged to the province of Yucatan, the ſame being but thirty leagues from thence, or little more.

In the midſt of it, was an awning made of mats and palm-tree leaves, which in New Spain are called Petates. Under it were the women, children, and goods, being ſo ordered, that neither the rain, nor the ſea water could wet them.

The commodities were abundance of large cotton cloths, of ſeveral colours, and curiouſly wrought; ſhort ſhirts, or jerkins, without ſleeves, or collars, ſcarce reaching down to the knees, wrought, and of divers colours like the others; as alſo clouts the men uſe to cover their nakedneſs, which in New Spain they call Maſtil, like others, for various colours and workmanſhip. Beſides, they had ſwords made of wood, having a gutter in a fore part, in which were ſharp-edged flints ſtrongly fixed with a ſort of bitumen and thread; ſmall hatches made of copper to hew wood, ſmall bells and plates; crucibles to melt the copper; and of thoſe berries, which they call Cacao, and in New Spain, paſſes for money. Their food was bread made of maize, or Indian wheat, and that ſort of roots, which in New Spain they call Camotes, and in the iſlands Axi, and Batatas, and their liquor was made of Indian wheat, being like ale. In the canoe were twenty-five men, who durſt not fly, nor defend themſelves, when they ſaw the Spaniſh boats. They carried them to the admiral, and the women covered their faces and bodies with their cotton clouts, as the Mooriſh women of Granada uſe to do with their mantles. The admiral, and the reſt were well pleaſed with thoſe tokens of baſhfulneſs and modeſty, entertained them very kindly, and taking ſome of their ſightly goods for ſamples, gave them others brought from Spain in exchange, let them all depart in their canoe, except an old man, who looked like a diſcreet perſon, that he might inform them what there was in that country; for the firſt thing the admiral enquired after was gold, which he ſhewed them, and by ſigns aſked where any was to be had; and that old man pointing that it was to the eaſtward, he carried him till he came where the people did not underſtand his language; they then ſent him back again to his own country.

The admiral ſtill fancied, that keeping along that coaſt, he ſhould hear news of Cathay, and of the great Chan, and that thoſe cloths of ſeveral curious colours were an introduction to it. The Indians ſeeing him enquire ſo eagerly for gold, talked much, and by ſigns gave him to underſtand, that in certain countries which they pointed at, there was ſo much of it, that the people wore heavy crowns of it on their heads, and great rings on their arms and legs; and that their chairs, tables, and cheſts, were covered with gold, and their cloths wove with it. When they ſhewed them coral, they ſaid the women wore ſtrings of it hanging down from their heads to their backs. When they ſhewed them pepper, and other ſpices, they ſaid there was great plenty of it; ſo that whatſoever was ſhewn them they ſaid was to be had, to pleaſe them.

Upon the information given by that old Indian, the admiral forbore proceeding to the weſtward, which would have carried him to Yucatan and New Spain; and ſteering to the eaſtward, the firſt land he ſaw was a point, which he called De Caſinas, becauſe there were many trees on it, the fruit whereof is a ſort of little apples, good to eat, in his language called Caſinas, as the admiral ſaid. The natives that lived neareſt to that point, wore jackets of fine colours, like the ſhort ſhirts above ſpoken of, and ſmall clouts, to cover their nakedneſs. On Sunday the 14th of Auguſt, the adelantado went aſhore with many of the men to hear maſs, as they generally uſed to do, when they had an opportunity; and the Wedneſday following he went again

to

to take poſſeſſion for their Catholic majeſties, at which time he found above an hundred of the natives on the ſhore, loaded with proviſions, as maize, fowl, veniſon, fiſh, and fruit. When they came up to the adelantado, the Spaniards fell back, without ſpeaking one word, and he ordered they ſhould give them looking-glaſſes, hawks-bells, pins, and the like; and the next day above two hundred men appeared in the ſame place, loaded with ſuch victuals, and ſeveral ſorts of lupins, like beans, and other fruit, green and beautiful; for that country is very fertile, where there was an infinite multitude of pine-trees, oaks, ſix or ſeven ſorts of palm, and many mirabolan trees, bearing a pleaſant and odoriferous fruit. They underſtood that there were leopards, and were alſo informed that there were many tygers. Thoſe people had not great foreheads, like the iſlanders; ſpoke ſeveral languages; ſome of them went quite naked, others only covered their privities, and others wore jackets without ſleeves, that reached not below their navels. Their bodies wrought with fire, like Moors, ſome having lions, others ſtags, or ſuch like creatures drawn on them. The men of the greateſt diſtinction among them, inſtead of caps, wore on their heads cotton clouts, white and red, and ſome of them had tufts of hair on their foreheads like fringes.

When they were fine for their feſtivals, ſome coloured their faces black, others red, others ſtreaked with ſeveral colours, others painted their chins and noſes, and others made their eyes very black, all which were looked upon as great ornaments. And becauſe there were others along that coaſt, who made ſuch great holes in their ears, that an egg might paſs through them, he called that part La Coſta de la Oreja, the coaſt of the ear. From point Caſinas the admiral ſailed to the eaſtward, with much difficulty againſt the winds, and the currents, always plying upon a wind, as the ſailors call it, ſo that he ſcarce advanced five leagues in a day, and very often not two; there being ſixty leagues from point Caſinas to a cape, that runs far out into the ſea, where the land turns off to the ſouth, which renders the navigation more eaſy; he called it Cabo de Gracias à Dios. On the 12th of September, having turned the cape, and being in want of wood and water, he ſent the boats to a great river, where the current and the flood meeting, caſt away one of the boats with all the men, and therefore he named it Rio del Deſaſtre, the river of the diſaſter. Sunday the 17th of September, they anchored at a ſmall iſland, called Quiribiri, and before a town on the continent, called Cariani, where they found the beſt people, land, and ſettlement, that they had yet ſeen, by reaſon of the height of the hills and woods, and the agreeableneſs of the rivers and trees; the iſland was great and moſt delicious, full of fine groves, and is about a league diſtant from Cariari. That town is by a very great river, whither reſorted a vaſt multitude of people with bows, arrows, darts, and wooden ſwords, ſhewing themſelves ready to defend their country. The men had their hair made up in treſſes, and wound about their heads; the women wore theirs ſhort, as the Spaniards then did, who made ſigns of peace, and ſhewed they were willing to barter. They wore great pieces of cotton cloth, like blankets and jackets, and at their necks, eagles of pale gold. Thoſe things they carried to the ſhips ſwimming, becauſe thoſe two days the Spaniards went not aſhore. The admiral would not allow any thing to be taken of them, to ſhew that he did not value it; and that made the Indians the more eager to barter, making many ſigns, ſpreading out their cloths, like colours, inviting them to go aſhore.

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The admiral having ordered ſome Spaniſh toys to be given to the Indians, they ſeeing the Spaniards make no account of their goods, laid all they had received tied up together near the ſea, without keeping the leaſt thing, and ſo they found it the next day, when they went aſhore; and thoſe people believing that the Spaniards miſtruſted them, ſent an old man, that looked like a perſon of worth, to them, with a flag on a ſtaff, and two girls, one of them fourteen years of age, and the other about eight, with ſome toys of gold about their necks. The old man put them into the boat, making ſigns that they might land ſafely. Some went aſhore to take water for the ſhips, the Indians ſtanding very ſtill, for fear of giving the Spaniards any jealouſy. When they had taken their water, the Indians ſeeing them return to their ſhips, bid them take the girls, and to comply with the old man's importunity: they did ſo. It was wonderful to ſee, that the girls ſhewed no concern, ſeeing themſelves delivered up to ſuch ſtrange and fierce people. The admiral ordered them to be cloathed, to have meat, and ſome Spaniſh trinkets given them, and to be ſet aſhore, that the Indians might underſtand they were not men that make any ill uſe of women; but finding no body to deliver them to, they carried them back aboard the ſhips. The next day being Thurſday the 29th of September, they again carried them aſhore, where fifty men were, and the old man that had delivered them received them again, ſeeming to be much delighted with them. In the afternoon, the boats went again, and found the ſame people, with the girls, and they reſtored to the Spaniards all that they had given them, refuſing to keep any thing. The next day the adelantado going aſhore, to get ſome information concerning the people and the country, two of the moſt remarkable among the Indians came up to the boat he was in, and led him by the arms between them, till they ſeated him on the green graſs near the ſhore, and aſking him ſome queſtions by ſigns, he ordered the notary to write down what they ſaid; but they ſeeing the ink, and paper, and the writing, were in ſuch a conſternation, that moſt of them ran away. It was ſuppoſed they did ſo, believing that the writing was ſome method to bewitch them, and becauſe when they came near the Spaniards, they ſcattered a ſort of powder towards them, and burnt the ſame powder, driving the ſmoke towards them, and for the ſame reaſon it was thought they would not keep any thing of what had been given them.

The ſhips being refitted, the proviſions aired, and the ſick men refreſhed, the admiral ordered his brother to go ſee the town, and obſerve the cuſtoms and manners of the inhabitants. In their houſes, which were built with timber, and thatched with reeds, they had tombs, in which there were dead bodies, dried, and preſerved, without any ill ſcent, and wrapped up in cotton cloths. Over thoſe tombs were planks, with the figures of beaſts carved on them, and on ſome the reſemblance of the perſons there entombed, and with them ſome of the moſt valuable jewels they had. The admiral cauſed ſeven of thoſe Indians to be taken, with him, to give him ſome information of the country; but out of the ſeven he made choice of two, who ſeemed to be moſt rational, and of the beſt quality, diſmiſſing the others, with ſome toys, and giving them to underſtand, that the other two were to be guides, and ſhould be ſent back. Hereupon abundance of people came down the next day to the ſhore, and ſent four meſſengers, offering to give all they had for thoſe two perſons that were detained, who it is likely were men of note. They brought as a preſent two of the country ſwine, which ſeemed to be wild, though ſmall. The admiral would not reſtore

ſtore the two Indians, but ordered ſome toys to be given to the meſſengers, and paid for the ſwine.

Among other places named by the old Indian of the iſland de los Guanajos, where there was gold, was a town called Caravaro: whereupon the admiral departed from Cariari, on the 5th of October, and procceded to Caravaro eaſtward, where there is a bay ſix leagues in length, and above three in breadth, and in it many little iſlands, and it had four mouths for ſhips to paſs in and out at all ſeaſons, as if they went along walks in gardens, the boughs of the trees touching the ſhrouds and rigging. When come to an anchor, the boats went to one of thoſe iſlands, where they found twenty canoes, and the men naked, with glittering plates of gold at their necks, and ſome had eagles; only the women cover their nakedneſs. They ſhewed no fear, becauſe the two Indians of Cariari ſpoke to them, and gave a gold plate that weighed ten ducats for three hawks-bells, ſaying, there was abundance of it on the continent, very near the place where they were. The next day, being the 7th of October, the boats went to the continent, met with two canoes full of men who had all gold plates at their necks. They took two men, the plate one of them had weighed fourteen ducats, and the other's eagle twenty-two, and they affirmed there was great plenty of that metal they ſo much valued, a day or two's journey from thence. There was abundance of fiſh in that bay, and on the land many of the beaſts before-mentioned, as alſo great ſtore of the proviſions generally uſed among the Indians. The men went ſtark-naked, and the women like thoſe of Cariari. From Caravaro they proceeded to another place bordering on it, which they called Aburena, and it was like the former.

Putting out to ſea again: twelve leagues farther on they came to a river, where the boats going to the ſhore, about two hundred Indians that were there ran to them in a furious manner, up to the middle in the water, brandiſhing their wooden ſwords, and long cudgels, blowing their horns, beating a drum, and ſhewing that they would oppoſe their landing. They caſt the ſalt water with their hands at the Spaniards; wetted herbs, which they threw at them; but the Spaniards not regarding the ſame, endeavoured by ſigns to pacify them, and the Indians they carried ſpoke to them, ſo that they were appeaſed, and came to barter with their gold plates, which they gave for two or three hawks-bells. Seventeen plates of fine gold were all they had there, being worth about one hundred and fifty ducats. The next day the boats returned, being allured by the trade, called the Indians that were near, in arbours they had made that night, for fear the Spaniards ſhould go aſhore, and do them ſome harm; but none would come near. They ſounded their horns, and beat their drum, and drew near to the ſea, with great ſhouts, threatening, if the boats approached, to caſt their darts, if they went not away; but threw none. The Spaniards did not think fit to bear ſo much; ſo they ſhot with a croſs-bow, and wounded one in the arm. Next they fired a cannon, and they thinking that the ſky was falling upon them, not a man ſtayed, all taking to their heels, ſtriving who ſhould be foremoſt. Then four Spaniards landed, called, and advanced towards them as tamely as if nothing had happened. They exchanged three plates, excuſing themſelves for not having more, as not knowing whethey they would like it.

Hence they proceeded to another province called Catiba: and when they were come to an anchor, the natives went about calling one another together with horns and drums. They ſent a canoe with two men to the ſhips, to enquire what new people

thoſe

thoſe were, and what they wanted. The two Indians that had been taken before ſpoke, and then they went aboard the admiral, without any jealouſy, and at the perſuaſion of the ſaid two Indians of Cariari, they took off the gold plates they had at their necks, and gave them to the admiral, who in return ordered them ſome Spaniſh toys. When the two firſt returned to land, another canoe came from thence, with three men, having their plates at their necks, who did as the firſt had done. Friendſhip being thus contracted, the boats went aſhore, where they found abundance of people with the king of thoſe towns, who no way differed from the reſt, ſaving his being covered with a leaf of a tree, becauſe it rained, and that the reſt paid him much reſpect. He was the firſt that exchanged his plate, and gave leave to the reſt to barter for theirs; and all they got were nineteen plates of fine gold. Hence they ſailed to Huriran, where they purchaſed ninety marks of gold for three dozen of hawks-bells. They then went on to a town called Cubigá, where, according to the information of the Indians, the trading country ended, which began at Caravaró, and ended at Cubigá, being about fifty leagues along the coaſt; and from hence the admiral held on his courſe, and on the 2d of November entered Porto Bello, four or five leagues from Nombre de Dios. He thought it large and beautiful, the ſhips entering in between two ſmall iſlands, and might within lie near the ſhore, and turn it out if they would. The country was very agreeable, and all tilled, full of houſes, about a ſtone's throw, or the ſhot of a croſs-bow from one another; ſo that it all looked like a landſcape. There he ſtaid ſeven days, on account of continual rains and foul weather. Canoes reſorted from all the adjacent parts, to barter with the Spaniards ſuch food and fruits as they had, and bottoms of ſpun cotton, which they gave for baubles made of tin, pins, and points, or tags.

The admiral left Porto Bello, and on the 9th of November ſailed eight leagues in foul weather. He turned back again, and entered the harbour of Nombre de Dios, though he called it De Baſtimentos, or of Proviſion, becauſe all the country about it, and three ſmall iſlands near by, are full of Indian corn fields. A boat puſhed forward in purſuit of a canoe they ſaw. The Indians fled; but finding the Spaniards come up with them, they leaped into the ſea, and the ſeamen laboured in vain to overtake them, for they dived, like water-fowl, and came up again a croſs-bow ſhot from the firſt place. This ſport, which afforded much diverſion, held them above half a league, and the Indians ſaved themſelves, baffling the ſailors, who returned aboard tired and aſhamed. Here they ſtaid to refit their ſhips, till the 23d of November. Holding on their courſe, they arrived at a country called Guigá, and when they landed, there were above three hundred of the natives waiting for the Spaniards to exchange their proviſions, and ſome ſmall bits of gold they wore on their noſes and ears; but the admiral would make no ſtay there; and on Saturday the 26th of the ſame month, they entered a little port, which they called El Retrete, or the Cloſet, on account of its ſtraitneſs, for it would not contain above five or ſix ſhips, and the mouth of it was not above fifteen or twenty paces wide, having rocks on both ſides as ſharp as needles, under water; the channel between them being ſo clear, that drawing near to the ſides, men might leap aſhore; beſides that, they could find no bottom to it, which was the ſaving of the ſhips. Here they ſtaid nine days, the winds blowing freſh and contrary. At firſt the Indians behaved themſelves very peaceably, and traded in the moſt innocent manner; but after the ſailors ſtole privately aſhore, without the admiral's leave, and repairing to the houſes of the Indians, gave them cauſe to be alarmed; they took arms,

arms, and ſome ſkirmiſhes happened; their numbers daily increaſing, they attacked the ſhips, which lay cloſe to the land. The admiral, to prevent their damaging the veſſels, endeavoured to appeaſe them with patience and kindneſs, though at the ſame time, to check their boldneſs, he ſometimes ordered cannon to be fired, which they anſwered with hideous cries, ſtricking the boughs of the trees with their clubs, threatening, and ſhewing that they were not frightened at the noiſe of the great guns, believing them to be like thunder without lightening, that does no harm. To convince them of their folly, and humble their pride, he ordered a gun to be levelled at a number of people that ſtood cloſe together on a little hill; and the ball paſſing through the midſt of them, they were convinced there was a thunderbolt as well as thunder, and therefore dare not afterwards look over the hills.

The natives of the province were the beſt proportioned of any they had yet ſeen, tall, ſlender, and well countenanced. The land was plain, yielding much graſs and few trees. In the harbour there were extraordinary large allegators, that went to ſleep aſhore, and ſmelled like muſk, being ſo ravenous, that if they find a man aſleep on the land, they drag him away to devour him; yet they are ſo timorous, that they fly when attacked. There are many of them in theſe rivers that fall into the north ſea, but many more in thoſe that empty themſelves into the ſouth ſea, and they are very much like, if not the ſame, as the crocodiles of the river Nile.

The ſtormy eaſt and north-eaſt winds obſtructing the admiral from proceeding in his intended courſe, on Monday the 5th of December he reſolved to tack about, to be fully informed concerning the rich gold mines he had been told there were in the province of Veragua. The ſame day he arrived before Porto Bello, and holding on his courſe, there aroſe a dreadful ſtorm, which laſted nine days, with ſuch fury that they did not expect to ſave their lives, the ſea running ſo high, and looking like fire, that the like had ſcarce ever been ſeen. One whole day and night the lightening was ſo fierce and continual, that the ſky ſeemed to be all in a flame, and aboard every ſhip they fancied the others fired their guns, as ſignals of diſtreſs. Beſides all this, it rained inceſſantly for two or three days. To add to all theſe calamities, a prodigious ſpout fell, which they narrowly eſcaped. The men were quite ſpent with theſe hardſhips, and many of them fell ſick; but a calm enſuing, greatly comforted them. At this time there appeared about the ſhips ſuch a multitude of ſharks as had never been ſeen before. The men killed and eat many of them, which was a conſiderable relief, becauſe abundance of their proviſions were ſpoiled by the heat and damp, they having been out eight months. The many tempeſtuous and contrary winds the admiral met with between Porto Bello and Veragua, made him call that La Coſta de los Contraſtes, or the Coaſt of Croſſneſs.

On the 6th of January, they entered a river, which the Indians called
A. D. 1503. Yebra, and the admiral named it Belem, or Bethlehem, in honour of that day, in which the three kings or wiſe men arrived at that holy place. Further on he diſcovered another river, by the natives called Veragua. The admiral ordered them both to be ſounded; and the boats went up the river of Bethlehem till they reached the town, where they were informed, that the gold mines were at Veragua. The next day they went up that river, where the natives were preparing for their defence; but one of the Indians the admiral had with him ſpeaking to them, they were appeaſed, and bartered with the Spaniards, giving twenty plates of gold, ſome pipes, grains, and beads of gold; and to put the greater value upon it, they feigned it was

found on ſome very uncouth mountains far remote from thence, and that when they gathered it, they did not eat, nor keep company with their wives, with other ſuch like fictions, to get the more for it. The river of Bethlehem being deepeſt, the admiral reſolved to go into it, and there the Indians reſorted to trade with fiſh, and ſome gold, which they gave for pins, beads, and hawks-bells; but all ſtill affirming, that the gold was at Veragua, the adelantado went with the boats up to the town where the cazique of the country, called Quibia, was, and he came out with many canoes to meet the Spaniards. They met as lovingly as if they had been brothers, Quibia gave the adelantado what gold he had, and he in return gave him ſome Spaniſh toys: thus being both well ſatisfied, the cazique went away to his town, and Don Bartholomew to the ſhips.

In this river, the admiral was drove from his anchors, by a ſudden and prodigious land flood, and fell foul of another ſhip, ſo that it was a miracle, that they did not both periſh. This ſudden inundation, it is likely, was occaſioned by ſome violent rain falling on the mountains of Veragua, which the admiral called St. Chriſtopher. The point of the higheſt of them ſeems to aſcend above the region of the air, for it never has any cloud over it, they being all far below. Theſe mountains are about twenty leagues up the country, and all thick wooded. After the aforeſaid flood, enſued a moſt outrageous tempeſt, in which they muſt all have periſhed, had they been out at ſea. The weather growing calm on Monday the 6th of February, the adelantado went by ſea with ſixty-eight men to the river of Veragua, a little above a league to the weſtward, and put in a league and half from Quibia's town, where he ſpent a day enquiring out the way to the mines, which were ſhewn him by three Indians the cazique appointed him for guides. When come to the mines, theſe guides pointed out to ſeveral places weſtward that abounded in gold. In ſhort, during the ſpace of two hours they ſtayed there, every man gathered ſome little gold among the roots of the trees, all that place being very woody, with which they were ſatisfied, and returned that day to the town, and the next day to their ſhips, looking on it as a token of the vaſt wealth of the country, that they could gather ſo much gold in ſo ſhort time without any labour; whereas much is generally required to come at it. Afterwards, it was known, that theſe were not the mines of Veragua, which were nearer; but of Urira, another town belonging to enemies of Quibia, who directed the Spaniards thither, in hatred to thoſe people, and to the end that the Spaniards liking that country, might ſettle there, and leave his dominion.

Thurſday the 16th of February, the adelantado went again by the admiral's order, to diſcover along the coaſt, and came to a river called Urira, ſix or ſeven leagues from Bethlehem weſtward. The lord of that part came out with twenty men to receive him, and preſented a great quantity of proviſions; they traded for ſome gold plates, and then went all together to the town, where abundance of people came out to meet them. A large houſe was provided to entertain them where they lodged, and furniſhed them with plenty of eatables. Soon after the lord of Dururi came to viſit them, from that place which was near, with abundance of people, bringing plates of gold to exchange; and they had information, that there were lords up the country, who had very great ſtore of gold, and that they were an armed people like the Spaniards; but the latter proved falſe, for they either ſaid it, that the Spaniards might advance no farther, or elſe they did not underſtand them, becauſe all they ſaid was by ſigns. The adelantado obſerving the peaceable temper of the Indians, reſolved

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to go up the country, and with thirty men came to a town called Zobraba, where there was above ſix leagues in extent of land ſowed with Indian wheat. He proceeded to Cateba, meeting there with good entertainment, and bartered for plates of gold, as big as ſaucers, little more or leſs, weighing ten or twelve crowns each, which the Indians wore hanging about their necks by cords. The adelantado thinking he had already gone far enough from his brother, and that there appeared no better place for a colony than at the river of Bethlehem, he returned with much gold he had got by bartering.

Thoſe tokens being ſo agreeable, the admiral reſolved to leave his brother in that country, with moſt of the men, whilſt he returned into Spain to fetch more forces. Eighty men were appointed to ſtay. They began to build their houſes on the bank of the river, near the mouth of it, beyond a little creek that is on the right hand going up the river, over which mouth is a little hill, higher than the reſt of the land. The houſes were of timber, covered with palm-tree leaves. One was erected larger than the reſt, to ſerve for a ſtore-houſe, into which they put the artillery, and all that was neceſſary for the uſe of the inhabitants; but the biſcuit, wine, oil, and ſome other things were left aboard one of the ſhips that were to remain behind, as being the ſafer place, and this was the firſt colony the Spaniards planted on the continent, though it ſubſiſted but a ſhort time. There were alſo many nets left, and other fiſhing tackle, becauſe an immenſe quantity of fiſh paſſes along the coaſt. The Indians make very good and large nets, and hooks of bones and tortoiſeſhell, and becauſe they had no iron, they cut them with threads made of a ſort of hemp, which in Hiſpaniola they call Cabuya, as thoſe who make beads, cut bones with a thin ſaw, and after that manner they will cut iron. Having great plenty of fiſh, they roaſted much to preſerve it. They had good liquor, white and red, made with their wheat, as ale is made with us, and they added to it that which they thought wholeſome ſpice. They alſo made another ſort of liquor of the palm-trees, which they held in high eſteem. Another of pine-apples, a very odoriferous and good fruit; beſides other fruits. When the houſes were built, and the admiral was ready to ſail for Spain, the weather proved ſo dry, and no water coming from above, the ſhips could not paſs over the bar, ſo that they were in a manner blocked up, having no remedy but to pray to God for rain to ſwell the river; which was the only means to deliver them out of that diſtreſs.

Whilſt the admiral was in the river of Bethlehem, in the diſtreſs that has been before mentioned, the Indians perceiving that the Spaniards built houſes, as if they deſigned to ſtay among them, without their leave, they began to be alarmed, and the adelantado ſuſpecting that they deſigned to ſet fire to his houſes, he marched out with ſeventy-four men, on the 30th of March, and ordering them to advance two by two as privately as they could, came to the cazique Quibia's houſe, where he ſecured him, ſome of his wives and children, and about fifty perſons in all, who offered a great treaſure, which they ſaid was on the mountain, for their ranſom. The adelantado fearing the country would riſe upon him, and reſcue the priſoners, ſent them all away to the ſhips, and followed the next day himſelf, with the plunder of Quibia's houſe, which might amount to the value of three hundred ducats, in gold plates, eagles, beads, and the like; but the cazique made his eſcape from thoſe that had him in charge, and returned to his people. Soon after the rains fell, and the floods coming down, opened the mouth of the river,

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river, when the admiral ſailed out with three ſhips, leaving one for the ſervice of his brother. However he came to an anchor a league from thence to wait for fair weather, and in the mean time ſent back the boat for water, and on ſome meſſage to his brother. Thoſe that were on ſhore, as ſoon as the weather grew calm, went all away in two large canoes, they had made faſt together, that they might not overſet, and their own boat, leaving nothing behind them but the hull of the ſhip, which was all worm-eaten.

Being all aboard, they ſailed in the three ſhips, ſteering to the eaſtward, as far as Porto Bello, where they were obliged to leave one of the ſhips, as it was ſo leaky, that they could not keep it above water. They proceeded thence to a province near which there were many ſmall iſlands, which the admiral called Las Barbas, or the Beard, but it is now known by the name of the Bay of St. Blaſe. Ten leagues from thence he turned away from the continent, and ſtood to the northward, to recover Hiſpaniola. At the end of ten days, they arrived at two ſmall iſlands, which were all covered with tortoiſes, as well as the ſea, which looked like ridges of rocks, and therefore the admiral called them Las Tortugas, or the Tortoiſes, and they are now called Caymanes, being about twenty-five leagues weſt ot Jamaica, and forty-five to the ſouthward of Cuba, there being no other all the way the admiral paſſed. Thence they came to anchor at Jardin de la Reyna, or the Queen's Garden, being a great number of ſmall iſlands ſouth of Cuba. Ten leagues from Cuba, they were in much want, their biſcuit being ſpoiled, and having little oil, labouring day and night at the pumps, becauſe the ſhips were ready to ſink. There aroſe ſuch a ſtorm, that one of them ran foul of the admiral, tore off part of his poop, the cables gave way, and all had like to have periſhed. Departing thence, they arrived at a town in the iſland of Cuba, called Macaca, where they refreſhed themſelves, being readily ſupplied by the Indians. Thence they ſtood for Jamaica, not being able to make Hiſpaniola, by reaſon of the winds and currents, where they arrived at Puerto Bueno, or Good Port, on Midſummer Eve; but it was a bad port for them, there being neither water, nor any Indian town, ſo that the day after Midſummer, they proceeded to another called Santa Gloria; and being no longer able to keep the ſhips above water, they laid them faſt aground, as near the ſhore as they poſſibly could, being about a croſs-bow ſhot from it, and the two ſhips cloſe together, board and board, ſhoaring them on both ſides, ſo that they could not ſtir; but they were filled with water almoſt up to the deck, and cabbins were made on the heads and ſterns to ſhelter the men.

When the ſhips were thus ſecured, the Indians came in their canoes to ſell proviſions, being covetous of Spaniſh toys; and to prevent controverſies, the admiral appointed two perſons to deal with them, and every afternoon to divide what they had purchaſed among the men, there being nothing left in the ſhips to maintain them, for the proviſions were all either eaten or ſpoiled.

The admiral looked upon it as a great mercy that God had brought him to Jamaica, becauſe that iſland was very populous, abounded in eatables, and the natives were deſirous to trade; therefore, to keep them in good humour, he would not go up the country, leſt the Spaniards ſhould diſoblige the people, which would prove of ill conſequence, and was ſo pleaſing to the Indians, that they gave two ſmall rabbits for a bit of tin, and two of their cakes of bread for two little green or yellow beads; and for things of more value they took a hawks-bell. They gave the caziques little looking-glaſſes, red caps, or ſciſſors to pleaſe them. The admiral having purchaſed ten canoes

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for the ſervice of his damaged ſhips, by this method the men were plentifully ſupplied with neceſſaries, and the Indians no way diſturbed at their ſtay.

Columbus having conſulted with the prime men about the means of getting away from thence, it was concluded to ſend advice to Nicholas de Obando, governor of Hiſpaniola, and to Alonſo Sanchez de Carvajal, the admiral's factor there, of the condition they were in, to the end that a ſhip might be there freighted, at the admiral's expence, to fetch them all away.

This being an affair of much difficulty, two perſons of fidelity and diſcretion were appointed for the undertaking, in canoes, the diſtance between the two neareſt points of Jamaica and Hiſpaniola being twenty-five leagues, beſides thirty more to the points where they were to croſs over. In that paſſage there is only one little iſland, or rock, called Navaſa, which is eight leagues from Hiſpaniola. The perſons choſen for this enterprize were James Mendez de Segura, chief notary of the fleet, a very honeſt and diſcreet man, and Bartholomew Fieſco, a Genoeſe, a perſon excellently qualified, and worthy of ſuch a truſt. Each of theſe went into a canoe, with ſix Spaniards, and ten Indians to row. The admiral ordered James Mendez, as ſoon as he came to St. Domingo, to go away for Spain, with his diſpatches for their majeſties, containing a full relation of his voyage, the dangers and troubles he had met with, the lands he had diſcovered, and the rich mines he had found at Veragua, and at the ſame time complained of the unworthy uſage he had before met with, his impriſonment, and the ſeizing of all he had; praying redreſs, and lamenting that after having ſpent twenty years in the ſervice of the crown, he had not a houſe to take ſhelter in, but muſt be obliged, when he came into Spain, to take up his lodging at an inn, &c. Bartholomew Fieſco was to treat with the governor of Hiſpaniola about ſending a ſhip to bring the men off, and to return with it himſelf. The two canoes ſet out on the 7th of July, the Spaniards carrying their proviſions, ſwords and targets, and the Indians their gourds full of water, *axi* and *cazabi*. When they came to the point of the iſland of Jamaica, they were obliged to ſtay till the ſea was very calm, to venture to run over, the danger being very great, eſpecially for the Spaniards, the Indians being very expert ſwimmers, and naked, if the canoes happen to overſet, ſoon turned them up again, and with their gourds threw out the water. As ſoon as the weather grew calm, they put themſelves into the hands of God, and launched out one night, the Indians rowing, who, to cool themſelves, ſometimes leaped into the water, and returned to their oar. When they had loſt ſight of Jamaica, the Spaniards relieved the Indians, but were watchful leſt they ſhould overpower them. The ſecond day after their departure, they began to be very tired, but the two chiefs encouraged their men, and adviſed them to eat, to recover their ſtrength. The Indians being heated with the ſun, and the labour of the oars, were more buſy with their gourds than they ſhould have been, ſo that they were ſoon fatigued, and the heat encreaſing, and their thirſt with it, by noon their ſtrength was quite exhauſted. The commanders then relieved them, giving them now and then to drink out of their rundlets, and ſo revived them till the cool of the evening. That which moſt perplexed them, after having rowed a night and two days, was the fear that they had miſtaken their way, in which they were to find the iſland of Navaſa, eight leagues from Hiſpaniola, where they meant to refreſh themſelves. That afternoon they had thrown an Indian overboard, who died for thirſt, others lay quite diſabled, and the reſt were totally dejected, expecting death, holding ſalt water in their mouths to cool them. They proceeded

the ſecond night without ſeeing the iſland, till the moon riſing, James Mendes perceived that it appeared like an half-moon, the other half being at firſt covered by the iſland, for otherwiſe they could not have ſeen it, by reaſon of its ſmallneſs, and the night. Then they all encouraged the Indians, ſhewing them the land, and giving them ſome ſips of water, wherewith they were ſo much encouraged, that they rowed on, and by break of day arrived at the iſland, where they landed.

They found the iſland was all a ſolid rock, about half a league in circumference, but there was no tree nor ſpring of water on it; however, going about from one cleft to another, they took up as much in the hollows as ſerved to quench their thirſt, which did them harm, becauſe being ſcorched with drought, they drank ſo much of it, that ſome of the poor Indians died upon the ſpot, and others fell ſick. They ſtaid there that day till the afternoon, recreating themſelves with the beſt the place would afford, gathering ſmall ſhell-fiſh on the ſhore, and making a fire to broil them, for James Mendez had carried the neceſſaries for it. Being then in ſight of the point of Hiſpaniola, which the admiral had named St. Michael's, and was ſince called Del Tiberon, and deſiring to conclude their paſſage before the weather grew foul; as ſoon as the ſun was low, they went into their canoes again, and by break of day arrived at the cape, the fourth day after their ſetting out. They refreſhed themſelves there two days, and neither Spaniards nor Indians would run the hazard of returning to Jamaica the ſame way they came. James Mendez being in haſte, went on as far as he could in a canoe, and at length arrived in the province of Xaragua, where he found the governor of Hiſpaniola, who ſeemed well pleaſed with the letter he brought him, though he proved very tedious in diſpatching the buſineſs he came about; for he ſuſpecting the admiral's ſincerity, was afraid leſt ſome diſturbance might happen in the iſland. After much importuning, he gave James Mendez leave to proceed with his company to St. Domingo, to perform what the admiral had ordered him. He there bought a ſhip, and ſent it well provided, though it was a conſiderable time before he could execute it.

When Bartholomew Fieſco and James Mendes were gone in their canoes for Hiſpaniola, the Spaniards that remained in Jamaica with the admiral, having ſuffered very much in that voyage, began to ſicken, and deſpairing of relief, all their diſcourſe was how they ſhould make their way to Hiſpaniola, railing at the admiral, as he had been the cauſe of their misfortunes. The chief promoters of theſe diſcontents were two brothers, natives of Seville, whoſe names were Porras, one of whom had gone over captain of ſhip, and the other purſer of the fleet. Theſe men having endeavoured to bring all the others over to their deſign, thought it ſufficient that they had gained forty of the moſt mutinous, and reſolved to declare their intentions. Accordingly on the 2d of January 1504, being all armed, captain Francis de Porras went upon the poop where the admiral was, and without any reſpect, ſaid, "We are of opinion, that your "lordſhip will not go into Spain, and deſign to keep us here to periſh." The admiral hearing thoſe audacious words, mildly anſwered, "he could not but be ſenſible "how impracticable it was for them to paſs over to Hiſpaniola; and if they had any "better method to offer, they might propoſe it." Francis de Porras replied, "there "was no need of ſo much adviſing, for I will go away into Spain with all thoſe that "will follow me." Then the conſpirators ſeized ten of the canoes the admiral had bought, and many of thoſe that were ſick joined them, went away to the eaſtern point of Jamaica, and committed many inſolencies in their way againſt the Indians; and being come to the point of the iſland, attempted to paſs over into Hiſpaniola, forcing

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ſome of the natives to go with them; but the ſea growing rough, and wetting them, they thought fit to lighten the canoes, which were heavy laden, throwing overboard all they had, except only ſome proviſions and water, then their arms, and at laſt the poor Indians that rowed, cutting their hands, if they offered to eaſe themſelves, holding by the ſides of the canoes when tired with ſwimming. Returning aſhore, they went from town to town, ſometimes bartering with the people for proviſions, and ſometimes taking them by force. Whilſt they were thus ranging, the admiral took particular care of the ſick, to ſecure them to him, and laboured to gain the friendſhip of the Indians, to ſecure his proviſions; and by ſuch methods, all thoſe that had been diſtempered, recovered. However, the Spaniards eating much more than the natives, it was a difficult matter to ſupply them plentifully, and great part of his men being revolted from the admiral, thoſe people began to make the leſs account of him, ſo that he was reduced to great ſtraits.

The admiral knew there would be an eclipſe of the moon within three days; whereupon he ſent an Indian that ſpoke Spaniſh, to call the caziques and prime men of thoſe parts to him. They being come a day before the eclipſe, he told them, that the Spaniards were Chriſtians, ſervants of the Great God who dwells in heaven, Lord and Maker of all things; who rewards the good, and puniſhes the wicked; and therefore, he being angry with thoſe that had mutinied, would not permit them to paſs over into Hiſpaniola, as the others ſent by him had done: that he was alſo diſpleaſed with them, becauſe they did not ſupply him with proviſions in exchange for his commodities, and therefore was reſolved to chaſtiſe them with famine, and other calamities; and that they might be convinced of the truth of what he had ſaid, they might that night obſerve, at the riſing of the moon, that ſhe would appear of a bloody hue, to denote the puniſhment God would inflict on them. When he had made his ſpeech, ſome of them went away in a fright, and others ſcoffed at it; but the eclipſe beginning as ſoon as the moon was up, and increaſing the higher ſhe roſe, it put them in ſuch a conſternation, that they haſtened to the ſhips grievouſly lamenting, and loaded with proviſions, entreating the admiral to pray to God, that he would not be angry with them; and they would for the future bring him all the proviſions he ſhould have occaſion for. The admiral anſwered, he would offer up his prayers to God, and then ſhutting himſelf up, waited till the eclipſe was at a height, and ready to decreaſe, when he came out again, telling them he had prayed for them, promiſing that they would be good, and ſupply the Chriſtians; whereupon God had forgiven them, and conſequently they would ſee that the moon, by degrees, was like to be appeaſed, and to return to her uſual complexion. The Indians perceiving the eclipſe to go off, and entirely to ceaſe, returned the admiral many thanks, and admiring the God of the Chriſtians, went away very well pleaſed, not forgetting to be grateful for the benefit they thought they had received of the admiral; for they ſupplied him plentifully with proviſions, always bleſſing God, believing he would puniſh them for their ſins, and that the eclipſes they had formerly ſeen had been tokens of his anger.

Eight months paſſed after the departure of Bartholomew Fieſco and James Mendez, without any advice of their arrival, or what had befallen them. One Bernard of Valencia, and all the reſt that had remained ſick, conſpired together to do as the Porras had done before. But God prevented this miſchief by the arrival of a ſmall caravel, ſent by the governor of Hiſpaniola, under the command of James de Eſcobar, one of thoſe that had been in the rebellion with Francis Roldan. He had orders not

to go aboard the ſhips nor aſhore, but only to ſee the condition the admiral and his men were in. The governor pitched upon Eſcobar to execute this commiſſion, becauſe he knew he had been in the aforeſaid rebellion, and therefore would not ſide with thoſe perſons in diſtreſs. Eſcobar leaving his caravel at a diſtance, went in his boat to deliver a letter from the governor; and then ſtanding off, made an empty compliment from him; after which he preſented the admiral with a caſk of wine and two flitches of bacon.

The admiral anſwered the governor's letter, giving him account of what he had diſcovered, and what had happened ſince, and praying him to ſend ſpeedy relief; whereupon Eſcobar ſailed away, which made the men ſuſpect that Obando deſigned to let them all periſh in that iſland. However, this diſappointed the ſecond conſpiracy, and the admiral gave them to underſtand, that Eſcobar went away ſo ſuddenly that they might be the ſooner relieved; for he was reſolved not to go away without them, and that little caravel could not carry them all. Theſe words, the ſight of the little caravel, and the advice that James Mendez and Bartholomew Fieſco were ſafely arrived in Hiſpaniola, ſomewhat comforted thoſe men, and gave them hopes of getting off in time.

The admiral being deſirous rather to reduce the mutineers by fair means than by force, that they might do no miſchief in the iſland, ſent two of their beſt friends to acquaint them with the advice he had received. Francis de Porras met the meſſengers, and anſwered, that they would not truſt the admiral, unleſs he would promiſe to find a ſhip to carry them off, and ſhare half of what he had with them. The meſſengers refuſed to make ſuch propoſals to the admiral; and Porras replied, that if he would not do it by fair means, he would be compelled to do it by force.

Porras perſiſting in his rebellion, marched with his followers towards the ſhips. The admiral ſent the adelantado, his brother, with fifty men, to perſuade him to return to his duty, which he peremptorily refuſed, and advanced in fighting order; in conſequence of which an engagement enſued, when Francis de Porras and ſix others were taken priſoners. The adelantado returned to the ſhips with the captives, and was joyfully received by the admiral and his men.

The day after the battle, being the 20th of May, thoſe that had eſcaped ſent a petition to the admiral, ſigned by them all, confeſſing their fault, begging their pardon, and promiſing to ſerve him faithfully for the future. The admiral on his part promiſed to pardon them, provided that their ringleader Francis de Porras ſhould continue a cloſe priſoner; and to prevent any controverſies between the rebels and the others, he ſent them a commander to keep them in the iſland, till the ſhips that were daily expected arrived.

This was the poſture of affairs in Jamaica, and the admiral had been there a full year, when a ſhip arrived that had been freighted by James Mendez, and with it a caravel commanded by James de Salcedo, the admiral's ſervant.

A. D. 1504. Columbus, with all his followers, and the rebels embarked; they ſailed from thence on the 28th of June, and arrived at St. Domingo on the 13th of Auguſt. The governor with all the city went out to meet, and paid him much reſpect, lodging him in his own houſe, and paying many compliments; but this was all diſſimulation, for he ſet at liberty Francis de Porras, the ringleader of the rebellion at Jamaica, who was a priſoner aboard the ſhip, and threatened to puniſh thoſe that had honourably ſtood by the admiral, all this directly in oppoſition to

to the admiral's authority and juriſdiction, and without any regard to the power given him by their majeſties. This continued till the ſhip that brought him from Jamaica was refitted, and another was freighted. He ſet ſail on the 12th of September, and as ſoon as they were out of the port, the maſt of the ſhip ſplit in two, ſo that he ordered it back, and held on his voyage in the other. When they had ſailed about a third part of their way, they met with a dreadful ſtorm, and on Saturday the 19th of October, when the ſtorm was over, the main-maſt came by the board, and they were obliged to make a jury maſt of the yard. After another tempeſt, in which they loſt their mizen-maſt, they arrived at St. Lucar, whence the admiral went away to take ſome reſt at Seville. There he underſtood that Queen Elizabeth of Caſtile was dead, which was the greateſt affliction that could befall him, ſhe being the perſon that had always moſt favoured him, and in whoſe protection he moſt confided.

A. D. 1505. The admiral, when he had reſted ſome months at Seville, in May went to the court, which was at Segovia, to deſire the performance of what had been promiſed him, but without effect. He ſoon after fell ſick, and having made the neceſſary diſpoſitions, he departed this life with much piety at Valladolid, on the 20th of May, 1506. His body was conveyed to the monaſtery of the Carthuſians at Seville, and from thence to the city of St. Domingo, in Hiſpaniola, where it lies in the chancel of the cathedral. He left his ſon James his ſole heir.

CHAPTER II.

Voyage of De Solis and Pinzon to Yucutan. Andrea Morales ſails round Hiſpaniola. Ocampo ſails round Cuba. Voyage of Ojeda and De la Coſa. Voyage of Necueſſa. Second Voyage of De Solis and Pinzon.

A. D. 1506. WHEN news arrived in Spain of what Columbus had done in his laſt voyage, John Dias de Solis and Vincent Yanez Pinzon reſolved to hold the ſame courſe, and ſailing as far as the iſlands Guanajos, held on to the weſtward as far as Golfo Dolce, but ſaw it not, becauſe it lies hid, though they obſerved the inlet which the ſea makes between the land that forms that bay and the land of Yucutan, from whence they deſcried the mountains of Caria, ſteered away to the northward, and diſcovered a great part of the kingdom of Yucutan, their main deſign being to find out ſomething the admiral had not.

About this time the governor Obando ordered Andrea de Morales, a very expert pilot, to ſail round the iſland of Hiſpaniola, and note down every creek, hill, river, or thing of note.

Alſo about this time the governor, by the king's command, ſent Sebaſtian Ocampo, a native of Galicia, to diſcover whether Cuba was an iſland or a part of the continent.

He

He ſailed firſt along the north ſide, and then round the whole iſland, putting into ſome ports; and having occaſion to careen, he did it at the Havannah, which for that reaſon was called Puerto de Carenas, or the Careening Port. Proceeding thence to the weſtward, he came to the end of the iſland, now called Cape St. Anthony, being about fifty leagues from the aforeſaid harbour. Turning then to the eaſtward, along the ſouth coaſt, he entered the port of Xaragua, that province being ſo called by the Indians; it is one of the beſt and ſafeſt harbours in the world for a thouſand ſhips. There Ocampo ſtaid with his two ſhips, very much at his eaſe, being well ſupplied by the Indians with an infinite number of partridges, like thoſe in Spain, only that they are ſomewhat ſmaller. He had alſo great plenty of ſkaits, there being immenſe ſhoals of them, and they were pent up in the harbour as ſafe as if they had been kept in fiſh-ponds, being incloſed with reeds and canes, ſtuck in the ooze, very cloſe together. Thence he returned, coaſting along, and brought Obando certain advice of its being an iſland, having ſpent eight months on the voyage.

The king being intent upon ſettling new colonies, Alonſo de Ojeda was ready to perform this ſervice, but being poor, was obliged to apply to John de la Coſa, who offered to aſſiſt him with his eſtate; and making intereſt with the biſhop of Palencia, procured for him the government of Uraba, being the inlet the ſea makes in the continent beyond Carthagena, extending from Cape de la Vele to the bay of Uraba, by the name of Andaluſia. Ojeda was then in Hiſpaniola. The iſland of Jamaica was granted jointly to him and Necuiſſa (who will be mentioned hereafter) to ſupply their government with proviſions.

John de la Coſa fitted out one ſhip and two brigantines with all neceſſaries, and about two hundred men, and failed to St. Domingo, where Ojeda joined him.

At that time there was in St. Domingo one Enciſo, a lawyer, very rich, who readily agreed to forward his deſign, which he did, by purchaſing a ſhip, Ojeda having appointed him alcaide in his government.

At St. Domingo he had ſome diſputes with Nicueſſa about the limits of their governments and about the iſland of Jamaica, but were reconciled by the mediation of John de la Coſa. The admiral Diego Columbus, ſon of Chriſtopher, was alſo angry, and ſent John de Eſquibel to make ſettlements in Jamaica. Ojeda declared, if the latter went to Jamaica, he would cut his head off. Ojeda left St. Domingo the 1ſt of November, with two ſhips and two brigantines, and with him embarked Francis Pizarro, afterwards the conqueror of Peru.

He departed from the iſland Beata, and ſtanding to the ſouthward, in a few days arrived at Carthagena, which the Indians called Caramari; they were then in an uproar and ready to oppoſe the Spaniards, becauſe of the injuries done them by Chriſtopher Guerra and others, who had lately paſſed that way under pretence of trading. Thoſe people were of a good ſtature; the men wore their hair down to their ears, and the women very long, and both ſexes were very expert at ſhooting with their bows. Ojeda and John de la Coſa had religious men with them, the king being very deſirous to induce thoſe people to ſubmit by fair means; and having Indians of Hiſpaniola who ſpoke that language, he adviſed them to be peaceable, and to lay aſide their cruelty, idolatry, ſodomy, and other hideous vices practiſed amongſt them; but they being very much incenſed, would not give ear to thoſe perſuaſives.

Ojeda

Ojeda tried all poſſible methods to allure the Carthagenians, though he had orders, in caſe they proved obſtinate, to declare war, and make ſlaves of them. He began to barter for gold, giving them a number of Spaniſh toys, and ſoothing them; but thoſe iſlanders being fierce and bold, and beginning to grow boiſterous, John de la Coſa ſaid, that ſince they were outrageous and had poiſoned arrows, he thought it would be better to ſettle a colony at the Bay of Uraba, where the people were more gentle; and that from thence they might return to Carthagena better provided. Ojeda being always reſolute, and having been in a great number of quarrels and engagements both in Spain and Hiſpaniola, without ever loſing a drop of blood, did not regard that advice, but fell upon the Indians, who were preparing to attack him, killed many, took ſome priſoners, and found a ſmall quantity of gold in the plates taken from them. Not ſatisfied with that, uſing ſome of the priſoners for his guides, he went to a town four leagues up the country, whither thoſe who had eſcaped from the laſt fray were retired, and found the people there upon their guard, with ſwords of extraordinary hard wood, bows, ſharp poiſoned arrows, and rods, which they threw like darts. The Spaniards fell on them, killing and taking all they met. Eight Indians, who were not ſo expeditious as the reſt, retired into one of their thatched houſes, where they defended themſelves a conſiderable time, and killed one Spaniard; at which Ojeda was ſo provoked, that he ordered the houſe to be fired, and they all periſhed in a moment. He took ſixty captives, whom he ſent to the ſhips, and purſued thoſe that fled. The inhabitants of a town called Yarbaco, having notice thereof, withdrew into the mountains, with their wives, children, and effects. The Spaniards coming thither by break of day, and finding no body, grew heedleſs, and diſperſed themſelves about the country. The Indians obſerving their careleſſneſs, fell upon them unexpectedly, and the Spaniards endeavoured to retire to ſome place of ſafety, but ſtill met with their enemies, who being divided into ſeveral detachments, attacked, wounded, and killed them with vaſt flights of poiſoned arrows. Ojeda, with ſome of his companions, maintained the fight, often kneeling, the better to cover himſelf with his target; but when he ſaw moſt of his men killed, truſting to his activity, he ruſhed through the thickeſt of the Indians, and got into the woods, directing his courſe towards the ſea, where the ſhips were. John de la Coſa got into a houſe, where he defended himſelf at the door, till his men were ſlain, and himſelf ſo wounded with poiſoned arrows that he could no longer ſtand: but looking about, he ſaw one that ſtill fought courageouſly, to whom he ſaid, that ſince it had pleaſed God to preſerve him, he ſhould go and tell Ojeda what had happened; and Ojeda and he were the only two that eſcaped, ſeventy Spaniards being then ſlaughtered.

Whilſt theſe things happened, the men on board the ſhips were in much confuſion, not knowing what was become of Ojeda, for which reaſon they ſailed along the coaſt in their boats, ſeeking for him; and being very diligent in their ſearch, they came to a place where there were ſome trees, called Manglares, which always ſprout up, grow and live in the ſalt water, their roots ſpreading very much, and twined one within another, where they found Ojeda hid, with his ſword in his hand, and his target on his back, on which were the marks of above three hundred arrows he had received on it. He was ſo faint with hunger that he could ſcarce ſpeak, and had not his conſtitution been very robuſt, he muſt have periſhed. They made a fire, warmed and gave him ſuch as they had to eat, by which means he recovered his ſpirits, and came to himſelf.

As

As they were in this ſorrowful plight, hearing him relate his diſaſter, they ſaw James de Nicueſſa's ſhips appear, which was no ſmall affliction to him, fearing he might attempt to revenge himſelf for the challenges and quarrels that had ſo lately happened between them at St. Domingo; for which reaſon he ordered his men to go aboard the ſhips, and leave him alone, without mentioning his name as long as Nicueſſa was in the harbour. Ojeda's boats went out to meet Nicueſſa's ſhips, which were entering the port of Carthagena, and in a very doleful manner told him, that ſo many days before, Ojeda and John de la Coſa had gone aſhore, burnt the town, and taken many ſlaves; and that being farther up the country, and not returned, they were afraid ſome diſaſter had befallen them; but that in compliance with their duty, they were reſolved to go and look for him, if he would promiſe them not to take notice of all that had paſſed between them.

James de Nicueſſa, who was much of a gentleman, modeſt, and of a mild diſpoſition, and moved with what they ſaid, anſwered, they ſhould go and ſeek for him immediately, and bring him if he was alive; for he was ſo far from deſigning him any harm, that he promiſed them upon his word that he would relieve all his wants, as if he were his own brother. They brought him, and Nicueſſa embraced him, being much concerned at his misfortune, ſaying, that gentlemen ought to behave themſelves generouſly when they ſee thoſe they once had any difference with in diſtreſs, becauſe it would be baſe to add freſh affliction to their trouble; for which reaſon he might reckon that nothing had paſſed between them, which might obſtruct their acting like brothers, and therefore he might order matters as he pleaſed, and he would follow him with his men, till they had revenged the death of John de la Coſa, and the reſt, wherein he had no other view than to aſſiſt him. Ojeda was much comforted, and returned him many thanks for that ſuccour. They mounted two horſes, and took four hundred Spaniards with them, commanding them not to ſpare the life of any Indian: and thus marched by night to the town of Yurbaco, where they divided themſelves into two parties. There are in thoſe parts certain large red parrots called Guacamayas, which cry and make an hideous noiſe. As ſoon as they heard the men they began to ſhriek, and though the Indians gueſſed what it might be, thinking that the Spaniards were deſtroyed, they took no notice of it at firſt, till afterwards being in a great conſternation, ſome of them ran out of their houſes with their arms, others without, and not knowing what way to take, fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who ripped open their bellies; whilſt others running back into their houſes, were ſet on fire and burnt. The women being ſcorched by the fire, ran out with the children in their arms, and meeting with their enemies, and ſeeing the horſes, which they had never ſeen before, for fear of being devoured by them, fled back into their flaming houſes. A dreadful ſlaughter enſued; none was ſpared; after which they fell to plunder, and the ſhare of Nicueſſa and his men amounted to ſeven thouſand caſtellanos. Seeking about for more booty in ſeveral places, they found the body of John de la Coſa, lying under a tree, ſtuck ſo full of arrows, that it looked like a hedge-hog; and being greatly ſwollen and deformed with the poiſon of thoſe weapons, it ſtruck ſuch a dread upon the Spaniards, that not a man of them would ſtay there that night.

The commanders now made friends, returning to the fort, Ojeda took leave of Nicueſſa, and ſailed for the bay of Uraba, which was the end of his voyage; but meeting with contrary winds, he made ſome ſtay at a little iſland, about thirty-five leagues from Carthagena, down the coaſt, and having taken ſome men and gold, he entered

entered the bay of Uraba, where he ſought for the river of Darien, much talked of among the Indians for gold and warlike people; but not finding it, he planted a colony on a hilly ground, naming it the town of St. Sebaſtian, taking that ſaint for his patron againſt the poiſoned arrows, as that martyr had been killed with arrows. This was the ſecond Spaniſh town built on the continent: the firſt being that which the admiral began to build at Veragua. As they were ſeeking a proper place to build the town, a great alligator came out of the river, laid hold of a mare's leg, dragged her into the water, and devoured her. Ojeda perceiving he had but few men to make good the town of St. Sebaſtian, and that the natives were warlike, ſent away a ſhip to Hiſpaniola, with the gold he had got, and the Indian captives to be ſold; intending, in return, to have men, arms, and ammunition, and building a ſtrong wooden fort to defend himſelf.

The Indians in this diſtrict were canibals, and uſed poiſoned arrows, which they ſhot with ſuch force, that they ſometimes went through the armour and the man, unleſs the armour was made very thick with cotton; for ſuch they made uſe of, becauſe the coats of mail and cuiraſſes, beſides being too heavy for that craggy country, were ſoon ſpoiled by the extraordinary dampneſs of the climate: however brave the Indians were, twelve or fifteen Spaniards, with only their ſwords and targets, would often attack and rout two hundred of them, though they were very good markſmen with their arrows, gave heavy ſtrokes with their wooden ſwords, and darted their ſtaves very dexterouſly. In this country they had no particular houſes or temples for religious worſhip; but thoſe who were appointed for it, talked with the devil, having a great veneration for him, he appearing, as they ſaid, in dreadful ſhapes, which put them into great fear. In natural things they had very little knowledge. The ſons begotten on their firſt wife were heirs to their fathers. It was uſual to marry the daughters of their ſiſters; and the great men had many wives. When a lord died, his friends and ſervants met in his houſe at night, and drank liquor made of their wheat in the dark, lamenting over the corpſe; then, after many ceremonies and ſorceries, they laid the body in a grave, with his weapons and treaſure, meat, drink, and his wives alive; the devil gave them to underſtand, that they were to live in another kingdom he had provided for them, and were to have thoſe proviſions to ſerve them by the way. Theſe Indians ſaid, they came originally from the country beyond the great river Darien. The caziques and lords were much feared and honoured.

Theſe people are in general well ſhaped, clean, and their wives beautiful and loving. Their houſes were like long arbours, with ſeveral apartments, and no beds, but hammocks. The ſoil was fruitful, and abounding in proviſions, and roots that were agreeables. There were great herds of ſmall black ſwine, whoſe fleſh was very ſavoury, and abundance of large deer, as alſo of turkies, and other ſorts of fowl; and a variety of fiſh in the rivers. The tygers were alſo numerous, and uſed to devour men; but the Spaniards leſſened their numbers; the council of Darien, becauſe of the miſchief they did among the cattle, allowing four or five pieces of eight for every one that was killed. A Spaniard was wont to go out with a dog, hunting the tyger, till being tired he climbed up a tree; the man ſhot him with his croſs-bow, and left him there wounded, then coming again, deſtroyed him. There were alſo very large ſnakes, and other creatures, on the mountains and in the woods, the names of which were not known: among them were thoſe called Pericos Ligeros, wonderful to behold for their ſhape and heavy motion. The men carried their pri-

vities in caſes of pure gold, or of bones; they had alſo bracelets, very ſmall beads, and other ornaments of different kinds, with cotton cloth, the remainder of their body quite naked. The women had cloths wrapped about them, reaching from their navels to their feet, and about the upper part of their body another cloth. They valued themſelves upon their beauty, and were always combed and well dreſſed, after their faſhion. There were ſome great merchants among them, who carried abundance of ſwine, that had their navels upon their backs, with ſalt and fiſh, to ſell up the country; for which they brought back gold and cloth. Their bows were made of black palm-trees, the wood whereof was extraordinary hard; a fathom in length, ſome longer: their arrows long and ſharp, and ſo poiſoned, that they were certain death, if they drew blood, even no more than the prick of a pin; ſo that few or none that were wounded ever recovered.

This poiſon was made with certain ſtinking grey roots, found along the ſea coaſt, and being burnt in earthen pipkins, they made a paſte with a ſort of very black piſmires, as big as beetles, ſo poiſonous, that if they happened to bite a man, it made him mad. They added to this compoſition large ſpiders, and hairy worms, as long as half a man's finger; the bite of which is as bad as that of the piſmires abovementioned; as alſo the wings of bats, and the head and tail of a ſea fiſh called tavorino, very venomous; beſides toads, the tails of ſnakes, and mançanillas, which are like beautiful apples, but a deadly poiſon. All theſe ingredients being ſet on a great fire, in an open field, remote from their towns, were well boiled in pots, by ſlaves, till it came to a proper conſiſtence. The perſon that looked to it died of the ſteam.—Another ſort of poiſonous compoſition they made of fourteen different ingredients, and another of twenty-four: one that killed in three days, another in five, and another later; and it was found by experience, that ſometimes the wounded perſon lived as many days as the poiſon had been made. They ſaid, that fire, ſea-water, and continence, were the antidotes againſt this venom; others preſcribed the dung of the wounded perſon, taken in pills or otherwiſe.

When the Spaniards firſt came to Carthagena, they eat ſome of the mançanillas, which in ſmell and taſte were not inferior to the apples in Spain, except that they had a ſort of milky juice in them, which was the poiſon. All thoſe that ate of them thought they would have burſt, but they were relieved with oil; and they concluded from the violent reachings and pangs that they muſt infallibly have died, had it not been for the oil. This dreadful poiſon did much miſchief, till a remedy was found againſt it.

Alonſo de Ojeda, who had built a fort to defend himſelf againſt the Indians, at the colony of St. Sebaſtian, in the bay of Uraba, was informed by ſome priſoners he had taken, that not far from thence there was a king of many ſubjects, whoſe name was Tiruſi, and much gold. He reſolved to go to him, leaving what men he thought fit to defend the fort; and the fame of the Spaniards being ſpread throughout the country, the people met him, ſhooting flights of arrows like hail, of which many Spaniards died raving: for which reaſon he thought fit to ſecure himſelf at the fort. Soon after, the ſtores which John de la Coſa had carried from Spain, and what they got from Hiſpaniola, grew ſhort, and Ojeda, before they were quite conſumed, made inroads into the country, to the Indian towns, ſeeking proviſion. One day they came to a paſs, where they met with ſo much oppoſition from the natives, that they were obliged to retire to their fort, the Indians ſtill purſuing, till they got into it, where

thoſe who defended it, had enough to do to bury the dead, and dreſs the wounded. When the proviſions were quite ſpent, they durſt not go abroad to ſeek more, for fear of the poiſoned arrows; ſo that they were forced to feed on herbs and roots, without diſtinguiſhing between the good and bad, which ſo diſtempered their bodies, that many of them died, and others by hunger. In this diſtreſs, Almighty God thought fit to relieve them: for one Bernardi de Talavera, an inhabitant of the town of Yaquimo, in Hiſpaniola, who was much in debt, to eſcape being thrown into gaol, thought fit to get out of that iſland; and not knowing where to go, or perhaps had concerted it with Alonſo de Ojeda, on account of what he had heard from thoſe aboard the ſhip that came for proviſions, that he was ſettled in a rich country, he agreed with others that were in debt, and ſome that had withdrawn themſelves for crimes, to ſteal a ſhip that lay at the point of cape Tiburon, two leagues from the town of Salvatierra de la Zabana, at the weſtern end of the iſland; and that ſhip belonged to certain Genoeſes, who were lading cazabi bread and bacon, to carry it to St. Domingo. Seventy of theſe men aſſembling themſelves, ſeized the ſhip, and arrived ſafe where Alonſo de Ojeda was near periſhing with hunger.

The joy and ſatisfaction the people received by the arrival of that ſhip may eaſily be conceived. They landed the proviſions; for which Ojeda paid the perſon who was intruſted with it, in gold, and being noted for an ill manager, he divided among them unequally; whereupon thoſe who had received the leaſt ſhare muttered, and deſigned to go away in that ſhip to Hiſpaniola. He, on the other hand, endeavoured to pleaſe them with the hopes of the batchelor Enciſo's coming, whom he daily expected.

The Indians, in the mean time, always alarmed and troubled them, and being acquainted with Ojeda's activity, who was always the firſt that ſallied out and overtook them, and that no arrow ever touched him, they contrived to lay in ambuſh for him. Four archers poſted themſelves behind ſome buſhes, and others ſhouted another way: Ojeda ruſhed firſt out of the fort, and coming near the archers, they ſhot at him, and one of their arrows went through his thigh. He returned very melancholy, concluding he ſhould die raving, for no man having ever before drawn blood from him, he thought this would carry him off. Upon this apprehenſion he ordered two iron plates to be heated in the fire, and a ſurgeon to apply them to his thigh. The ſurgeon refuſed, ſaying, it would kill him. Ojeda ſwore he would hang him if he objected; he therefore ſubmitted, knowing the poiſon to be of a cold nature. The ſurgeon applied the red-hot plates to both ſides of his thigh; ſo that they not only burnt him and overcame the malignity of the poiſon, but inflamed his whole body in ſuch a manner, that a caſk of vinegar was ſpent in wetting ſheets to wrap him in, and by that means the exceſſive heat was tempered. Ojeda endured this voluntarily, with wonderful patience and reſolution, a great inſtance of his extraordinary courage and bravery.

When the proviſions that came with Bernardin de Talavera were expended, they began to want again; and the batchelor Enciſo not appearing, all cried out againſt Ojeda, requiring him to carry them from thence, ſince they were periſhing, and they contrived to ſteal the brigantines to go away. Ojeda conſidering the uneaſineſs and wretched condition of his men, reſolved to go to Hiſpaniola himſelf, in the ſhip that conveyed Bernardi de Talavera, to get proviſions, allowing, in caſe he did not return in fifty days, that they might depart from thence, and go where they thought proper. This ſatisfied them all; and he leaving Francis Pizarro for his lieutenant,

till ſuch time as Enciſo ſhould come, whom he appointed his chief alcalde, he embarked with moſt of thoſe that came over in the ſhip, who ſeeing what a wretched place that was, would not ſtay with Ojeda's men, chooſing rather to ſuffer any thing in Hiſpaniola, than to be expoſed to what they ſaw there.

Ojeda and his men not being able to make Hiſpaniola, fell in upon the province of Xagua, in the iſland of Cuba, where landing, and quitting the ſhip, they travelled along the iſland to the eaſtward, to be the nearer to Hiſpaniola. Talavera and Ojeda had quarrelled aboard the ſhip about the command, and all ſiding with Talavera, they had ſeized Ojeda, and carried him as a priſoner.

At the ſame time that De la Coſa applied for the government of Uraba, James de Nicueſſa, who was then in favour of the court, made intereſt for that of Veragua, containing the other half of the bay, to Cape Gracias a Dios, which the king ordered ſhould be called Caſtillo del Oro. Nicueſſa being rich, fitted out four large ſhips and two brigantines, and ſailed likewiſe for St. Domingo ſoon after De la Coſa. He ſtopped at Santa Cruz in his way, which is fifteen leagues from St. John de Puerto Rico, where he ſeized all the Indians, whom he ſent for ſlaves; alledging, he had the king's order, as they were canibals. At St. Domingo he was ſo ſucceſsful in raiſing men, that he was obliged to buy another ſhip. He ſailed with ſeven ſhips and ſeven hundred men, well equipped, appointing Lope de Olano his commander in chief. Going on board a caravel, he ordered two brigantines to keep with him, Lope de Olano's lieutenant being in one of them, and that the ſhips ſhould keep farther out at ſea, for fear of the ſhoals, whilſt he held his courſe near the land, in queſt of Veragua. Arriving one night near that place, he ſtood out to ſea again, to avoid the dangers ſhips are expoſed to in the dark, ſuppoſing that Lope de Olano would have followed him with the two brigantines, as he ought to have done; but he lay by that night near a little iſland, which he alledged he had done for fear of the foul weather, though ſome, and Nicueſſa himſelf ſuſpected, he had done it with a deſign to take to himſelf the command of the ſhips, and the government; he having been one of Roldan's followers in the rebellion at Hiſpaniola, was a ſufficient cauſe to ſuſpect him. The caravel of Nicueſſa not appearing in the morning, he made to the ſhips, which he found in the river De los Lagartos, or of Alligators, now called Chagre; thoſe ſhips having landed there all their proviſions, and whatſoever elſe they had aboard, by reaſon they were ſo much worm-eaten, that they could not keep above water. There Lope de Olano ſaid, that James de Nicueſſa was caſt away, and he had eſcaped himſelf very wonderfully. Being Nicueſſa's lieutenant, they all obeyed him; whereupon he reſolved to paſs thence to the river of Belen or Bethlehem, which is four leagues from Veragua, and accordingly left the ſhips at a point of land, and ſought out for a place to fix a colony. The leaving of the ſhips in that place, was looked upon as an artifice, to the end that the Spaniards, who began already to want proviſions, and grow uneaſy, might lay aſide all thoughts of departing thence, and that the ſhips might be loſt, as they could not enter the river for want of water.

Lope de Olano having diſpoſed of the ſhips, went into a boat well manned, and at the mouth of the river the ſea running very high, the boat ſunk, and fourteen men were drowned, he and ſome others that could ſwim very narrowly eſcaped, and continuing aſhore four days without eating, becauſe they could get proviſions from the ſhips, by reaſon of the ſtormy weather. At length he got out of the river of Belen,

Belen, and went up the river of Veragua in the brigantines, with as many men as they could carry. There he ordered ſearch to be made for gold, and though the men found enough, they denied it, ſaying, there was neither gold, nor any thing to eat, but it was a wretched country. This they did by reaſon they were all very uneaſy, and to the end that Lope de Olano might entertain no thoughts of ſtaying there, but return to Hiſpaniola, to be out of a place where they all expected to periſh with hunger and miſery. Some men were left at the river of Belen, who, being fed by meaſure, having no ſhelter but ſome wretched barracks, which could not ſecure them againſt the heavy rains, and the dampneſs of the ſea, peſtered with the innumerable moſquitos, or gnats, and deſpairing of relief, were in the utmoſt affliction, eſpecially as ſeveral died; in which diſtreſs they obſerved, that all died at the time of the ebb, and being buried in the ſand, they found by experience that in eight days the bodies were conſumed as if they had been fifty years under ground, which they looked upon as an ill ſign, thinking that the very ſand helped to conſume them. To add to their calamity, there happened ſo great a ſtorm one night, that it waſhed away the ſand on which their barracks were built; ſo that they were obliged to make others farther up, to their very great fatigue and trouble. Lope de Olano returned to the river of Belen, where he ordered a caravel to be built out of the planks and timbers of the ſhattered ſhips, under pretence of going over to Hiſpaniola; but it was only to make uſe of it in that country, where he deſigned to ſtay. When the caravel was begun, and the work ſomewhat advanced, their proviſions were at an end, and they were reduced to ſuch extreme hunger, that as ſoon as a mare had foaled, they ran like ſo many hungry wolves, and devoured it, and the after-birth.

Whilſt Lope de Olano and his men laboured under this diſtreſs, James de Nicueſſa was not exempt from ſtorms and troubles. He, when day appeared, after the aforementioned ſtorms, miſſing the brigantines with which Olano was, to his great ſorrow, concluded they were caſt away; on which he made up to the coaſt with his caravel, and ſpying a river, ſailed up, finding water ſufficient, for it was ſwollen with the great rains that came down from the mountains; but in a few hours it ſunk ſo low, without being perceived, that the caravel touched the ſand, and having nothing to ſupport it, lay on her ſide. A ſailor perceiving that the caravel opened, leaped into the water with a rope to make it faſt to ſome tree on ſhore; but the current ran ſo ſtrong, that not being able to ſtem it, he was carried out to ſea, where none could aſſiſt him. Another, not regarding the fate of the former, leaped over immediately, and getting the better of the ſtream, landed, and faſtened the rope to a tree, by the help of which Nicueſſa and the reſt got on ſhore; all they had was loſt with the caravel; ſo that they remained in a deſperate condition, without victuals or cloaths; whereupon Nicueſſa reſolved to travel to the weſtward, in queſt of that unhappy Veragua which had been ſo fatal to him.

He ordered four men to go by ſea in the boat of the caravel, though it was very dangerous, to turn up the rivers and creeks, and carry him and his company over where they could not wade. Thus feeding on herbs and ſhell-fiſh they found on the ſhore, many of them barefooted and almoſt naked: they paſſed many quagmires, brooks, and rivers, without any track or road, and what grieved them moſt was, that they knew not where Veragua lay, or whether they went right or wrong. One morning as they were purſuing their journey, a ſervant of Nicueſſa wearing a white hat, ſome Indians who obſerved him at a diſtance, ſuppoſing him to be the commander, caſt a dart at him out of a wood, which killed him on the ſpot. This diſaſter troubled them

them very much, and Nicueſſa more particularly. Being come to a point, made by a large bay, they reſolved to paſs over by degrees in the boat to the oppoſite ſhore, and as ſoon as they arrived there, found it to be the point of a deſert iſland, which had not even a ſpring of freſh water on it; ſo that finding themſelves ſhut up in it, they utterly deſpaired. Four ſailors perceiving it to be an iſland, and that thoſe who remained there muſt periſh, thought fit one night, without acquainting Nicueſſa, to turn back, believing the ſhips were more to the weſtward. When the men that were left found that the boat was gone, it is eaſy to imagine what a deplorable ſituation they were in. They fed on herbs, without knowing whether they were wholeſome or not, and all ſorts of ſhell-fiſh they could find; but their greateſt misfortune was the want of water, having only a muddy puddle, and that was brackiſh. They tried ſeveral times to make a float of ſticks, or boughs of trees, to get over from the iſland to the continent, but to no purpoſe; for thoſe that could ſwim wanting ſtrength, and having no oars for the float, the current carried it out to ſea, and they returned to the iſland.

There they continued a long time, ſome ſay three months, many dying daily through hunger and thirſt, eating unwholeſome herbs, and drinking brackiſh water; thoſe that remained alive, crawling about on all fours, not having ſtrength to walk. The boat, after eſcaping many dangers, arrived where Lope de Olano was with the reſt of his men, and acquainting him, that James de Nicueſſa, turning back to ſeek him, had been wrecked, what hardſhips he endured, and the condition they left him in, and that they had come away without his knowledge to ſeek out the ſhips, in order to relieve him, being convinced that if they had told him of it he would not have permitted them ſo to do, and they muſt all have periſhed. This was no agreeable news to Lope de Olano, being afraid of Nicueſſa, knowing that he had been the occaſion of that diſaſter; however, to do his duty, he ſent one of the brigantines, and in it the four ſailors that came in the boat, with ſome palmitos, and part of the poor proviſion he had.

When thoſe who remained alive in the iſland were reduced to the laſt extremity, the brigantine hove in ſight, and they heartily prayed it might arrive in ſafety. When it came near, their joy was inexpreſſible. Nicueſſa took care that moderation ſhould be uſed in eating the palmitos and drinking the freſh water, leſt it ſhould prove fatal, though he was himſelf in as great want as the reſt. They all went aboard the brigantine, which, after many difficulties, arrived where Lope de Olano was, who, fearing Nicueſſa's indignation, had deſired all the men to intercede for him; but Nicueſſa immediately cauſed him to be ſecured as a traitor, for having expoſed him to ſo many dangers, with a deſign to uſurp his government, and had been the cauſe of ſo many men periſhing. He alſo ſeverely reprimanded the other officers, for not having compelled Olano to go in queſt of him; but they excuſed themſelves, alledging, that they could not refuſe to obey him, being appointed by himſelf his captain-general; however, fearing he would put him to death, they all unanimouſly begged he would forgive him, and at length, with much difficulty prevailed.

The people being ſtill in diſtreſs, Nicueſſa growing daily worſe conditioned, and treating thoſe few that remained very harſhly, he diſpatched both ſick and ſound, through bogs, and over mountains, to rob the Indian towns, and bring proviſions on their backs; in which expeditions they did much miſchief: and it was thought he did this to be revenged on thoſe men that had forſaken him. There was nothing at length

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to be found in all the country round, and the Indians being provoked, ſeized all opportunities to deſtroy them. Some dying daily for hunger, they were reduced to ſuch diſtreſs, that thirty Spaniards who went out to plunder, finding a dead Indian, then almoſt ſtinking, ate him, and were ſo infected by it, that they all died. Theſe diſaſters made Nicueſſa reſolve to leave that place; and accordingly ordered every man to get ready what he had, for he would go to the eaſtward. They begged him to ſtay till ſome Indian wheat they had ſowed, and other things, were ripe, which would be very ſoon; but he would not. He put thoſe he thought fit aboard the caravel Olano had built, and the brigantines, under the command of Alonſo Munez, whom he had appointed his chief alcalde.

Being embarked, Nicueſſa ordered his men to look out along the coaſt for ſome good port, and country that promiſed well. When they had ſailed four leagues, a ſailor ſaid, he remembered a port near that place, which he had ſeen when the firſt admiral diſcovered thoſe parts; and the token he gave was, that they would there find an anchor half-buried in the ſand, which the admiral loſt, and not far from it a ſpring of very good water under a tree. They proceeded to the place, and found both the anchor and the ſpring; and this was the port which admiral Columbus had named Porto Bello. The ſailor was commended for his good memory and ingenuity: his name was Gregory Genoeſe. Some men went on ſhore to ſeek proviſions, being all ſo famiſhed that their legs would ſcarce carry them, and there and in other places where they landed, the Indians oppoſed them, and killed twenty Spaniards, being ſo weak that they could not manage their arms. They ſailed ſix or ſeven leagues beyond Porto Bello, to another port, the inhabitants whereof were called Chuchareyes, and thinking that a proper place to build a fort, he reſolved to make a ſettlement, ſaying, "Let us ſtay here in Nombre de Dios," that is, in the name of God; and it is to this day called the port and city of Nombre de Dios, having been ſince very famous, not ſo much for his name, as for the immenſe quantity of gold and ſilver that has been there ſhipped off for Spain; and this is the ſame that the firſt admiral called Puerto de Baſtimentos, or the Port of Proviſions.

Nicueſſa being reſolved to ſettle a colony at Nombre de Dios, performed the ceremony of the poſſeſſion, and began to build a little fort, to curb the firſt ſallies of the Indians, obliging all to work, great and ſmall, ſick, healthy, or hungry, as they then were. He made them go to Porto Bello, and bring proviſions on their backs, which provoked them to curſe him, thinking him barbarous, as he ſhewed them no compaſſion. They aſked him for ſomething to eat, or to excuſe them from working, becauſe their ſtrength failed them through hunger, and he bid them go to the ſlaughter-houſe. Indeed he uſed them ſo very cruelly, that they died as they were at work, and ſo by degrees the ſeven hundred and eighty men he brought from Hiſpaniola were reduced to an hundred.

The men he left at Belen not being fetched away in five months, by reaſon of the contrary winds, were brought to ſuch diſtreſs that they eat frogs, toads, alligators, and all other living creatures, though ever ſo loathſome. One of them hit upon an excellent invention, which was to grate or raſp the palmitos, which being reduced to flour like the yuca, they made cakes, and baked it as cazabi bread was made in Hiſpaniola. This contrivance ſaved many from periſhing. Nicueſſa at length ſent the caravel for them, and when they were come, he ſent Gonzalo de Badajoz with twenty men to the Indian towns, to take as many as he could to be carried to Hiſpaniola. A kinſman of his

his went in the caravel to fetch away a thouſand flitches of bacon he had ordered to be dreſſed for him at Yaquimo, together with ſome other proviſions, but he never received them, as the new admiral would not permit them to be carried away. Gonzalo de Badajoz went again with fifty men about the country to ſeek proviſions, and much miſchief was done, both Spaniards and Indians being killed. When the produce of the earth was eaten, the Indians retired, and ſtanding upon their defence, neither ſowed or reaped, ſo that both parties wanted; the Indians being ſatisfied with little, found enough to content them; but Nicueſſa, and thoſe few that remained with him, not being able to live as they did, were reduced to ſuch diſtreſs by ſickneſs and famine, that not one of them was able to watch, or ſtand centinel at night, and thus they waſted away.

When king Ferdinand returned into Spain this year, he ſettled and enlarged the Indian houſe at Seville, granting many privileges and immunities. His next care was to encourage diſcoveries, and it was agreed that diſcoveries ſhould be proſecuted to the ſouthward, along the coaſt of Braſil; and alſo that ſettlements ſhould be made at Paria. For the former purpoſe two caravels were fitted out to go under the command of Vincent Yanez and John Dias, who had inſtructions given them; according to which the latter was to command at ſea, and the former on land. They were not to ſettle any colonies, but to diſcover the coaſt; and if they traded, it was to be in the preſence of the notary and ſteward.

They ſailed from Seville in two caravels, and from the iſlands of Cape Verde paſſed over directly to Cape St. Auguſtine, and proceeding thence to the ſouthward, coaſting along the continent, came into about forty degrees of ſouth latitude, erecting croſſes wherever they landed, and took poſſeſſion in the moſt ſolemn manner. Then thinking they had done enough, they returned to Spain, having been at variance during the voyage. On their return, this affair was examined into at Seville, and the officers of the India-houſe found John Dias de Solis to be in the wrong; they ſecured and ſent him priſoner to the royal priſon of the court; but Vincent Yanez Pinzon was rewarded by the king.

CHAPTER III.

Vaſco Nunez de Balboa hears of the South Seas. James Velaſquez fails to ſettle Cuba. John Ponce de Leon diſcovers Florida. John Dias de Solis diſcovers the river Plata.

A. D. 1511. ABOUT this time a circumſtance happened which opened a new field for the Spaniards. Vaſco Nunez de Balboa, a ſenſible, bold, and vigilant man, being at Darien, with his men, paid a viſit to Comagre, lord of a province which bore the ſame name. Here theſe people were joyfully received, and entertained like brothers. Comagre's eldeſt ſon being deſirous to oblige his gueſts, cauſed ſeveral pieces of gold, valuable both for their workmanſhip and fineneſs, weighing about four thouſand pieces of eight, and ſeventy ſlaves, to be brought, all which he gave to Vaſco Nunez and Roderick Euriquez de Colmenares, knowing them to be the prime perſons.

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They immediately ſet apart the fifth of the gold for the king, and diſtributed the reſt among themſelves. When they were dividing it, ſome quarrelled about the beſt and fineſt of thoſe pieces. Comagre's eldeſt ſon, who was preſent, obſerving it, ran to the ſcales, and threw all the gold upon the ground, ſaying, they need not fall out about ſuch a trifle; but if they were ſo fond of it as to diſturb peaceable nations, and leave their own native country for the ſake of it, he would ſhow them a province where they might have as much as their hearts could deſire. And having underſtood that there was great plenty of iron in Spain, of which the ſwords were made, he ſaid there was more gold in thoſe parts than iron in Spain.

This was the firſt intimation given of that large country. The youth being acquainted with the great extent and power of that kingdom, ſaid there ought to be at leaſt a thouſand Spaniards to invade it, and offered to go with them himſelf, and aſſiſt them with his father's men.

Vaſco Nunez and his followers having heard theſe tidings, were ſo overjoyed, that they thought they could never make haſte enough to diſcover thoſe countries. They reſted there ſome days, getting all the confirmation they could of the ſea being beyond the mountains they then ſaw, and the immenſe wealth the youth had mentioned; and being wholly intent upon it, they made haſte back to Darien, to ſend advice to admiral James Columbus, and to the king, of the wonderful diſcovery they had made, deſiring one thouſand men might be ſent for that enterprize.

Before their departure, Comagre and his ſons, with other people, were baptized, the cazique taking the name of Don Carlos, the then prince of Spain.

The ſame year the admiral James Columbus reſolved to make a ſettlement in Cuba, as he now knew it to be an iſland, very populous, the ſoil good, and abounding in proviſions. James de Velaſquez was appointed to command this expedition, and ſailed with four ſhips, having on board three hundred men.

John Ponce de Leon being out of employment, reſolved to do ſomething that might gain him honour and increaſe his fortune; and being informed that there were lands to the northward, thought fit to proſecute diſcoveries that way. For this purpoſe he fitted out three ſhips, well ſtored with proviſions and men, and ſailed from the
A. D. 1512. port of St. German, on Thurſday the 3d of March, making for Aguada, to ſteer his courſe from thence. The next night he ſtood away north-weſt and by north, running eight leagues before ſun-riſing. Proceeding till the 8th of the ſame month, they came to an anchor at the ſhoals of Babucca, near an iſland called Del Viejo, or the Old Man's, lying in latitude twenty-two degrees and half. The next day they anchored again at one of the Lucayo iſlands, called Caycos, and then at another called Yaguna, in twenty-four degrees latitude. The eleventh of the ſame month, they arrived at the iſland Amaguayo, where they lay by, and then paſſed by the iſland Manegua, in twenty-four degrees and an half. The fourteenth they come up with Guanahani, in twenty-five degrees four minutes, where they fitted up a ſhip to croſs the bay to the windward of the Lucayos. This iſland Guanahani was the firſt the admiral Chriſtopher Columbus diſcovered, when he ſailed on his firſt voyage, and called it San Salvador, or St. Saviour. From hence they ſteered north-weſt, and on Sunday the twenty-ſeventh, being Eaſter-day, in Spaniſh called Paſqua de Flores, they ſaw an iſland, and paſſed it. Monday the twenty-eighth, they held

on fifteen leagues the ſame courſe, as they did on Wedneſday, when the weather proving foul, they ſtood till the ſecond of April weſt north-weſt, the water growing ſhoal till they came to nine fathoms, a league from the land, which was in thirty degrees eight minutes. They ran along the coaſt ſeeking ſome harbour, and at night anchored near the ſhore in eight fathoms water. Believing that land to be an iſland, they named it Florida, becauſe it appeared very delightful, having many pleaſant groves, and was all level; as alſo becauſe they diſcovered it at Eaſter, which as has been ſaid, the Spaniards call Paſqua de Flores, or Florida. John Ponce went aſhore to diſcover and take poſſeſſion. Friday the eighth they ſailed again the ſame way, and on Saturday ſouth and by eaſt, till the twentieth of April, when they perceived ſome Indian bohios, or cottages, where they anchored.

The next day the three ſhips keeping along the ſhore, they met with a current ſo ſtrong that it drove them back, though they had the wind large. Two ſhips that were neareſt the land dropped their anchors, but the force of the current was ſo great that it ſtrained the cables. The third, which was a brigantine, and farther out at ſea, either found no bottom, or was not ſenſible of the current, which carried her ſo far from the ſhore, that they loſt ſight of her, though the day was bright, and the weather fair.

John Ponce being called to by the Indians, went aſhore, and they immediately endeavoured to poſſeſs themſelves of the boat, the oars, and the arms, which was ſubmitted to, rather than provoke them; till one of them ſtunning a ſailor with a ſtroke of a cudgel which he gave him on the head, the Spaniards were obliged to fight, and had two of their men wounded with darts, and arrows, pointed with ſharp bones. The Indians received little damage. Night parting them, John Ponce, with ſome difficulty, got his men together, and ſailed from thence to a river, where they wooded and watered, and waited for the brigantine. Sixty Indians came to oppoſe them, one of whom was taken to gain ſome information, and to learn Spaniſh. This river they called De la Cruz, or of the croſs, leaving one of ſtone there with an inſcription. Sunday the eighth of May they doubled Cape Florida, giving it the name of Cabo de la Corrientes, or Cape Currents, becauſe they are ſtronger there than the wind, and came to an anchor near a town called Abaioa. All this coaſt, from Cape Arracifes to Cape Corrientes lies north and ſouth one point to the eaſtward, is clean, and has ſix fathoms water, the cape lying in eighteen degrees fifteen minutes. They ſailed on till they met with two iſlands to the ſouthward in twenty-ſeven degrees; one of which, being a league in compaſs, they named Santa Marta, and watered there. Friday the thirteenth of May, they ſailed along a ſhoal, and a ridge of iſlands, as far as one they called Pola, lying in twenty-ſix degrees and an half. Between the ſhoal, the row of iſlands, and the continent is a ſpacious ſea, like a bay. On Whitſunday, the fifteenth of May, they proceeded ten leagues along the ridge of ſmall iſlands as far as two white ones, and called them altogether Los Martires, or the Martyrs, becauſe the high rocks, at a diſtance, look like men that are ſuffering, and the name has fitted them well on account of the many that have ſince been caſt away there. They lye in twenty-ſix degrees fifteen minutes.

They ſtood on, ſometimes north, and ſometimes north-eaſt, till the 23d of May, and on the 24th ran along the coaſt to the ſouthward, as far as ſome ſmall iſlands that lay out at ſea, and yet theydid not perceive it was the continent. A road appearing to be between them and the coaſt, for the ſhips to take wood and water, they continued there

there till the 3d of June, and careened one of the ſhips, called the St. Chriſtopher. Here the Indians came out in canoes to view the Spaniards, being the firſt time they did ſo, for the Spaniards, though called by them, would not go aſhore. When they were about to weigh an anchor, only to remove it, thoſe people, thinking they were going away, came out in their canoes, and laid hold of the cable to draw the ſhip away; on which the long boat was ſent after them, and the men going aſhore took four women and broke two old canoes. At other times, when they came, there was no falling out, but, on the contrary, they bartered ſome ſkins and gold.

Friday the 4th of June, whilſt they were waiting for a wind to go in queſt of the cazique Don Carlos, who the Indians that were on board ſaid had gold, a canoe came to the ſhips with an Indian that underſtood the Spaniards, ſuppoſed to be a native of Hiſpaniola, or ſome of the iſlands inhabited by Chriſtians. He bid them ſtay, for the cazique would ſend gold to barter. They waited accordingly, and ſaw twenty canoes, part of them made faſt, two and two together: ſome of them went to the anchors, others to the ſhips, and begun to fight. Thoſe at the anchors not being able to weigh them, attempted to cut the cables. A long-boat was ſent out, which put them to flight, killing ſome Indians and taking four. John Ponce ſent two of them to tell the cazique, that though he had killed a Spaniard, he would make peace with him. The next day the boat went to ſound the harbour, and the men landed. Some Indians came and told them, that the cazique would come the next day to trade; but it was an impoſition, to gain time to draw men and canoes together, as it appeared, for at eleven o'clock, eighty canoes, well equipped, attacked the neareſt ſhip, and fought from morning till night, without doing the Spaniards any harm, the arrows falling ſhort, becauſe they durſt not come near, for fear of the croſs bows and great guns. At length they drew off, and the Spaniards having ſtayed there nine days, reſolved on Monday the fourteenth to return to Hiſpaniola and Porto Rico; they diſcovered ſome iſlands in the way, of which the Indians they had with them gave an account. They ſailed among iſlands till Tueſday the twenty-firſt, when they arrived at the ſmall iſlands they called Las Tortugas, or the Tortoiſes, becauſe they took one hundred and ſeventy tortoiſes in a ſhort time one night, in one of thoſe iſlands, and might have taken more if they would. They alſo took fourteen dog-fiſh, and killed many ſea gulls, and as many other birds as made up five thouſand. Friday the twenty-fourth, they ſteered ſouth-weſt and by weſt. On Sunday they ſaw land, ſailed along it all Monday, and on Wedneſday came to an anchor, to trim their yards and ſails, but could not tell what country it was. Moſt of them took it for Cuba, becauſe they found canoes, dogs, and ſaw cuts of knives, and other iron tools; yet none of them knew it to be that iſland. The twenty-fifth of July they were among a parcel of low iſlands, without knowing any thing of that place, till John Ponce ſent to view an iſland, which appeared to be Bahama; and ſo an old Indian woman they had found alone in another iſland told them, as did James Miruelo, a pilot, who happened to be there with a boat from Hiſpaniola. Having ranged backward and forward till the twenty-third of September, and refitted the ſhips, John Ponce reſolved to ſend one of them to take a view of the iſland Bimini, where the Indians ſaid there was much wealth, and a ſpring that made old people young. John Perez de Ortubia was appointed captain of that ſhip, and Antony de Alaminos pilot. They took two Indians to ſhew them the ſhoals, there being

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ſo many, that it is a difficult matter to paſs between them. Twenty days after John Ponce de Leon returned to Porto Rico, as did ſome time after him the ſhip he had ſent, which found the iſland of Bimini, but not the wonderful ſpring; the iſland was large, pleaſant, and abounding in waters, and delightful groves.

It is certain that John Ponce de Leon, beſides the main deſign of making new diſcoveries, as all the Spaniards then aſpired to do, was intent upon finding out the ſpring of Bimini, and a river in Florida, the Indians of Cuba and Hiſpaniola affirming that old people bathing themſelves in it, became young again; and it was certain that many Indians of Cuba, firmly believing that there was a river, had, not long before the Spaniards diſcovered that iſland, paſſed over into Florida in queſt of that river, and there built a town, where the race of them continued to this day. This report prevailed with all the princes and caziques in thoſe parts, to endeavour to find out a river that wrought ſuch a wonderful change as making old people young; ſo that there was not a river, or brook, ſcarce a lake or puddle, in all Florida, but what they bathed themſelves in; and there are ſome that ſtill perſiſt in it, ignorantly believing that it is the river now called Jordan, at the cape of Santa Elena, never reflecting, that the Spaniards firſt gave it that name in the year 1520, when the country of Chicora was diſcovered.

Though this voyage made by John Ponce turned to little or no account to him, yet it gave him encouragement to go to court to ſue for ſome reward for the countries he had diſcovered, believing them to be all iſlands, and no continent, which notion continued ſome years. However that voyage was beneficial on account of the way ſoon after found out to return to Spain, through the channel of Bahama, which was firſt performed by the pilot Antony de Alaminos.

For the better underſtanding of John Ponce's voyage, it is obſerved, that there are three different cluſters of Lucayo Iſlands. The firſt the Bahama Iſlands, which gave name to the channel, where the currents are moſt impetuous. The ſecond they called De los Organos, and the third the Martyrs, which are next to the Cayos of the Tortoiſes to the weſtward, which laſt being all ſand, cannot be ſeen at a diſtance, and therefore many ſhips have periſhed on them, and all along that coaſt of the Channel of Bahama, and the Iſlands of Tortugas. Havannah, in the iſland of Cuba, is to the ſouthward, and Florida to the northward, and between them are the aforeſaid iſlands of Organos, Bahama, Martyrs, and Tortugas, there being a channel, with a violent current, twenty leagues over in the narroweſt place between the Havannah and Los Martyrs, and fourteen leagues from Los Martyrs to Florida, between iſlands to the eaſtward; and the wideſt part of this paſſage to the weſtward is forty leagues, with many ſhoals and deep channels; but there is no paſſage for ſhips or brigantines, only for canoes. The paſſage from the Havannah to Spain is along the Channel of Bahama, between the Havannah, the Martyrs, the Lucayos, and Cape Canaveral.

A. D. 1513. This year Vaſco Nunez de Balboa marched over the iſthmus of Darien, and diſcovered the South Sea.

A. D. 1515. This year John Dias de Solis, reputed the ableſt navigator in the world, was appointed by the king to command two ſhips, fitted out to diſcover a paſſage to the Spice iſlands. He ſailed from Lepe on the 8th of October, and proceeded to Teneriffe, one of the Canary Iſlands, and from thence

thence ſteered his courſe for Cape Frio, lying in twenty-two degrees and half north latitude; ſaw the coaſt of St. Roque, in ſix degrees north latitude, then ſteering ſouth and by weſt; and the pilots ſaid they were ninety leagues to the windward of Cape St. Auguſtine, but the currents running weſt, were ſo ſtrong, that they drove them two degrees to the leeward of the cape, which lies in eight degrees and a quarter of ſouth latitude, according to the reckoning kept this voyage. From Cape Frio to Cape St. Auguſtine, they reckoned thirteen degrees and three quarters, though Cape Frio was ſo low that they ſaw it not, and only made their computation by the latitude. They arrived at Rio de Janeiro on the coaſt of Braſil, and found it lay in twenty-three degrees, thirty minutes ſouth latitude. From this river to Cape Navidad, the coaſt bears north-eaſt and ſouth-weſt, being all low land, jutting out into the ſea. Next they came to the river De los Innocentes, in twenty-three degrees, fifteen minutes, and then to Cape Cananea, in twenty-five degrees bare, whence they ſtood for the iſland called De la Plata, or of Plate, ſteering ſouth-weſt, and came to an anchor in twenty-ſeven degrees ſouth latitude, which John Dias de Solis called Bahia de los Perdidos. Having paſſed Cape Corrientes, they anchored again in twenty-nine degrees, and paſſed by in ſight of the iſland of St. Sebaſtian of Cadiz, where are three other iſlands, which they called De los Lobos, and within them the port of Nueſtra Senora de la Candelaria, in thirty-five degrees latitude, where they took poſſeſſion for the crown of Spain; but they anchored at port De los Patos, in twenty-four degrees, twenty minutes. Next they entered a water, which by reaſon of its being ſo ſpacious, and not ſalt, they called Mar Dulce, or the Freſh Sea, and afterwards was found to be the river now called De la Plata, or of Plate, but was then named the river of Solis. That commander proceeded farther on in one of his veſſels, being a caravel, carrying ſhoulder of mutton ſails, obſerving the entrance along the one ſide of the river, and came to an anchor in the moſt rapid part of it, near a middling ſized iſland, in twenty-four degrees forty minutes latitude. All the way they coaſted till they came to the aforeſaid latitude, they often deſcried mountains, and other high clifts, ſeeing people on the ſhore; and on this ſide the river Plate they diſcovered many Indian houſes, and people that very attentively obſerved the ſhip paſſing by, offering what they had by ſigns, and laying it on the ground. John Dias de Solis, was willing to ſee what ſort of people they were, and take one of them with him into Spain. Accordingly he went aſhore with as many as the long-boat could carry. The Indians, who had lain an ambuſh of many archers, when they had drawn the Spaniards at ſome diſtance from the ſea, fell upon and incloſing them, ſlew every man, not regarding the great guns of the caravel. Then taking up the ſlain, and carrying them from the ſhore, ſo far that thoſe on board might ſtill ſee what was done, they cut off their heads, arms, and legs, and roaſting the bodies whole, devoured them. Having ſeen this horrid ſpectacle, the caravel returned to the other ſhip, and ſailed both together to Cape St. Auguſtine, where they loaded Braſil wood, and made the beſt of their way back into Spain. This was the unhappy end of John Dias de Solis, a more able pilot than commander*.

* Herrera.

CHAPTER IV.

Ships built to navigate on the South Seas. Diſcoveries there. Voyage of Cordova. Voyage of Grijalva.

VASCO Nunez was ſent by Peter Arias, governor of Darien, to the port of Acla, to endeavour to build ſhips on the ſouth ſea. He determined to do this at the river De las Balſas. All the timber for four brigantines was hewed out, carried to that river, and fitted up there. Vaſco Nunez ſent Companon to the top of the mountains, from whence the waters run down to the South Sea, there to build a houſe, to reſt the men that were to carry the timber, the anchors, and the rigging, on their backs, and to keep proviſions and neceſſaries for their defence.

When the houſe was built on the top of the mountain, he undertook the conveying of the timber to it, being about twelve leagues, along hills and rivers, the Indian ſlaves and thirty blacks carrying thoſe burdens, and every Spaniard what he could. It is not to be imagined what immenſe toil there was in tranſporting thoſe things, and yet no Spaniard nor black died, but of the Indians many periſhed; nor was it thought that any man at that time in the Indies durſt have attempted ſuch an action, or would have ſucceeded in it, beſides Vaſco Nunez.

The timber being thus carried over to the river De las Balſas, was only ſufficient to build two brigantines; and there being need of two more, Vaſco Nunez divided all his men, Spaniards, Indians, and blacks, into three parties. The firſt to hew down and work the timber; the ſecond, to bring over from Acla the iron work, rigging, and other neceſſaries, the diſtance between the two ſeas being about twenty-two leagues; and the third; to go marauding, that is, to get proviſions for them all. A misfortune happened, which diſcouraged them very much, viz. that the timber being cut near the ſalt water, was preſently worm-eaten; ſo that all their labour was loſt. However, Vaſco Nunez was not diſmayed; for he preſently applied a remedy, which was, hewing freſh timber on the river; but when it was ready to put upon the ſtocks, there fell ſuch mighty floods as carried away part of it, and part was buried in mud, the water riſing two fathoms above it; the men having no other way to ſave themſelves but by climbing up the trees. This made Vaſco Nunez deſpond, meeting with ſo many difficulties in his undertaking; which made him think of returning to Acla, hunger at the the ſame time preſſing him to it: he fed upon roots; from whence it may be concluded how his men lived. In ſhort, he was forced to return to Acla to get ſome proviſions, and more Spaniards, if any ſhould happen to come from Darien, or the iſlands; and to that purpoſe he ſent Hurtado to Darien, to fetch anchors and rigging, and forward all things

Francis Companon returned with proviſions loaded upon many Indians; as did Hurtado to Acla, with ſixty Spaniards he had from Peter Arias, and other things that were wanting. Vaſco Nunez being encouraged by this ſupply, went back to the river De las Balſas, with all neceſſaries to carry on the work of his ſhips, two whereof he finiſhed with immenſe labour, and much ſuffering through hunger. They being launched, he embarked with as many Spaniards as they could carry, and ſailed to the greateſt of the Pearl iſlands; where, whilſt the brigantines carried over the reſt of his men, he endeavoured to bring together all the proviſions that could be found

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in the iſland, as well as to reduce the inhabitants by want; ſo as to have enough for himſelf whilſt he ſtaid there. Here he is ſaid to have received a letter from don James de Deza, archbiſhop of Seville, who had contributed, in ſome meaſure, towards the diſcovery of the Indies, being then preceptor to prince John; wherein he told him, he had heard of his diſcovering the ſouth ſeas, and that he might be aſſured, if he followed the land to the weſtward, he would meet with Indians that uſed ſpears, and wore armour on their bodies; and if he went to the eaſtward, he would find much wealth and cattle. After what has been ſaid, Vaſco Nunez ſailed towards the continent eaſtward, with above one hundred men: becauſe the Indians he had priſoners told him, there was much gold that way, which was the third indication of the prodigious wealth of Peru. Coming near a harbour which was called Port, or Point Pinas, twenty-five leagues, or more, beyond the cape, or point of St. Michael, they ſaw abundance of whales, which looked like rocks, ſtretching out very far in the ſea. The ſailors were afraid to come near, becauſe night was drawing on, and arrived at another point, deſigning to hold on their voyage the next day; but the wind proving contrary, he thought fit to go by land in the country of the cazique Chicama, to revenge the death of the Spaniards that went with Gaſper de Morales. The natives advanced to oppoſe them; but the Spaniſh ſwords ſoon made them fly, and left them maſters of the country. Nunez returned to the iſland, and ordered timber to be hewed to build two other veſſels.

A. D. 1514. Galvam ſays, this year Pedro Arias was ſent governor of Caſtilia del Oro, or Golden Caſtile, for ſo they named the countries of Darien, Carthagena, Uraba, and the country newly conquered; and that in the beginning of the year 1515, the governor Pedro Arias de Anila ſent one Gaſper Morales, with one hundred and fifty men into the gulph of St. Michael, to diſcern the iſlands of Terrarqui, Chiape, and Tumaccus. There was one Covigue, Balboa's friend, who gave him many canoes, or boats, made of one tree, wherein they paſſed unto the iſland of Pearls, the lord of which oppoſed them at the landing: but he was pacified, and gave them a great quantity of pearls.

A. D. 1517. There being great ſcarcity of proviſions at Darien to maintain the Spaniards this year, the governor, Peter Arias, gave leave to ſuch as would to go away to other parts: and as it was then reported that the Spaniards in Cuba were rich, and at their eaſe, through the good management of James Velaſquez, the governor, and about one hundred men, went over to that iſland, moſt of them well-born, who were favourably received by the governor. Some months after, Velaſquez propoſed to them to go out upon new diſcoveries, towards the coaſts of Yucatan, or Florida.

The governor's deſign being made known, Francis Hernandez de Cordova, a rich and brave man, offered to go as captain of thoſe men; which being granted, he fitted out two ſhips and a brigantine, with all neceſſary ſtores. He liſted one hundred and ten ſoldiers, and ſailed from St. Domingo of Cuba to the Havannah, where they took up Alonſo Gonzalez, a prieſt, to ſay maſs and adminiſter the ſacraments to them.

They left the Havannah on the 8th of February, and on the 12th they doubled Cape St. Antony, holding on their courſe to the weſtward, becauſe the pilot Antony de Alaminos ſaid, the firſt admiral had always inclined that way when he ſailed with him;

when a boy. They had a ſtorm that held them two days, in which they expected to have periſhed; and after twenty-one days being at ſea, lying-to at nights, not being acquainted with thoſe ſeas, they ſaw land, and from their ſhips could deſcry a large town, which was about two leagues from the coaſt. As they drew near, two canoes full of men appeared, rowing along. They hailed them, the canoes drew near, and thirty Indians went aboard the commodore, having jackets without ſleeves, and pieces of cloth wrapped about them inſtead of breeches. The Spaniards gave them victuals, ſome Spaniſh wine, and ſtrings of beads. They made ſigns, for there was no interpreter, that they would be gone, and return the next day, with ſome canoes to carry them aſhore; very much admiring the ſhips, the men, their beards, the cloaths, arms, and other things they had never ſeen before. The next day they returned with twelve canoes and an Indian, who was the cazique, and cried out, *conez cotoche*, that is, come to my houſe; and for this reaſon, that place was called Cape Cotoche. The Spaniards having conſulted together, hoiſted out their boats, and in them and the canoes went aſhore, with their arms, where an infinite number of people waited to ſee them. The cazique ſtill preſſed them to go to his houſe, and they obſerving ſo many tokens of friendſhip, concluded to do that upon courteſy, which perhaps they might be obliged to perform by force; and were to take a view of the country. When they came to a wood, the cazique called out to a great number of armed men, that lay in ambuſh, and immediately there appeared a multitude in armour made of quilted cotton, with targets, wooden ſwords edged with flints, large cutlaſſes, ſpears, and ſlings, adorned with plumes of feathers, and their faces painted of ſeveral colours. They gave a hideous ſhout, making no leſs noiſe with warlike muſical inſtruments, pouring in at the ſame time ſuch a ſhower of ſtones and arrows, that they wounded fifteen Spaniards; after which they came to cloſe quarters, and fought with much reſolution. The Spaniards had only twenty-five croſs-bows and muſkets, which were well plied; but when the Indians felt the ſharpneſs of the Spaniſh ſwords, they fled, many of them being wounded, and ſeventeen killed.

At the place where this rencounter happened, there were three houſes built with lime and ſtones, being places of worſhip, in which were many earthen idols, with faces like devils, or other hideous creatures, and ſome of women, as alſo of men lying one upon another, repreſenting the ſin of Sodom. Whilſt the men were engaged, the prieſt Alonſo Gonzales, conveyed away from thoſe temples ſome ſmall boxes, in which there were earthen and wooden idols, with little plates, ornaments, and diadems of gold. There were taken in this action two youths, who became Chriſtians, and were called Julian and Melchior. The Spaniards returned to their ſhips, well pleaſed with having found a rational ſort of people, and other things different from what there were at Darien, and in the iſlands, and more eſpecially houſes of ſtone and lime, which had not till then been ſeen in the Indies.

They held on their courſe down the coaſt, always lying-to at night; and having advanced fifteen days after this manner, they eſpied a large town, and a bay near it, which they believed to be a river, where they might water, for they were in want. They landed on the Sunday before Palm-Sunday, in Spaniſh called the Sunday of Lazarus, and therefore they gave it that name; but the Indians called it Quimpech. Being come to a well of good water, of which the natives uſed to drink, when they had taken what they wanted, and were ready to return to their ſhips, fifty Indians, clad in jackets, with large cotton cloths inſtead of cloaks, came, and by ſigns aſked them,

them what they wanted, and whether they came from thoſe parts where the ſun riſes, inviting them to go to their town. When they had ſeriouſly conſidered on it, and put themſelves into a good poſture of defence, for fear of being ſerved as they had been at Cotoche, they went to certain places of worſhip, built with lime and ſtone, where there were idols of ſundry ugly ſhapes, as they had ſeen in the former, with freſh ſigns of blood, as alſo croſſes painted, at which they were much amazed. Abundance of people, men, women and children came flocking, looked upon them with aſtoniſhment, and ſome of them ſmiled: ſoon after which two parties of armed men appeared in good order, like thoſe of Cotoche. From one of the temples iſſued ten men in very long white mantles, their hair long, black, and rolled up, that it might not fly about. In their hands they had little earthen fire-pans, into which they caſt gum anime, which they called copal, and perfumed the Spaniards, bidding them to depart their country, or they would kill them. Then they began to beat their little kettle-drums, and to ſound their horns, trumpets and pipes. The Spaniards, on account of thoſe that were wounded at Cotoche having not yet recovered, retired in good order to the ſhore, purſued by the armed parties, and embarked again without loſs.

When they had ſailed ſix days longer, the wind came up at north, bearing upon the coaſt, ſo that they had liked to have periſhed. When the ſtorm ceaſed they endeavoured to draw near to the ſhore to water, becauſe their caſks were bad and leaky; ſo that their water laſted not long. They anchored near a town, in a bay, that looked like a river, where they landed in the afternoon, a league from a town called Potonchan, filled their veſſels at ſome wells they found near certain places of worſhip of lime and ſtone, like the former. When ready to return, they perceived armed men advancing towards them from the town, juſt as the others they had ſeen before. They aſked, "whether they came from thoſe parts where the ſun riſes?" The Spaniards, anſwered, "they did:" and then the Indians drew back to ſome houſes, night coming on; and the Spaniards, for the ſame reaſon, reſolved to ſtay there. A great martial noiſe being heard ſome hours after, the Spaniards, upon debate, divided, ſome being for embarking, and others thinking the retreat dangerous, becauſe there ſeemed to be three hundred Indians to every one of them. When day appeared, they perceived that the firſt parties had been joined by others, who, encompaſſing them, poured in a great ſhower of arrows, ſtones from ſlings, and darts, which wounded near eighty Spaniards, with whom they cloſed, uſing their ſwords and ſpears; and though the Spaniards were not idle with their fire-arms, croſs-bows, and ſwords, the Indians ſtraightened them; but when they felt the Spaniſh ſwords, they drew farther off, the better to take aim with their arrows. Whilſt they were fighting, they cried out, *calachuni*, *calachuni*, which in the Yucatan language ſignifies, cazique, or captain, meaning that they ſhould aim at the commander Francis Hernandez; and they were not wanting in their endeavours, for they ſhot twelve arrows into him, which it was generally ſaid he might have avoided; for there was no encounter in which he was not the foremoſt, though there was then more occaſion for his directing than acting. Finding himſelf ſo much wounded, (not in thirty-three places, as Gomara writes) as were many of his men: that they had carried off two of his men, the one called Alonſo Bote, and the other an old Portugueſe; and that the valour of his men could not vanquiſh ſuch a multitude, many continually reſorting to them, they made a moſt furious onſet and broke through them, the Indians ſtill purſuing with hideous noiſe and cries. When they came to the

the boats, their numbers being great, they were ready to ſink; but ſtill they made off, ſome only hanging by them, the natives ſhooting, and running into the water to wound them with their ſpears. Forty-ſeven Spaniards were killed in the action, and five more died aboard the ſhips: the wounded men endured moſt excruciating pains, their wounds having been wet with the ſea water, and ſwelling, they curſing the pilot Alminos for his diſcovery, who ſtill perſiſting that the country was an iſland, and they called this bay De Mala Pelea, that is, of the bad Fight, on account of the ill ſucceſs they had met with.

The Spaniards that eſcaped aboard the ſhips gave God thanks for their deliverance out of that danger, but being all wounded except only one, reſolved to return to Cuba, and for that purpoſe burnt one of their ſhips that was leaky, becauſe they wanted able hands to convey them back. Being almoſt periſhed for want of drink, having left their caſks at Potonchan, ſome of the ſoundeſt men went aſhore, who could get no water but what was brackiſh, which they took at a creek where there were many large alligators; and therefore they called it De los Lagartos, or of Alligators. Antony de Alminos conſulting with the other pilots, reſolved to ſtand over for Florida, and accordingly in four days they diſcovered that country. Alminos, the pilot, was ſent aſhore with twenty of the ſoundeſt ſoldiers, carrying croſs-bows and muſkets, and the captain Francis Hernandez, who was much wounded, begged he would ſpeedily bring him ſome water, as he was periſhing for want of it. When landed near a creek, Alminos told them, he knew the place, having been there before with John Ponce de Leon, and that they muſt be upon their guard. Having accordingly poſted centinels along an open ſhore, they dug pits, where, finding good water, they drank, and waſhed out linen for the wounded men. When returning, they perceived one of their centinels running, and crying, "to ſea, to ſea; for abundance of warlike "Indians are coming:" on the other hand, they eſpied many canoes coming down the creek, almoſt with the ſoldier. The Indians with long bows and arrows, ſpears, and ſwords, after their manner, clothed in deer-ſkins, and being of a large ſize, were dreadful to behold. They let fly their arrows, and at the firſt diſcharge wounded ſix of the ſoldiers: but fearing the effect of the croſs-bows, muſkets, and ſwords, they made to the canoes, which preſſed hard upon the ſailors, and wounded Antony de Alminos in the throat. The ſoldiers cloſed with them, being up to their waiſts in water, and with their ſwords made them quit the boat they had taken. When ready to embark, they aſked the ſoldier who ſtood centinel, what was become of his comrade Berrio, who had been the other centinel? He anſwered, he had ſeen him ſtep aſide, with a hatchet in his hand to cut down a palmito, going towards the creek, along which the Indians came, and preſently had heard the cry of a Spaniard, which made him come to give the alarm. That ſoldier was the only one that eſcaped unhurt at Potonchan, and it was his fate to periſh there: for the others followed the track of the Indians, found a palm-tree which he had begun to cut, and near it a greater track than elſewhere, which made them conclude, that they had carried him away alive, becauſe they ſaw no ſigns of blood; and though they ſearched about for above an hour, and called out, they returned to the ſhips without finding him. Thoſe men were ſo extremely thirſty, that as ſoon as the boat came to the ſhip's ſide, a ſoldier leaped into it, laid hold of a jar, and drank ſo much, that he ſwelled, and died within two days.

Sailing

Sailing from thence, in two days and nights, they arrived at the little iſlands called the Martyrs, where the greateſt depth being but four fathoms, the ſhip touched upon ſome rocks, and became very leaky; but it pleaſed God, that after ſo many ſufferings, they arrived at Port Carenas, now the Havannah; from whence captain Francis Hernandez de Cordova ſent an account of his voyage to the governor James Velaſquez, with the particulars of all he had ſeen, and died ten days after. Three of his ſoldiers alſo died at the Havannah, which made up fifty-ſix loſt in this expedition; the reſt diſperſed themſelves about the iſland, and the ſhips returned to the city of Santiago.

At the ſame time ſome very eſſential diſcoveries were made by Grijalva, which, as they reſpect the future conqueſt of Mexico, we have extracted from De Solis, who has been at great pains to ſeek information on that ſubject.

Cuba was at this time the moſt weſterly iſland hitherto diſcovered, and the neareſt to the continent of America; they had there accounts of many other lands not far diſtant, though it was ſtill a doubt whether they were iſlands or not. The great idea conceived of thoſe parts increaſed by what thoſe ſoldiers related who had accompanied Francis Hernandez de Cordova, in the diſcovery of Yucatan.

Diego Velaſquez, then governor of Cuba, ſeeing the name of Yucatan in ſo much credit, began to entertain thoughts of raiſing himſelf to greatneſs. With this view he reſolved to renew the attempt of a diſcovery, and conceiving freſh hopes from the ardour with which the ſoldiers offered themſelves, he made his deſign public, enliſted men, fitted out three veſſels and a brigantine, ſtored with ammunition and proviſions, appointed Juan de Grijalva to be commander in chief, and Pedro de Alvorado, Franciſco de Montexo, and Alonſo Davila, to command under him. But notwithſtanding they eaſily aſſembled two hundred and fifty ſoldiers, pilots, and marines, and made all the diſpatch they could, they did not put to ſea until the month of April in the following year.

A. D. 1518. They ſailed with a deſign to follow the ſame courſe as in the former voyages; but falling off ſome degrees, by the ſtrength of the current, they fell in with the iſland of Cojumel, the firſt diſcovery in this voyage, where they refreſhed themſelves, without any oppoſition from the natives. Purſuing their courſe, in a few days they found themſelves in ſight of Yucatan, and having doubled the point of Cotoche, the moſt eaſtern part of that province, they ſtood weſterly, with the larboard on ſhore, which they coaſted, until they arrived at Potonchan, or Champeton, where De Cordova was routed. To revenge his death they landed, and having routed the Indians, determined to purſue their diſcovery.

They ſtood weſterly without keeping farther from the land than was neceſſary for their ſafety, diſcovered a part of the coaſt, which extended a great way, and was very delightful, ſeveral towns with buildings of ſtone, which much ſurprized them. And becauſe one of the ſoldiers at that time obſerved that this country was like Spain, it was called New Spain.

They followed the coaſt until they came to the place where the river Tobaſco, one of the navigable rivers which run into the gulph of Mexico, diſcharges itſelf into at two mouths; they diſcovered many ſpacious groves, and ſo many towns on the two banks of the ſtream, that Grijalva reſolved to go up the river and view the country: finding by the ſoundings he could only make uſe of the two ſmaller veſſels, he

he embarked all his ſoldiers on board them, and left the other two at anchor with part of the ſailors.

Without much difficulty, they ſtemmed the current, and ſoon perceived, at a little diſtance, a number of canoes, filled with Indians, and on the ſhore ſeveral bodies of armed men, who ſeemed ready for an engagement, but uſed ſuch geſtures as men in fear are wont to uſe who would keep off danger by menaces. The Spaniards approached in good order, until the two parties were in reach of each others weapons. The general commanded that no one ſhould fire or make any ſignal but of peace. The Indians ſtood ſtill, admiring the form of the veſſels, and the difference of the men and their habits.

Grijalva took this moment of ſuſpence to leap on ſhore, followed by his men, whom he drew up, and erected the royal ſtandard. He then endeavoured to make the Indians underſtand that he came in peace. This was done by the means of two boys who were made priſoners in the firſt expedition to Yucatan; they underſtood the language of Tobaſco, being like their native tongue.

The reſult of this conference was ſuch, that thirty Indians had the boldneſs to draw near in four canoes; theſe canoes were made of the trunks of trees, ſo large, that ſome of them would contain from fifteen to twenty men. The Spaniards and Indians ſaluted each other courteouſly, and Grijalva having made them ſome preſents, diſcourſed with them, by help of his interpreter, telling them, he was the vaſſal of a powerful monarch, from whom he came to offer peace and great advantages, provided they would become his ſubjects. One of them, ſilencing the reſt, anſwered Grijalva with firmneſs and reſolution, that he did not eſteem that to be a good kind of peace which implied ſubjection and vaſſalage, but as to the point of war or peace, they would acquaint their ſuperiors.

They took leave, and in a ſhort time returned, ſaying, their caziques accepted peace, not that they feared war, or were ſo eaſy to be overcome as the people of Yucatan (whoſe defeat they had learned); but as they had left peace or war in their election, they thought themſelves obliged to chooſe the laſt; and in token of it, brought a plentiful regale of proviſions and fruit. Soon after the principal cazique came, ſlightly attended. Grijalva received him with courteſy; the Indian made a return in ſubmiſſion, after his manner, with an air of gravity. After theſe compliments, he ordered his ſervants to bring another preſent of divers curioſities, plumes of various colours, robes of fine cotton, with the figures of animals, made of gold, or curiouſly wrought in wood, ſet in gold, or overlaid with it, without ſtaying for the acknowledgments of Grijalva. The cazique gave him to underſtand, by help of his interpreters, that his deſign was peace, and that the intention of that preſent was to maintain it. Grijalva ſaid, that he very much approved his liberality, and that his purpoſe was to paſs forward, without giving him the leaſt umbrage; a reſolution to which he inclined, partly to make a return for the confidence thoſe people had placed in him, and partly for the conveniency of a retreat, in caſe of any accident that might occur. He then took his leave, and embarked, having firſt made the cazique and his attendants ſome ſmall preſents.

Grijalva purſuing his voyage, and ſtanding the ſame courſe, ſtill diſcovered new lands and towns, until he came to a river which they called the River of Flags, becauſe on the ſhore they ſaw a great number of Indians with white flags on the tops of their ſpears

ſpears, who, by their manner of waving them, ſeemed to invite the Spaniards to come near.

Grijalva ordered Franciſco Montejo to advance with ſome of his men in two boats, to try the entrance of the river, and diſcover the intentions of thoſe Indians. This captain finding a good anchoring place, and little to apprehend from the behaviour of the people, gave notice to the others to come up; they all landed, and were received with great admiration and joy by the Indians; from amongſt whom three advanced, who, by the ornaments on their habits, ſeemed the principal men of the country; they went up directly to Grijalva, whom they accoſted with great reverence, and who received them with equal courteſy. The Spaniſh interpreters did not underſtand the language of this country, ſo that compliments were made only by ſigns.

After this they ſaw a banquet, which the Indians had provided, of different ſorts of food, placed, or rather thrown upon mats of palm, under the ſhade of the trees; a ruſtic and diſorderly plenty, but not the leſs grateful to the taſte of the hungry ſoldiers. After this refreſhment, the three Indians commanded their people to ſhew ſome pieces of gold, which they had concealed till then; and by their manner of ſhewing and holding them, it was underſtood that they did not deſign to make a preſent of them, but to purchaſe with them the merchandiſe of the ſhips, the fame of which had already reached their ears. Preſently a fair was opened for ſtrings of beads, combs, knives, and other inſtruments of iron; alſo for alchymy, which in that country might be called jewels of great price, the fondneſs of the Indians for thoſe trifles giving them a real value. They were exchanged for implements and trinkets of gold, not of the greateſt fineneſs, but in ſuch abundance, that in ſix days the Spaniards ſtopped. The ranſoms amounted to fifteen thouſand peſoes. We do not know with what propriety they gave the name of *ranſom* to this kind of traffic, nor why they called it *ranſomed* gold. I ſhall make uſe of this expreſſion, becauſe I find it introduced into the Spaniſh hiſtories, and before them into the hiſtory of the Eaſt Indies.

Grijalva finding that the ranſoms were at an end, and the ſhips in ſome danger, by being expoſed to the north wind, took his leave of thoſe people, who remained highly pleaſed, and reſolved to purſue his diſcovery, having underſtood by ſigns, that theſe three Indian chiefs were ſubjects to a monarch called Motezuma, whoſe empire extended over many countries, abounding with gold and other riches, and they came by his order to examine, in a peaceable manner, the intentions of the Spaniards, whoſe neighbourhood, in all appearance, gave him diſturbance. Some writers run into larger accounts, but it does not ſeem eaſy to conceive whence they could have gained their knowledge, where people were obliged to ſpeak with their hands, and underſtand with their eyes.

They ſailed on, without loſing ſight of land, and paſſing by two or three iſlands of ſmall note, landed in one they called the Iſland of Sacrifices, becauſe going in to view a houſe of lime and ſtone, which overlooked the reſt, they found ſeveral idols of a horrible figure, and a more horrible worſhip paid to them, for near the ſteps where they were placed were the carcaſes of ſix or ſeven men, newly ſacrificed, cut to pieces, and their entrails laid open. This miſerable ſight ſtruck the people with horror, and affected them with different ſentiments, their hearts being filled with compaſſion at the ſame time that they were enraged at the abomination. They ſtaid but a little while in this iſland, becauſe the inhabitants, being in a conſternation, the ranſoms were not conſiderable.

They paſſed on to another, which was not far from the main land, and ſo ſituated, that between that and the coaſt there was ſufficient room and convenient ſhelter for the ſhips. They called it the iſland of St. Juan, becauſe they arrived there on the day of the Baptiſt; and likewiſe in reſpect to the name of their general, mixing devotion with flattery; and becauſe an Indian, who was pointing with his hand towards the main land, giving them to underſtand how it was called, repeating ſeveral times, with a bad pronunciation, the words *Culua*, *Culua*. This gave occaſion to the ſurname by which they diſtinguiſhed it from St. Juan de Puerto Rico, calling it St. Juan de Ulua; a little iſland, which lay ſo low, that ſometimes it was covered by the ſea. But from theſe humble beginnings it became the moſt frequented and moſt celebrated port of New Spain, on that ſide which is bounded by the north ſea. Here they ſtaid ſome days, for the Indians of the neighbouring parts came with their pieces of gold, believing they had the advantage of the Spaniards in changing them for glaſs.

Grijalva finding that his inſtructions limited him to diſcover and ranſom, without making a ſettlement, which was expreſsly forbidden him, reſolved to give an account to Diego Velaſquez of the large quantities he had diſcovered, that in caſe he ſhould determine to plant a colony there, he might ſend him new orders, with a ſupply of forces, and the neceſſaries, ſtores, and proviſions. For this purpoſe he diſpatched captain Pero de Alvarado, in one of the four ſhips, giving him all the gold and whatever elſe they had acquired, that the ſhew of ſo much wealth might give his embaſſy the more weight, and facilitate his propoſal of ſettling, to which he was inclined.

Scarce had Pedro de Alvarado ſteered his courſe for Cuba, when the reſt of the ſhips parted from St. Juan de Ulua, in purſuit of their way; and following the guidance of the coaſt, turned with it towards the north, having in view the two mountains of Tuſpa and Tuſta, which ſtretch a great way between the ſea and the province of Talſcala; after which they came upon the coaſt of Panuco, the fartheſt province of New Spain, on the gulph of Mexico, and came to anchor in the River of Canoes, which took this name at that time, becauſe in the little ſpace they ſtopped to take a view of it, they were aſſaulted by ſixteen canoes, filled with armed Indians, who, by the help of the current, attacked the ſhip commanded by Alonſo Davila, and after diſcharging a furious ſhower of arrows, cut one of the cables, and endeavoured to board the ſhip; but the other two ſhips coming immediately up to her relief, the men in an inſtant manned their boats, charging the canoes with ſo much vigour, that one could not diſtinguiſh betwixt the attack and the victory: ſome of them were overſet, many Indians killed, and thoſe who had more prudence to know the danger, or uſed more diligence to avoid it, put to flight. It did not ſeem proper to follow this victory, by reaſon of the ſmall advantage by traffic that could be hoped for from frightened fugitives; therefore they weighed anchor, and proſecuted their voyage till they arrived at a point of land which ran far into the ſea. The pilots made uſe of all their induſtry and ſkill to double this cape, but were forced to give way to the ſtrength of the current, and not without danger of overſeting or running aſhore.

This accident occaſioned the pilots to proteſt againſt proceeding any farther, in which they were ſeconded by the general clamours of the men, grown weary now of ſo tedious a navigation, and more apprehenſive of the dangers that might attend it; upon which Grijalva, a man of great prudence and courage, aſſembled the captain and pilots, to conſult what was to be done in their preſent circumſtances.

In-

In this account they weighed the difficulty of paſſing forward, and the uncertainty of returning; that one of their ſhips had ſuffered, and wanted to be refitted; that their proviſion began to ſpoil, and the men to be diſſatisfied and fatigued. They likewiſe conſidered, that to make a ſettlement was contrary to the inſtructions of Diego Velaſquez; and that they were in an ill condition to undertake it, without a further reinforcement; ſo that, in the end, they reſolved, with one accord, to ſteer their courſe for Cuba, in order to furniſh themſelves with what was neceſſary for undertaking, this great affair.

This reſolution was preſently put in execution, and ſailing back the way by which they came, taking a view of other parts of the ſame coaſts, without ſtopping long at any place, yet making ſome profit by ranſoms, they arrived at length at the port of
A. D. 1518 St. Jago, in Cuba, on the 15th of November.—A few days before, Pedro de Alvarado arrived at the ſame port, and was very well received by the governor, Diego Velaſquez, who expreſſed an incredible joy at the account of the large countries diſcovered; and above all, at the ſight of the fifteen thouſand peſoes of gold, which ſupported the relation, without any occaſion for exaggeration.

CHAPTER V.

Account of Cortes: his Voyage to Mexico, extracted from de Solis.

VELASQUES having heard of the wealth of the new diſcovered places, had already bought ſome veſſels and began to fit out a new fleet, when Juan de Grijalva arrived. Knowing how much it imported to be quick in his reſolutions, and that by loſing time he might loſe a favourable opportunity, gave immediate orders for refitting the four veſſels which ſerved in the voyage of Grijalva, with which and thoſe he had bought, made up ten veſſels, from eighty to an hundred tons, uſing the ſame diſpatch in arming and furniſhing them with ſtores and proviſions; but he was at a loſs upon whom to fix the command. His deſign was to chooſe a man of reſolution, who knew how to diſengage himſelf from difficulties, and make uſe of opportunities, but withal ſo manageable as not to have any other ambition than to advance the glory of his principal; which, in other words, was to ſeek for a man of great courage and a mean ſpirit. The voice of the people was in favour of Juan de Grijalva, and they uſually do juſtice in their elections. What ſerved greatly to recommend him, were his good qualities, the trouble he had taken in this diſcovery, together with his knowledge of the navigation, and of the country. The other pretenders were Antonio and Bernido Velaſquez, near relations of the governor, Baltaſar Bermudez, Vaſco Porcallo, and other cavaliers of that iſland, of ſufficient merit to pretend to greater employment. But Diego Velaſquez feared the ambition of thoſe whoſe capacity he approved, until adviſing with Amador de Lariz, the king's treaſurer, and Andres de Duero, his ſecretary, which two he entirely confided in, and who knew his temper perfectly well, they propoſed their intimate friend, Hernan Cortes.

Before we go farther it will be proper to ſay who Hernan Cortes was, and through what variety of events his happy deſtiny led him to atchieve, by his valour and con-

duct, the conqueſt of New Spain, which was the event of this voyage. Cortes was born in Medillin, a town of Eſtremadura, ſon of Martinis Cortes of Monroy and Donna Catalina Pizarro Altamarino, names that ſufficiently declare the nobility of his extraction. In his youth he for ſome time applied himſelf to letters, and was two years at Salamanca, which were ſufficient to make him ſenſible that the ſedentary application of a ſtudious life was contrary to his temper, and did not ſuit the vivacity of his ſpirit. He reſolved to follow the wars, and his parents pointed out to him that of Italy. But when he was to embark, he fell dangerouſly ill of a diſtemper, which continued many days: by which accident he found himſelf obliged to change his intention, though not his profeſſion; and therefore he reſolved to go to the Indies, where the war at that time was carried on with a view to glory, rather than to wealth. He embarked, with the approbation of his parents, in 1504, and carried letters of recommendation to Don Nicolas de Olando, then governor of the iſland of St. Domingo. He was no ſooner arrived and known than he gained the general goodwill and eſteem, and was ſo kindly received by the governor as to be immediately admitted by him into the number of his friends. Thoſe favours were not ſufficient to divert his inclination to arms, and he deſired leave to go and ſerve in the iſle of Cuba, where the war was ſtill carried on; and having gained the conſent of his kinſman, he endeavoured to ſignalize himſelf in that war by valour and obedience, which are the firſt rudiments of the military profeſſion. He very ſoon acquired not only the reputation of a valiant ſoldier, but alſo that of an able commander.

Cortes was well made, and of an agreeable countenance; and beſides thoſe common natural endowments, he was of a temper which rendered him very amiable; for he always ſpoke well of the abſent, and was pleaſant and diſcrete in his converſation. His generoſity was ſuch, that his friends partook of all he had without being ſuffered by him to publiſh their obligations. He married in that iſland Donna Catalina Suarez Pachico, a noble and virtuous young lady; and the governor, in a little time, gave him a diſtribution of Indians and the poſt of alcalde, or chief magiſtrate, in the very town of St. Jago, an employment uſually conferred on thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the conqueſt of thoſe countries. In theſe circumſtances was Hernan Cortes when Amador de Lariz propoſed him for the conqueſt of New Spain, and Diego Velaſquez reſolved to employ him. They agreed with the governor, that it was neceſſary immediately to publiſh the choice, in order to put a ſtop at once to all further pretenſions: and Andres de Duero was not dilatory in the diſpatch of the commiſſion; the ſubſtance of which was, that Diego Velaſquez, the governor of the iſle of Cuba, and promoter of the diſcoveries of Yucatan and New Spain, did name Hernan Cortes for captain-general of the fleet, and of the countries already diſcovered, or which ſhould be diſcovered, with the moſt extenſive powers, and moſt honourable clauſes, which the friendſhip of the ſecretary could add under pretence of obſerving the neceſſary forms. Cortes received the new charge from Velaſquez with great expreſſions of reſpect and acknowledgments, being as ſenſibly affected at that time with the confidence the governor repoſed in his perſon, as he was afterwards with his diſtruſt.

Hernan Cortes wholly applied himſelf to haſten the preparations for his departure. The firſt ſtep was to erect his ſtandard, with the ſign of the Croſs: he appeared in the habit of a ſoldier: he employed his own ſtock liberally; and what he could borrow from his friends, in the buying of proviſions, arms and ammunition, in order to haſten

haſten the departure of the fleet, endeavouring at the ſame time to draw together a number of ſoldiers for the expedition, in which he did not find much difficulty; for the name of the enterprize, and fame of the captain were ſo great, that in a few days three hundred ſoldiers were liſted.

The time for their departure being come, orders were given for the ſoldiers to embark, which they did in the day-time, the people all running to the ſight, and at night, Cortes accompanied by his friends, went to take leave of the governor, who embraced him in a very friendly manner, and the next morning accompanied him to the ſea-ſide, and ſaw him embark.

The fleet ſailed from the port of St. Jago in Cuba the 18th of November, and having coaſted along the north ſide of the iſland, ſailed towards the eaſt, and arrived in a few days at the port of La Trinidad, where Cortes had ſome friends, who gave him a very kind reception. He preſently publiſhed his deſign, and Juan de Eſcalante, Pedro Sanches, Harſan Gonzalo Mexia, with other conſiderable perſons of that ſettlement, offered to follow his fortune. He was joined ſoon after by Pedro de Alvarado and Alonſo Davila, who had been captains in the expedition of Juan de Grijalva, and by four brothers of Pedro de Alvarado, viz. Gonzalo, Jorge, Gomez, and Juan de Alvarade. The account of this affair reaching to the town of Sancti Spiritus, which was but a little diſtance from La Trinidad, there came from thence, with the ſame deſign of following the fortune of Cortes, Alonſo Hernandez Portocarrero, Gonzalo de Sandoval, Roderigo Rangel, Juan Velaſquez de Leon (a relation of the governor,) and other perſons of diſtinction. With this reinforcement of gentlemen, and a hundred ſoldiers, who came from the two ſettlements, the ſtrength of the fleet was conſiderably augmented, and at the ſame time care was taken to buy up proviſions, ammunition, arms, and ſome horſes, Cortes aſſiſting all who wanted with his own money; for he knew how to gain their affection by an obliging behaviour, by inſpiring them with hopes, and by maintaining his ſuperiority in ſuch a manner, as to let them ſee he looked upon himſelf at the ſame time as their companion. But ſcarce had he turned his back to the port of St. Jago, when his enemies began to cry out againſt him, talking already of his diſobedience, after the cuſtom of cowards, who always attack the abſent. From ſuch ſlight beginnings ſprung the firſt reſolution which Diego Velaſquez took to break with Hernan Cortes, by depriving him of the command of the fleet. He diſpatched immediately two couriers to La Trinidad with letters to all his confidents, and expreſs orders to Franciſco Verdugo his couſin, (who at that time was chief alcalde of the town) to diſpoſſeſs him of his captain-generalſhip in a judicial way, as ſuppoſing his commiſſion now revoked, and another perſon named in his room.

Cortes was quickly informed of this unexpected event; and without being diſcouraged at the difficulty of the remedy, ſhewed himſelf to his friends and ſoldiers, that he might know in what manner they reſented the injury done to their captain, and how far they might depend upon the juſtice of his cauſe by the judgment they paſſed upon it. He found them all not only in his intereſt, but reſolved to guard him from ſuch an injury, though it ſhould carry them to the laſt extremity, of taking arms in his defence. And though Diego de Ordar and Juan Velaſquez de Leon were leſs warm, as depending more upon the governor, they were eaſily brought over to approve of that which they had not power to hinder.

Being

Being thus ſecure, he went to viſit the chief alcalde, who already knew the complaints he had to make. He laid before him the danger to which he might expoſe himſelf in ſupporting ſuch a piece of injuſtice, by diſguſting ſo many perſons of diſtinction as followed him, and how much the fury of the ſoldiers was to be feared whoſe affection he had gained; that he might the better ſerve Diego Velaſquez; and that he already found it difficult to keep them within the bounds of obedience to him. Speaking in ſuch terms, and with ſuch a kind of reſolution, as appeared both modeſt and great, Franciſco Verdugo approved his reaſons, and from a people of generoſity, being unwilling to become the inſtrument of ſuch juſtice, offered not only to ſuſpend the execution of the order, but to write to Diego Velaſquez to engage to deſiſt from a reſolution which was now impracticable, by reaſon of the diſguſt it gave the ſoldiers, and could not be executed without very great inconveniencies. Diego de Ordaz, and the reſt who had any intereſt in the governor, offered to do the ſame, and wrote immediately. Cortes likewiſe wrote to him, complaining in a friendly manner of his diſtruſt, without ſhewing how far he was diſguſted, or omitting his ordinary reſpect as one who found himſelf obliged to complain, but deſired to have no reaſon to conſider himſelf as a perſon injured. Having taken theſe meaſures, which at that time ſeemed ſufficient to quiet the mind of Velaſquez, Cortes reſolved to proſecute his voyage; and ſending Pedro de Alvara, by land, with a party of ſoldiers, to take care of the horſes, and raiſe more men in the ſettlements upon the road, he ſailed with the fleet for the Havannah, the moſt weſterly port of Cuba. Here he exerciſed his ſoldiers in the uſe of fire-arms and croſs-bows, and the management of their pikes. He taught them how to form a battalion, and file off in order; how to charge, and how to ſeize a poſt, inſtructing them, both by voice and example, in the rudiments of war, after the manner of the great captains of antiquity, who, by feigned battles and aſſaults, taught new beginners the military art; which practice, in time of peace, was in ſo much eſteem among the Romans, that from this kind of exerciſe, they gave their armies the name of caveritus. With the like diligence and ardour he went on with the reſt of his preparations.

But when every one was rejoicing at the approach of the day appointed for their departure, Gaſper de Garnira, a ſervant of Velaſquez, arrived at the Havannah with freſh orders to Pedro de Barba, expreſsly enjoining him to diſpoſſeſs Cortes of the command of the fleet, and to ſend him priſoner, with a good convoy, telling him how highly he had been diſpleaſed with Franciſco Verdugo for letting him go from La Trinidad; giving him likewiſe to underſtand how much he would riſk in not complying with his orders. He alſo wrote to Diego de Ordaz, and to Juan Velaſquez de Leon, to aſſiſt Pedro de Barba in the execution of his commands; but Cortes was appriſed of what was doing from ſeveral hands, and even by Garnira. They warned him to take care of himſelf, ſince he who firſt entruſted the enterpriſe to his conduct, was now going to diſcard him, in a manner highly injurious to his honour; and freed him from the charge of ingratitude, by forcing from him the favour for which he ſtood obliged.

Although Cortes was a man of great ſpirit, he could not help being ſhocked with this new attempt, which touched him very ſenſibly, as he had no reaſon to expect it; for he thought Velaſquez had been ſatisfied with the aſſurances that had been given him by all, in their anſwer to his firſt orders, which came to La Trinidad. But being convinced of his obſtinacy, by theſe new orders, he began to think of taking care of himſelf. On the one ſide he ſaw himſelf applauded and eſteemed by all who followed him

him, and on the other degraded, and condemned to priſon like a criminal. He acknowledged that Velaſquez had expended ſome money in fitting out the fleet, but then the greateſt part of the charge was borne by himſelf and his friends, and almoſt all the ſoldiers were raiſed upon their credit. He revolved in his mind all the circumſtances of the injury done him; and conſidering the ſlights he had hitherto ſuffered, he grew angry with himſelf, and not without reaſon blamed his own patience. He was alſo concerned for the enterprize, which he foreſaw would entirely miſcarry if he quitted the conduct of it; but that which moſt ſenſibly affected him, was the wound given to his honour, which, to thoſe who underſtand its value, is dearer than life itſelf. Upon theſe reflections, and this occaſion of reſentment, Cortes took his firſt reſolution of breaking with Velaſquez: whence it appears, how little juſtice Antonio de Heriera has done him, by placing this breach in the city of St. Jago, at a time when he had juſt received ſuch ſingular obligations. But we ſhall adhere to what is related by Bernal Diaz dal Caſtille, an author not the moſt favourable to Cortes; for Gonzalo Fernandez de Oviedo affirms, that he acknowledged his dependency on the governor Velaſquez, till, upon his arrival in New Spain, he ſet up for himſelf, giving account to the emperor of the advances made by him in that conqueſt.

The pains I have beſtowed (ſays de Solis) in clearing the character of Cortes from theſe early reproaches, muſt not be thought a digreſſion from the ſubject. I am as far from flattering thoſe whom I undertake to defend, as from hating others whom I condemn; but when truth points out the way to juſtify the ſteps in a man's conduct, who knew how to make himſelf ſo conſiderable by his actions, I ought to follow the path, and to be pleaſed with diſcovering thoſe accounts which appear to be moſt authentic, and ſerve beſt to eſtabliſh his reputation. I am very ſenſible that an hiſtorian ſhould by no means conceal what deſerves reproof; for examples are as uſeful to make vice abhorred, as to allure us to the imitation of virtue. But it argues a wrong turn in an author, to put the worſt conſtruction upon a man's actions, and to relate as truth their own ill-natured conjectures, is a fault of which ſome writers are guilty, who have read Tacitus, with an ambition to imitate that which in reality is immutable, and fancy they enter into the ſpirit of that author, when they put ſuch interpretations upon things as favour more of ſpleen than art. But to return to our hiſtory.

Cortes judging that it was now no longer a time to ſmother his reſentment, or take too cautious meaſures, which are generally enemies to great reſolutions, reſolved to provide for himſelf, and make uſe of the force he was maſter of, as occaſion ſhould require. To this end, before Pedro de Barba had determined to publiſh the order he had againſt him, he made haſte to ſend away from the Havannah, Diego de Ordaz, whoſe fidelity he ſuſpected very much, on account of the efforts he had made to be choſen commander in chief in his abſence. He therefore ordered him to embark immediately on board one of the veſſels, and to make the beſt of his way to Guanuanica, a ſettlement ſituate on the other ſide of the Cape St. Antonio, to take in ſome proviſions which he had directed to be carried to that place; and there to wait his arrival with the reſt of the fleet. Cortes aſſiſted in putting this order in execution with his uſual diligence and calmneſs; and by this means got quickly rid of a perſon, who might have given the ſame oppoſition to his deſign. He went then to viſit Juan Velaſquez de Leon, whom he eaſily brought over to his intereſt, being himſelf not a little diſpleaſed with the proceedings of his relation, and withal more tractable and of leſs artifice that Diego de Ordaz. Having taken theſe precautions, he ſhewed himſelf

himſelf to the ſoldiers, acquainting them with the new perſecution that threatened him. They all offered him their ſervices, agreeing in the reſolution of aſſiſting, but differing in the manner of expreſſing themſelves.

The zeal of the gentry appeared as the natural effect of the obligations they had to him; but the reſt declared in his behalf with ſo much heat, as to give uneaſineſs to the perſon in whoſe favour it deſigned. And was it appeared by their clamours and threats on this occaſion, how much a good cauſe may ſuffer in the hands of the multitude: but Pedro de Barba apprehending the ill conſequences of not appeaſing this tumult in time, went to Cortes, and appearing publicly with him, quietted all in a moment, by declaring aloud, that he did not deſign to execute the order of Velaſquez, or to have any ſhare in ſo great an injuſtice. This turned all their threats to acclamations, and he preſently ſhewed the ſincerity of his intentions, by publicly diſpatching Gaſper de Carnica with a letter to Velaſquez; in which he told him, that this was not a time to ſtop Cortes, who was too well attended to let himſelf be ill treated, or to be reduced to obedience by violence: he repreſented to him in the ſtrongeſt terms the ferment his orders had occaſioned among the ſoldiers, and the danger the town had been in by the commotion; and concluded his letter with adviſing him to regain Cortes by acts of friendſhip, adding new favours to thoſe he had already beſtowed, and relying on his gratitude, for what could not be compaſſed either by perſuaſion or force.

This affair being over, Cortes employed all his thoughts to haſten his departure, which he found neceſſary, in order to quiet the minds of the ſoldiers, who were diſturbed afreſh by the report, that Velaſquez reſolved to come in perſon, and put his orders in execution. It is ſaid, that he really formed this deſign, in which he would have run a very great riſk without ſucceeding: for authority is but a weak argument, when oppoſed both to reaſon and power.

A brigantine of moderate burden having joined the ten veſſels which compoſed his fleet, Cortes diſtributed his men into eleven companies, putting one on board each veſſel, and named for captains, Juan Velaſquez de Leon, Alonſo Hernandez, Portocarrero, Franciſco de Montego, Chriſtoval de Olid, Juan de Eſcalante, Franciſco de Morla, Pedro de Alvarado, Franciſco Samudo, and Diego de Ordaz, who he had not ſent out of the way with an intention to forget him; nor was he willing to diſoblige him, by not giving him an employment. He reſerved for himſelf the command of the capitana, and entruſted the care of the brigantine to Gines de Vortes. The command of the artillery he beſtowed upon Franciſco de Orozco, a ſoldier, who had ſignalized himſelf in the wars of Italy, and choſe for his chief pilot Antonio de Alaminos, a man of experience in thoſe ſeas, having ſerved in the ſame quality in the two voyages of Franciſco Hernandez de Cordova, and Juan de Grijalva. He drew up inſtructions for his officers, wherein, with ſingular foreſight, he provided againſt contingencies; and the day of embarkation being come, they celebrated a maſs of the Holy Ghoſt with great ſolemnity; at which all the ſoldiers very devoutly aſſiſted, recommending to God the beginning of an enterprize, the ſucceſs of which they expected from his divine aſſiſtance, and Hernan Cortes, as the firſt act of his command, gave the word 'St. Peter,' thereby acknowledging him the patron of this expedition, as he had been of all his actions from his childhood. After which he ordered Pedro de Alvarado to ſail for the north coaſt, in ſearch of Diego de Ordaz, and Guanicanico; and after they were joined, to wait for the fleet at Cape St. Antonio.

The

The reſt of the veſſels had inſtructions to follow the Capitana; and in caſe they ſhould be ſeparated by contrary winds, or any other accident, to ſtand for the iſle of Corumel, diſcovered by Juan de Grijalva, which was little diſtant from the land they were in ſearch of, and where Cortes propoſed to conſider and reſolve on what ſhould be moſt neceſſary for the proſecution of their enterprize.

They departed from the Havannah on the 10th of February. The
A.D. 1519. wind at firſt was favourable, but did not long continue ſo, for at ſun-ſet there aroſe a furious ſtorm, which put them in great diſorder; and when the night came, the ſhips were obliged to ſeparate (that they might not run foul of each other) and to put right before the wind. The ſhip that Franciſco de Morla commanded ſuffered moſt, a break of the ſea carrying away the rudder, by which he was in great hazard of being loſt. He fired ſeveral guns as ſignals of diſtreſs, which gave extreme concern to the reſt of the captains, who, notwithſtanding their own danger, were alarmed at his, and did all that was poſſible to keep near him; ſometimes bearing up againſt wind and ſea, and then again giving way to their violence. But the ſtorm ended with the night, and as ſoon as they had light enough to diſtinguiſh objects, Cortes was the firſt who came up with the ſhip in danger; the reſt following his example, the damage ſhe had ſuffered was ſoon repaired.

At this time Pedro de Alvarado, who was gone in ſearch of Diego de Ordaz, diſcovered by day break, that the ſame ſtorm had forced him into the gulph, a great way farther than he imagined; for in order to keep clear of the ſhore, he had been obliged to put out to ſea as leaſt dangerous. The pilot found by his compaſs and chart, that he was fallen very far from the courſe preſcribed him, and was at ſuch a diſtance from the Cape St. Antonio, that his return would have been very difficult; wherefore he propoſed, as moſt adviſeable, to ſail directly for the Iſle of Corumel. Alvarado left it to his own choice, repreſenting to him the order of Cortes, after ſuch a manner as looked very like diſpenſing with it, if neceſſary; they therefore continued their voyage, and arrived at the iſland two days before the fleet. They landed, with a deſign to lodge themſelves in a ſmall town near the coaſt, well known to the captain and ſome of the ſoldiers, ſince the voyage of Grijalva; but they found it deſerted, for the Indians, upon the firſt notice that the Spaniards were landed, abandoned their houſes, and retired farther into the country, with what poor moveables they had, ſuch light baggage giving no obſtruction to their flight.

Pedro de Alvarado was a young man of ſpirit and valour, well qualified for any enterprize where he received the orders, but of too little experience to give them. He had a miſtaken notion, that while the fleet was coming, any thing but inaction would be virtue in a ſoldier; and therefore ordered his men to march, and take a view of the inner parts of the iſland; and a little more than a league diſtant they found another town, forſaken in the ſame manner, but not ſo entirely unfurniſhed as the former, for here were ſome cloaths and proviſions, which the ſoldiers ſeized as ſpoils of the enemy; and in a temple of one of their idols they found divers jewels, which ſerved to adorn it, and ſome inſtruments for ſacrificing, made of gold, mixed with copper; which, though of ſmall value, they took away.

This expedition did by no means promote the ſervice they were upon, but, on the contrary, frightened the Indians, and croſſed the deſign of gaining their friendſhip. Pedro de Alvarado grew ſenſible, (though too late,) that he made a falſe ſtep,

and retired to his firſt poſt, having taken three priſoners, two men and a woman, who not being able to eſcape, ſurrendered without any oppoſition.

The next day Cortes arrived with the whole fleet, having ſent to Diego de Ordaz, at Cape St. Antonio, to join him, ſuſpecting, as it proved, that the ſtorm would hinder Alvarado from executing his orders; and though inwardly well pleaſed to find him there in ſafety, he commanded the pilot to be impriſoned, and repremanded the captain very ſharply, as well for not having obſerved his directions, as for his preſumption in marching up into the iſland and permitting his ſoldiers to plunder. This rebuke he gave in public, with a deſign that it might ſerve as a warning to the reſt.

He preſently called for the three priſoners, and by Melchiar, (the only interpreter he had in this voyage, his companion being dead), informed them how much he was concerned at what the ſoldiers had done, and ordering the gold and cloaths to be reſtored, he ſet them at liberty, giving them ſome trifling preſents for their caziques, that theſe tokens of amity might induce them to lay aſide the fear they had conceived.

The Spaniards encamped on the ſea ſide, where they reſted three days without marching any farther, that they might not occaſion any diſturbance among the Indians; after which Cortes muſtered his army, and found that it conſiſted of five hundred and eight ſoldiers, ſixteen horſes; and of mechanics, pilots, and mariners, an hundred and nine more, beſides two chaplains, the licentiate, Juan Diaz, and father Bartholome de Olmedo, a regular of the order of our lady, and De la Merred, who accompanied Cortes to the end of his expedition. The muſter being over, he returned to his quarters, attended by his captains and principal ſoldiers; and taking his ſeat in the midſt of them, he made a ſpeech to perſuade and animate his men.

Cortez, after this, found means to pacify the inhabitants of Corumel, and to eſtabliſh a friendſhip with the cazique. He endeavoured to recover ſome Spaniards, who were priſoners at Yucatan, but the perſon he ſent returned without bringing any account of them.

He then put to ſea again, to purſue the ſame courſe which Juan de Grijalva had done before, and to diſcover thoſe countries from which he had retired, by too ſcrupulous an attention to the orders which he had received. The fleet had the wind aſtern, and all were overjoyed at the proſperous beginning of their voyage, when an unexpected accident happened. Juan de Eſcalante fired a gun, and the reſt of the commanders obſerved that he followed with difficulty, and ſoon after tacked and ſtood for the iſland. Cortes ſoon conceived the meaning of this, and immediately ordered the fleet to follow him. Eſcalante ſtood in need of all his diligence to ſave his veſſel, for he had ſprung a leak, and took in ſo much water, that ſhe was on the point of ſinking when they recovered the ſhore. The ſoldiers landed, and the cazique preſently came down with the Indians, and ſeemed ſurpriſed at their ſudden return; but when they underſtood the reaſon, they very chearfully helped to unload the veſſel, and to aſſiſt in repairing and careening it.

While this was doing, Cortez viſited the temple, and found the croſs and image of the virgin in the ſame place he had left them, and obſerved ſome ſigns of veneration paid them by the Indians. They were four days refitting the veſſel, and on the laſt, as they were going to embark, they diſcovered, at a diſtance, a canoe, which was croſſing the gulph of Yucatan, and ſtood directly for the iſland. They quickly perceived that

ſhe

ſhe was filled with armed Indians, and were ſurpriſed at the diligence they uſed to come up, without ſhewing any fear of the fleet. Cortez being informed of this, gave orders to Andres de Tapia, to place himſelf in ambuſcade near the place at which the canoe was to land the Indians, and to diſcover their deſigns. Andres de Tapia took his poſt accordingly, where he could not be ſeen; but finding they came on ſhore with their bows and arrows, he ſuffered them to paſs by a little way from the coaſt, and then cut off their retreat. As ſoon as the Indians diſcovered him they fled, but one amongſt them ſtopped the reſt, and advancing three or four paces, pronounced with a loud voice, in the Caſtilian tongue, that he was a Chriſtian. Andres de Tapia received him with open arms, and full of joy for his good fortune, conducted him to the general, followed by the Indians, who appeared to be the meſſengers left by Diego de Ordaz upon the coaſt of Yucatan. The Chriſtian had nothing to cover him, except juſt enough to hide his nakedneſs. On one of his ſhoulders he bore his bow and quiver, and over the other was thrown a mantle like a cloak, in one corner whereof was the Virgin Mary, which he immediately ſhewed the Spaniards, aſcribing to his devotion the good fortune of ſeeing himſelf again among the Chriſtians. He made his compliments very aukwardly, not being able to forbear his new manner, or to deliver what he had to ſay, without intermixing with the Spaniſh ſome terms that were not underſtood. Cortes careſſed him extremely, and covering him with the coat he had on, informed himſelf in general who he was, and afterwards gave orders to have him cloathed and regaled. He publiſhed it among the ſoldiers, as a ſingular felicity, both to himſelf and the undertaking, that he had redeemed a Chriſtian from ſlavery, having no other motive in view at that time than pure charity.

This man was called Jerom de Aquilar, a native of Ecya, where he had received deacons orders; and according to the account he afterwards gave of his adventures, had been near eight years in that miſerable ſlavery. He was ſhipwrecked in a caravel upon the flats of the Alacran, as he was paſſing from Darien to the iſland of St. Domingo, and eſcaping in the boat with twenty more in company, was driven up the ſhore of Yucatan, where they were taken and carried to a country of Caribbee Indians, whoſe cazique immediately culled out the beſt fed amongſt them, to offer them to his idols, and afterwards to feaſt on the wretched remains of the ſacrifice.

One of thoſe who were reſerved for another occaſion, by reaſon of their leanneſs, was Jerom de Aquilar; they uſed him very rigorouſly, but at the ſame time inhumanly feaſted him, that he might be in better plight to furniſh a ſecond banquet. Amazing brutality! deteſtable to nature, and not to be related without horror! Aguilar made a ſhift to eſcape out of a wooden cage, in which he was confined, not ſo much to ſave his life, as to ſeek another kind of death; and wandering ſeveral days, at a diſtance from all ſettlements, without any other nouriſhment than what the herbs of the field afforded, he fell into the hands of certain Indians, who preſented him to their cazique, an enemy to him, from whom Aquilar had made his eſcape. This maſter uſed him with more humanity, either in contradiction to the other, or perhaps becauſe he had a real averſion to his cruelties. Aquilar ſerved him ſome years, running through different fortunes in this new ſlavery; for at firſt he obliged him to work beyond his ſtrength, but afterwards treated him better, being ſeemingly pleaſed with his obedience, and eſpecially with his modeſty, of which the Spaniards gave ſome proofs, more admirable than the trials of it are decent to be related; for there is no temper ſo barbarous as to be wholly void

void of the regard due to virtue. Accordingly the cazique gave him an employment near his perſon, and Aquilar in a little time acquired his eſteem and confidence.

This cazique dying, recommended him to his ſon, under whom he had the ſame employment, and found a favourable occaſion of increaſing his credit, for the neighbouring caziques making war upon him, he gained ſeveral victories over them, by the valour and conduct of Aquilar; who thereupon became ſo great a favourite, both of prince and people, and was in ſo much authority when he received the letter from Cortes, that he could without difficulty treat for his liberty as the recompence for his ſervices, and offer, as his own gift, the preſents which were ſent as his ranſom.

Thus did Aquilar relate his adventures, adding withal that of the reſt of the Spaniſh priſoners, there remained alive only one ſailor, whom he had endeavoured to bring with him, but without effect, as he had married a rich Indian woman, by whom he had three or four children.

A. D. 1519. The Spaniards left this iſland, the ſecond time, on the 4th of March, and without any accident doubled the point of Catoche. Following the coaſt, they came to the road of Chempaten, where it was debated whether they ſhould land; which being determined in the negative, they ſailed to the river Grijalva, and having made a diſpoſition to land, he left the larger veſſels at anchor; and having embarked all his ſoldiers in the ſmaller veſſels and boats, was beginning to make way againſt the current, when they were met by a party of Indians, who made horrible outcries. When ſo near as to be heard, Jerom de Aquilar found he underſtood their language, therefore told Cortes they uſed menaces. Cortes commanded him to advance in one of the boats, with offers of peace; who ſoon returned with an account that the Indians were preparing to defend themſelves, and had refuſed to hear him.

The night overtaking them, Cortes thought it adviſeable to lay by till day. He got the artillery from the larger veſſels, and directed his ſoldiers to put on their cotton gowns to reſiſt the arrows of the enemy, and make other neceſſary preparations. At day-break his veſſels were drawn up in a half-moon; they advanced ſlowly, and ſoon met the canoes with the Indians, who uſed threats, as the day before. Cortes ſent Aquilar again to bring about a peace; but the anſwer to his ſecond propoſal, was the ſignal for an attack. They advanced, by favour of the current, near enough to uſe their arrows, of which they diſcharged ſo great a number, as to embarraſs the Spaniard much; but they having received the firſt charge, returned it with ſo much vigour, that the canoes quickly left the paſſage free. The Spaniards purſued, and began to land on the left ſide, when they found themſelves in a plain, marſhy and covered with brambles: here an ambuſcade of the enemy made a ſecond attack; but was by the bravery of the Spaniards routed, and fled to the neighbouring town of Tobaſco.

The town was fortified with a kind of wall, generally uſed in the Indies, made of trunks of trees, fixed in the ground, after the manner of paliſades, with room between to diſcharge their arrows. The compaſs was round, without any traverſes, or other defences, and at the cloſing of the circle, the extremity of one line covered the other, and formed a narrow winding ſtreet; in which were two or three caſtles of wood, which filled up the paſſages, and wherein they uſed to poſt their centinels: a fortreſs ſufficient againſt the arms of the new world, but ſoon ſurrendered to the arms of Spain.

Cortes

Cortes ſent out from hence two hundred men to view the country, who were driven back by the Indians. The next day a numerous army made their appearance, which, after a fierce conflict, were defeated. This brought about a peace; which being concluded, the pilots preſſed the departure of the fleet, fearing it might be endangered by any further ſtay in that place. Having remained therefore to celebrate Palm-Sunday, he embarked the next day, and purſuing the coaſt to the weſtward, came in ſight of the province of Guazacoales, and had a view of the iſland of Sacrifices, and other places, diſcovered by Grijalva.

At length they reached St. John de Uloa on Maundy Thurſday at noon. The ſhips had no ſooner anchored, between the iſland and the main, than they ſaw two large canoes (called by the inhabitants piraguas) coming towards the fleet, without any ſigns of fear, and made ſigns to be heard. Aguilar, the interpreter, did not underſtand their language; however, there was among the Indians a woman who ſpoke in the Yucatan language, and ſerved for an interpreter. Here they were informed of the great Indian emperor Motezuma, who afterwards made ſo conſpicuous a figure in the hiſtory of Mexico.

Cortes next day landed his troops, and was viſited by the general of Matezuma's troops.

What paſſed after this relates entirely to the conqueſt of Mexico. Cortes finding his troops grow diſſatisfied, reſolved to deſtroy his fleet, which he effected.

CHAPTER V.

Second Voyage of Ojeda and Ocampo.

A. D. 1520. ALONSO de Ojeda, an inhabitant of the iſland of Cubagua, fitted out a ſhip, and ran down ſeven leagues along the coaſt to the port of Chiribichi, where the Dominican friars, with their own hands, had built a monaſtery, which they called St. Faith. There were in it, when the ſhip arrived there, only two friars; the one a prieſt, and the other a lay-brother, the reſt being gone to preach, and hear confeſſions at Cubagua. The ſeamen went aſhore with the utmoſt ſecurity, becauſe the friars, during their ſtay there, had brought the natives to ſuch a peaceable temper, that one ſingle Spaniard, loaded with goods to barter, would go four leagues up the country, and return with what he had got in exchange. Thoſe men went to the monaſtery, the friars received them kindly, and gave them a collation. They ſaid, they would ſpeak to the lord of the town, whoſe name was Maraguey, a man naturally fierce, diſcreet, and cautious, and who was not thoroughly ſatisfied with the behaviour of the Spaniards, but connived at ſome things to keep the friars in his country for his own ſecurity. He was ſent for, and when come, went aſide with Ojeda and two Spaniards; the one of them ſteward, and the other clerk of the ſhip. Ojeda, in the preſence of the cazique, aſked for a ſheet of paper, pen and ink, of the religious man, who was vicar of the houſe, and thinking no harm, gave it him, and went away. Ojeda aſking Maraguey whether he knew of any people in his neighbourhood that eat man's fleſh? the Indian, knowing that the Spaniards made war

with ſuch people, and carried them away for ſlaves, was much incenſed, and appeared angry, ſaying in his language, "No! no man's fleſh! no man's fleſh!" and went away, refuſing to talk to him any more; and though they endeavoured to appeaſe him, he remained very uneaſy, ſuſpecting that they only ſought ſome pretence againſt him and his people.

Ojeda took leave of the friars, and embarking his men, went four leagues from thence down the coaſt to a town called Maracapana, belonging to a lord, whom the Spaniards called Giles Gonzalez, who had been in the iſland of Hiſpaniola; the comptroller Giles Gonzalez made very much of him, and was his great friend. This lord was no leſs diſcreet than Maraguey, and lived as cautiouſly, but always entertained the Spaniards kindly that came to his towns. Ojeda arriving at Maracapana, Giles Gonzalez went out to meet him, entertained them well, and converſed in a friendly manner. Ojeda intimated, that he was going to barter for Indian wheat with the Tagares, being the people on the mountain three leagues from thence; and after having reſted awhile, went towards that mountain with twelve of his men, leaving the reſt in care of the caravel. The mountaineers received them well: the Spaniards aſked for fifty loads of wheat, and for conveying the ſame to Maracapana, where they would pay them for it. All was complied with, and they came to the town with their burdens on Friday in the afternoon. When come in the market-place they pitched their loads, and lay down to reſt by them: the Spaniards ſurrounded them, and drawing their ſwords, began to bind them; but ſome of them ſtarting up made their eſcape, though wounded: thirty-ſix were carried aboard.

Giles Gonzalez being highly incenſed at this proceeding, ſent meſſengers into the neighbouring parts to give an account of it. To prevent the Spaniards ever more coming again to diſturb them, the Indian determined to kill the friars, ſuppoſing them accomplices in that fact, ſince they gave the paper to Ojeda; and becauſe when any Spaniards paſſed along the coaſt, they uſed to refreſh themſelves at the monaſtery. Accordingly they agreed, that on the next Sunday, when the Spaniards did no work, but went aſhore to divert themſelves, Giles Gonzalez ſhould kill Ojeda and his men, (the veſſel being ſtill there) and Maraguey the ſame day ſhould fall upon the friars; and that from thenceforwards they ſhould always be in arms, and deſtroy all the Spaniards that ſhould make the leaſt attempt to come on ſhore. Ojeda went on ſhore on Saturday, as unconcerned as if he had done no harm, and Giles Gonzalez came out with a chearful countenance to meet him and twelve of his companions; but when they were near the firſt houſes of the town, which ſtood next the water, a great number of armed men ruſhed out and fell upon the Spaniards, killed Ojeda and ſix of his followers; the reſt ſaved themſelves by ſwimming to the ſhip, which the Indians attacked with a number of canoes; but could not prevail, as it ſailed away.

Maraguey being eaſed of the Spaniards, by the death of Ojeda, was not ſo haſty in killing the friars; for having them in his poſſeſſion, ſtaid till Sunday, the appointed time; and then, as the prieſt was ſaying maſs, and the lay-brother had confeſſed, in order to receive the Sacrament, Maraguey rung their bell, and the lay-brother opening the door, killed him there, without being perceived by the prieſt that was veſted, behind whom they came and cleft his head with an axe, ſending them, ſays our author, to enjoy the beatific viſion; for they may, with the greateſt propriety, be reckoned as martyrs, ſince the occaſion of their being there was no other than the preaching of the Catholic faith. Then the Indians burnt the monaſtery, and all that was in it,

and

and ſhot to death a horſe thoſe religious men had to draw a little cart for the ſervice of their houſe.

This diſaſter was ſoon known in the iſland of Cubagua, by means of the Indians, and three or four armed boats went out from thence, which running down the coaſt, found it in arms, and not daring to land, returned home. Advice hereof being received at Hiſpaniola, where the admiral then was, it was reſolved in council, to chaſtiſe thoſe people, by carrying them all away to the iſlands; to which purpoſe five ſhips were ordered to be be fitted out, with three hundred men, and Gonzalo de Ocampo was appointed to command them.

About the ſame time father Caſas arrived from Spain with two hundred labourers, a ſtore of proviſions, goods to barter, and all other neceſſaries; the biſhop of Burgos having, for fear of cardinal Adrian, who was left to govern Spain, furniſhed him plentifully. Father Caſas was much ſurprized, at his arrival, to hear what had happened, becauſe the main foundation of his project depended on the monaſteries that had been deſtroyed. However, he had no doubt of reducing the Indians by fair means; and therefore the above-mentioned ſhips being ready to ſail to deſtroy thoſe who had killed the friars, he applied to the commander Gonzalo de Ocampo; ſhewed the king's orders, and required him to deſiſt from that enterprize, ſince his majeſty had entruſted him with that affair; but Ocampo turned all off with a jeſt, and proceeded on his voyage.

Captain Ocampo ſailed over to the continent with only two ſhips, leaving the other three at Cubagua, hoping the better to ſurprize the Indians. Being arrived at Maracapana, the country of the cazique Giles Gonzalez, he kept his men cloſe under hatches, ſhewing only four or five ſailors, and pretending he came from Spain. The Indians at firſt were very ſhy, but ſeeing ſo few men began to draw near, being invited with Spaniſh bread and wine, which they coveted above all things. They aſked whence they came; and were anſwered, from Spain. The Indians again replied, not from Spain, but from Ayſi, the name they gave to the iſland Hiſpaniola; their fear making them doubt, as being ſenſible that their puniſhment muſt come from St. Domingo. At length, their covetuouſneſs of the wine, and the commander's ſubtilty, deluded them; for ſeveral of them went aboard, but the cazique ſtaid in the canoe. Then the men that were under hatches ruſhed out and ſeized the Indians, and a ſailor Ocampo had ready, being an active man, and a great ſwimmer, ſtripped off his cloaths, leaped into the canoe, and grappling with Giles Gonzalez, they both fell into the water, and the ſailor ſtabbed him with a dagger; other ſeamen then leaped into the water, and killed him. Ocampo ſent for the other ſhips, and hanged ſeveral of the priſoners at the yard arms, that they might be ſeen from the land. He ſet men aſhore, attacked and entered the town, took and killed many, hanging ſome, and impaling others. Thinking he had done enough for an example, and the neighbouring provinces begging pardon, he ſent away the ſhips, laden with ſlaves, to the iſland of Hiſpaniola, to defray the charge of that expedition, and with his Spaniards founded a town, half a league up the river of Cumana, which was called Toledo.

Father Caſas not being able to prevail with Ocampo to deſiſt from his enterprize, preſented his commiſſion, and the order he had from the king, before the admiral, the judges of appeal, and the king's officers, being ten in number; who meeting together were called to conſult, and required them to cauſe the ſame to be executed. They ordered them to be proclaimed by ſound of trumpets in the croſs-ſtreets, being the

moſt public place in that city, and particularly that order which enjoined, that no perſon ſhould preſume to hurt or terrify the inhabitants of the provinces within the limits aſſigned father Caſas, which might be any hinderance to the reduction and converſion he had undertaken; but that thoſe who happened to paſs along that coaſt, if they would trade and barter, ſhould go peaceably and friendly, as dealing with ſubjects of the king of Spain; and therefore they ſhould do it in the moſt fair and juſt manner, under pain of forfeiting all their goods, and their perſons to be at the king's mercy. He alſo required them to cauſe the country to be cleared for him; that Ocampo ſhould be recalled, and not permitted to make war any longer on the Indians, ſince that aſſembly had no power from the king to authorize him ſo to do. They anſwered, his propoſal ſhould be taken into conſideration, and becauſe notice was given that father Caſas' ſhip was not fit to go to ſea, orders were given to have it ſearched by ſkilful men, who reporting that it was unſerviceable, it was commanded down the river, which occaſioned the putting off his voyage at that time.

CHAPTER VI.

Voyage of Magelhaens, or Magellan, round the World.

WE are now come to the moſt important voyage we have hitherto treated of, that of Ferdinand Magelhaens, or Magellan (as he is commonly called) round the world.

A voyage round the world, even in this enlightened age, and in the high ſtate of perfection to which navigation is at preſent brought, is juſtly conſidered as an enterprize of great moment. In what light then muſt we view the voyage of Magellan, who in thoſe early ages of the arts ſucceeded in circumnavigating the globe. He juſtly deſerves the utmoſt admiration of poſterity, and to be ranked among the firſt navigators of any age.

We have ſeveral accounts of this voyage preſerved by Ramuſio, Herrera, and De Barros. We have choſen to give the account in Ramuſio from Pigafetta, an Italian, who was one of the adventurers, and conſequently an eye-witneſs in that voyage. What he has omitted, we ſhall afterwards extract from Herrera.

The reports of the diſcovery of the South Sea made a great noiſe in Europe, and raiſed a ſtrong deſire in many to navigate it; but the queſtion was, whether it communicated with the North Sea or not. Although this engaged the attention of the curious in coſmography, hydrography, and navigation, none thought of offering themſelves for the diſcovery, and much leſs of giving any reaſons relative to a ſtreight communicating, till Divine Providence diſpoſed Hernando Magellan, a noble Portugueſe, to attempt the diſcovery of the South Sea.

Magellan, or Magelhaens, was a very intelligent man in the mathematics and the nautic art, and of great experience in the navigation of the Eaſt Indies, where he had ſerved, and gained great honour under the ſtandard of that famous captain Alfonſo de Albuquerque. He had particularly ſignalized himſelf in the expedition againſt Molucco in 1511, which he had alſo done in the wars againſt the Alarbes of Africa.

Having acquired great knowledge in the affairs of this Archipelago, by means of theſe eaſtern nations, and through the intimate friendſhip which he always had with Franciſco Serrano, who was ſent with Antonio de Abreu in 1511 to diſcover the iſlands

iſlands of Molucco. Franciſco Serrano having diſcovered the Moluccos, ſent a diſpatch to the king of Portugal, by Pedro Fernandez, adviſing him of the riches and opulence of that and the adjoining iſlands, informing alſo his friend Magellan of every thing that had happened to him. Some time after Franciſco Serrano returned from Molucco; and having embarked for Portugal, died on his paſſage.

When Fernandez arrived in Portugal with the news of that diſcovery, he found Magellan at Liſbon, who was then come from Molucco to ſolicit ſome reward for his ſervices. He received there the letters of Franciſco Serrano; in which he gave intimation of his diſcoveries: inflamed with the noble ardour to acquire fame, (and be no leſs than his friend Serrano) and profiting by the intelligence he had received, determined to undertake this diſcovery; for which he received great aſſiſtance from the charts and inſtructions of Martin de Bohemia, a famous Portugueſe coſmographer, native of the iſland Fayal, to whom is aſcribed the ingenious invention of the aſtrolabe, and from a connexion with another Portugueſe aſtrologer, named Ruy Falero. In concert with this Ruy Falero, Magellan ſet on foot his new diſcovery; and having firſt propoſed it to king Don Manuel of Portugal, he did not chooſe to give it any countenance, but diſmiſſed him with a frown and ſingular diſgrace, very different from what was due to the propoſal of Magellan, and to the reputation he had acquired for his valour. Magellan, chagrined at finding his own prince ſo ill requite his loyalty and good ſervices, determined to go to the Spaniſh court, which was then at Valladolid, to enter into the ſervice of Charles V. and to execute for him the diſcovery he had projected.

A. D. 1517. Magellan arrived at that court; and as the emperor was not there, he communicated his intention to Don Juan Rodriguez Fonſeca, biſhop of Burgos, who at that time had charge of the affairs of the Indies. He was heard with attention, and referred to the grand chancellor, who, approving of it, informed the emperor and monſieur De Gebues of the intention of the two Portugueſe, and that they offered to demonſtrate the Moluccos and the other iſlands, from whence the Portugueſe got the ſpices, appertained to the Spaniſh limit, according to the partition of the pope Alexander VI. and offered to ſearch a paſſage thither by the Weſtern Ocean, without purſuing the track uſed by the Portugueſe in the route to India, paſſing to the South Seas, by means of a ſtreight then undiſcovered.

Five ſhips were equipped for this voyage by the emperor's command. The Trinity, Admiral; Stephen Gomez, a Portugueſe, pilot; the San Victoria, Luis de Mendoza, captain; the San Antonio, John de Carthagena, captain; the San Jago, John Serran, captain; the Conception, Gaſpar de Quoxada, captain; Magellan himſelf was appointed general. The crews amounted to two hundred and thirty-ſeven men, of which thirty were Portugueſe.

A. D. 1519. On the 10th of Auguſt they departed from Seville; the 26th of September arrived at Teneriffe, and the 3d of October ſailed between the iſland and Cape Verde. They ſailed many days along the coaſt of Africa, and were ſo impeded by calms, that they ſpent ſeventy days before they reached the equinoctial line, which, when they had paſſed, they loſt ſight of the north ſtar, and ſailed ſouth-weſt until they fell in with the land of Brazil, in twenty degrees and an half ſouth latitude. Here they were refreſhed with various kinds of fruits.

Steering ſouth in twenty-four degrees and an half ſouth latitude, they ſaw a river of freſh water and ſome people; one of whom, from their ſhips, appeared of a gigantic ſize, and a voice like a bull. The Spaniards purſued, but could not take him. There

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were ſeven iſlands at the mouth of the river, in the largeſt of which they found precious ſtones. The Spaniards hoped by this river they might paſs into the South Sea, but were ſoon undeceived. Steering along the coaſt to the ſouthward, they fell in with two iſlands, ſo well ſtored with penguins and ſeals, that in a ſhort time all the ſhips might have been laden with the latter; they are of a black colour, and cannot fly; they live on fiſh, and were ſo fat that they could ſcarcely flay them; they have no feather, but a kind of down, and their bills are like ravens. The fleet were here in great danger from a ſtorm.

Departing from thence they ſailed ſouth to forty-nine degrees and an half, where they wintered, and remained two months, during which time they ſaw no man, except a ſingle giant, who came to the haven dancing and ſinging. The captain ſent a man on ſhore to make ſigns of peace, which the giant ſeeing, came to him, and accompanied him to a ſmall iſland, where the captain was. When he came to the captain and thoſe who were with him, he ſeemed much ſurprized, and made ſigns, holding up his hands to heaven, ſignifying, that the Spaniards came from thence. This man was ſo large, that the head of a man of middling ſtature came only to his waiſt. He was well made, had a large face, painted in many colours, but particularly yellow. Upon his cheeks were painted two harts, with red circles about his eyes. His hair was white; his apparel, the ſkin of a beaſt ſewed together. This beaſt ſeemed to the Spaniards to have a large head and ears, like a mule, with the body of a camel, and tail of a horſe. The feet of the giant were folded in the ſaid ſkin, after the manner of ſhoes. He had in his hand a thick and ſhort bow, the ſtring whereof was made of a ſinew of that beaſt. He had alſo a bundle of long arrows, made of reeds, feathered, tipped with ſharp ſtones inſtead of iron heads. The captain cauſed him to eat and drink, and gave him many things, and among others a large looking-glaſs, in which, as ſoon as he ſaw his own likeneſs, he was ſuddenly afraid, and ſtarted back with ſuch violence that he overthrew two perſons that ſtood near him. When the captain had given him ſome hawks and other bells, with a looking-glaſs, a comb, and a pair of glaſs beads, he ſent him on ſhore, with four of his own men, well armed.

Shortly after, they ſaw another giant of ſomewhat greater ſtature, with a bow and arrows in his hand. As he drew near, the Spaniards did the like. The captain ſent his ſhip's boat to bring him to a little iſland in the haven. This giant was very tractable and pleaſant. He ſung and danced, and in his dancing left the print of his feet on the ground. He remained long with our men, who named him John. He could ſpeak well, and plainly pronounce the words, *Jeſus*, *Ave-Maria*, *Johannes*, even as we do, but with a louder voice. The captain gave him a linen ſhirt, and a coat of white woollen cloth, alſo a cap, a comb, a lookingglaſs, and divers ſuch things, and ſent him to his company. The day following he came again to the ſhips, and brought with him one of thoſe great beaſts which he gave the captain. But after that day they never ſaw him again, and ſuppoſed him to be ſlain by his own company for the converſation he had with the Spaniards.

After fifteen days were paſt, there came four other giants, without any weapons, but had hid their bows and arrows in certain buſhes. The captain retained two of thoſe who were youngeſt and beſt made. He took them by a trick: giving them knives, ſheers, looking-glaſſes, bells, beads of cryſtal, and ſuch other trifles, he ſo filled their hands, that they could hold no more; he then cauſed two pair of ſhackles of iron to be put on their legs, making ſigns that he would alſo give them thoſe chains, which

which they liked very well, becauſe they were made of bright and ſhining metal. As they could not carry them, their hands being full, the other giants would have done it for them, but the captain would not ſuffer it. When they felt the ſhackles faſt about their legs, they began to doubt, but the captain comforted them, and bade them ſtand ſtill. In ſhort, when they ſaw how they were deceived, they roared like bulls, and cried unto their great devil Setebos to help them. Being thus taken, they were immediately ſeparated, and put in ſundry ſhips.

They could never ſecure the hands of the other two, yet one of them was with much difficulty overthrown by nine of the Spaniards, and his hands bound; but he ſuddenly looſed himſelf, and fled, as did alſo the other that came with him. In their flying, they ſhot off their arrows, and ſlew one of the Spaniards.

They ſay, that when any of them die, there appear ten or twelve devils, leaping and dancing about the body of the dead, and ſeem to have their bodies painted with divers colours; and that there is one bigger than the reſt, who makes a great noiſe and rejoices. This great devil they call Setebos, and the leſſer Cheleuli. One of the giants which they took declared by ſigns, that he had ſeen devils with two horns above their heads, with long hair down to their feet, and that they caſt forth fire from their throats.

The captain named theſe people Patagoni. Moſt of them wear ſkins of ſuch beaſts as I have already ſpoken of. They have no ſettled habitations, but make cottages, which they cover with ſkins, and carry them from place to place. They live on raw fleſh, and a certain ſweet root which they call capar. They are very jealous of their women. When they are ſick at the ſtomach, they put an arrow far down the throat, which makes them vomit green bile and blood. For the head-ache they make a cut over the forehead, and bleed themſelves. They do the like on the arm or leg; in any aches. They cut their hair like friars, but a little longer, and bind it with a cotton lace. On account of cold in thoſe parts, they truſs up themſelves ſo that the genital member is almoſt hidden within the body. One of thoſe who was in the ſhips ate at one meal a baſket of biſcuit, and drank a bowl of water at a draught.

They remained five months in this port of St. Julian, where ſeveral of the under captains conſpiring the death of their general, were hanged and quartered, among whom was the treaſurer, Suigo de Mendozza. Two of the other conſpirators he left in the ſaid land of Patogoni, namely, John de Carthagena and a prieſt. They erected there a croſs, in token of poſſeſſion.

Departing from hence to fifty-one degrees forty minutes towards the ſouth pole, they found a river of freſh water and good fiſh. Their ſhips were here in great danger. They remained two months in this port, where they provided themſelves with freſh water, fuel, and fiſh. Here the captain cauſed all his men to be confeſſed.

Approaching to fifty-two degrees latitude, they diſcovered the ſtreight now called the Streight of Magellan, being in ſome places an hundred and ten leagues in length, and in ſome places very broad, and in others little more than half a league.

On both the ſides of this ſtreight are great and high mountains, covered with ſnow, beyond which is the entrance into the South Sea. This entrance the captain named Mare Paciſcum. Here one of the ſhips, the St. Antonio, ſtole away privately, and returned into Spain. In this ſhip was one of the giants, who died as ſoon as he felt the heat that is near the equinoctial line.

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When Captain Magellan was paſt the ſtreight, and ſaw the way open to the other ſea, he was ſo glad that he ſhed tears of joy, and named the point of the land from whence he firſt ſaw that ſea, Capo Deſiderato: ſuppoſing the ſhip which ſtole away had been loſt, they erected a croſs upon the top of a high hill, to direct their courſe in the ſtreight, if it were their chance to come that way.

They found that in this ſtreight, in the month of October, the night was not above four hours long. They alſo found in this ſtreight, at every three miles, a ſafe haven, and excellent water to drink; alſo wood, fiſh, and a great plenty of good herbs; they thought there was not a finer ſtreight in the world: here alſo they ſaw certain flying fiſh.

The other giant which remained with them in the ſhip, named bread *cafar*, water *oliud*, cloth *cherocai*, red colour *cherche*, black colour *amel*; and ſpoke all his words in the throat. On ſeeing a croſs made before him, which they kiſſed, he ſuddenly cried out "Setebos," and declared, by ſigns, that if they made any more croſſes, yetebos would enter into his body, and make him burſt; but when, in fine, he ſaw no hurt come thereof, he took the croſs and embraced and kiſſed it often, deſiring that he might be a Chriſtian before his death. He was therefore baptized, and named Paul.

Departing out of this ſtreight into the ſea called Mare Pacificum, A. D. 1520. the 28th of November, they ſailed three months and twenty days before they ſaw any land; and having in this time conſumed all their biſcuit, and other victuals, they fell into ſuch neceſſity, that they were forced to eat the powder thereof that remained, being now, full of worms, and ſtinking like urine. Their freſh water was alſo putrified, and become yellow: they ate ſkins and pieces of leather, which were foulded about certain great ropes of the ſhips; but theſe ſkins being made very hard by reaſon of the ſun, rain, and wind, they hung them by a cord in the ſea for the ſpace of four or five days to mollify, and then ate them. On account of this famine and unclean feeding, ſome of their gums grew ſo much over their teeth, that they died miſerably for hunger: by this they loſt numbers of men, and alſo the giant, with an Indian of Brazil; beſides theſe that died, twenty-five or thirty were ſo ſick that they were not able to do any ſervice with their hands or arms for feebleneſs: ſo that there were in a manner none without ſome diſeaſe. In theſe three months and twenty days they ſailed four thouſand leagues, in one courſe, through the ſea called Pacificum, that is, Pacific; which may well be ſo called, as in all this time, having no ſight of any land, they had no misfortune of wind, or any other tempeſt. During this time alſo they diſcovered only two little iſlands, uninhabited, where they ſaw nothing but birds and trees; and therefore named them Unfortunate Iſlands; being from one another about two hundred leagues diſtant. The firſt of theſe iſlands lies in fifteen degrees, and the other five. They ſailed between fifty, ſixty and ſeventy leagues a day: ſo that, in fine, had not God given them good weather, they muſt all have periſhed for hunger. They obſerved in this voyage that the antarctic pole had no notable ſtar as the arctic pole has; but they ſaw may ſtars gathered together, which are like two clouds, one ſeparate a little from the other, and darkneſs in the midſt. Between theſe are two ſtars, not very big, nor much luſtre, which move a little; and theſe two are the ſouth polar ſtars.

The needle of their compaſs varied ſomewhat, and turned towards the arctic pole; but was not ſo ſtrong as in northern latitudes. Inſomuch that it was neceſſary

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to help the needle with the loadſtone before they could ſail with it, becauſe it moved not, as it doth when it is in our parts. When they were in the midſt of the gulph, they ſaw a croſs of five clear ſtars directly toward the weſt, and of equal diſtance from one another.

They ſailed between the weſt and ſouth ſo far that they approached to the equinoctial line, and were in longitude from the place whence they firſt departed, one hundred and twenty degrees. In this courſe they paſſed two iſlands of exceeding height, one whereof named Cipanghu, and the other named Sumbdit. When paſſed the equinoctial line, they ſailed weſt ſouth-weſt and the quarter of the weſt, toward the ſouth-weſt, more than one hundred leagues, changing their ſails to the quarter of the ſouth-weſt, until they came to the thirteenth degree above the equinoctial, and one hundred and forty-ſix degrees toward the arctic pole, intending as much as poſſible to approach to the cape, called by the old writers, Cattigera, (which is not found as the coſmographers have deſcribed it); but is toward the north about twelve degrees, as they afterwards underſtood.

When they had thus ſailed ſeventy leagues of this voyage, in the twelfth degree ſouth, and one hundred and forty-ſix degrees of longitude, (as I have ſaid) the ſixth day of March, they diſcovered a little iſland toward the north-weſt, and two other toward the ſouthward; but the one was higher and bigger than the other. In the biggeſt of theſe the general would have reſted himſelf a while, but could not, by reaſon the iſlanders reſorted continually to the ſhips in their canoes, and pilfering whatever fell into their reach, ſo that the ſailors had no reſt; and therefore demanded of the captain, if they might ſtrike their ſails, to bring the ſhips to anchor. But the general being provoked, went aſhore with forty armed men, and burnt about fifty of their houſes, with many of their canoes, ſlew ſeven of the barbarians, and recovered a ſhip's boat which they had ſtolen from them; and then purſued his voyage. He named theſe iſlands Ladrones, that is, the iſlands of Thieves. When our men had wounded ſome of them with arrows, which pierced through both their ſides, they pulled forth the arrows, not ceaſing to marvel at them till they fell down dead; yet the others ſtill followed the ſhips with more than two hundred of their boats, approaching as near as they could, and profering the men certain fiſh. As the ſhips paſſed with full ſail in the midſt of their boats, they ſaw among them ſome women lamenting and tearing their hair, which the Spaniards thought they did for the loſs of their huſbands. As far as they could perceive, thoſe people live at their own liberty, without any ruler or governor. They go naked, and ſome of them have black beards and black hair on their heads, which they wore long down to their waiſts. They are of the ſame ſtature as the Europeans; are well made, and of an olive colour. Their women are well favoured with black and thick hair on their heads, reaching to the ground. They wore a covering over their privities made of the inner bark of the palm-tree: are fairer than the men, and ſeldom go out of doors. At home, they make mats, nets, and other houſhold neceſſaries, of the palm-tree. Some of the men wore bonnets on their heads of palm-tree. They colour their teeth red and black, which they eſteem a comely thing: their food was cocoas, battas, birds, figs, ſugar canes, flying fiſh, and other things: they anointed their bodies and heads with the oil of cocoa. Their boats are, ſome all black, ſome white, and ſome red; and have ſails made of the broad leaves of date-trees ſewed together. Inſtead of a rudder, they uſed a broad board, with a ſtaff in the top, and can, when neceſſary, make the ſtern the fore-

caſtle, or the forecaſtle the ſtern. They ſailed ſo ſwiftly, that they appeared, at a diſtance, like dolphins ſwimming on the water. Their houſes are made of timber, covered with boards and leaves of fig-trees, a yard long: they had a hall with windows, and chambers; their bed-furniture conſiſted of palm-leaves and mats, on which they ſlept with great repoſe. Their weapons were clubs, or poles, with a horny head.

A. D. 1521. The 10th of March, they went aſhore upon a little iſland, named Zamal, thirty leagues diſtant from the iſland of Thieves. The next day they went aſhore on another iſland, uninhabited: they reſted there awhile, where the captain cauſed a tent to be pitched for the ſick and diſordered men, and a hog to be killed. The iſland was called Humunu, and had two clear ſprings; alſo gold, white coral, and many fruit-trees. They gave it the name of Good Signs. On the 18th of March they ſaw a boat with nine men coming toward them, ſhewing themſelves joyful at their coming: they brought many preſents with them, and ſeemed to be people of much humanity. They gave the captain a great fiſh, and a large veſſel, with wine made of thoſe date-trees, which bore the fruit cocoas: they made alſo ſigns, that within the ſpace of four days they would bring rice, and divers fowls and beaſts, which they did.

The cocoa is a fruit of certain date-trees, whereof they made bread, wine, oil, and vinegar. The wine they made in this manner: they cut a large branch of the tree, and hung to it a reed as big as a man's leg; into which drops a ſweet liquor from the tree like white wine, ſomewhat tart; they let the reed continue there from morning till evening, and from evening till morning. The fruit of this tree, called cocoa, is as big as the head of a man, or larger: the firſt rind of this is green, and of the thickneſs of two fingers, having in it certain threads, whereof they make cords, with which they tie their boats: under this rind there is a thick ſhell, which they burn and make powder with, and uſe it as a remedy for certain diſeaſes: under this ſhell is a white ſubſtance, like the kernel of a nut, being a finger in thickneſs, which they eat to fleſh and fiſh, as we do bread: it hath the taſte of an almond; and is uſed inſtead of bread, when it is dried. In the midſt of this kernel is a clear and ſweet water, being a very wholeſome cordial; it ſometimes congeals, and lies within the ſhell like an egg. When they intend to make vinegar, they ſuffer only the water to putrify, and then ſet it to the ſun, where it becomes vinegar, like that which is made of white wine; and when they mingle the kernel with the water which is in the midſt of the fruit, and ſtrain it through a cloth, they make a milk thereof, like that of goat's milk. Theſe date-trees are like thoſe that bare dates; but are not ſo full of knots. With the juice of one of theſe date-trees, a whole family of ten perſons may be ſupplied with wine for eight days. Theſe trees live upwards of one hundred years.

The iſland where they found that humane and gentle people, is called Zulum, and is not very large. They invited the general to their boats, in which were their merchandize, viz. cloves, cinnamon, ginger, pepper, nutmegs, maize, and gold made in divers things, which they carry to and fro with their barks. He had them alſo on board his ſhip, and cauſed a piece of ordnance to be fired, which terrified them ſo, that they were ready to leap over-board; but he appeaſed, and gave them gifts. The 22d of March, they brought oranges, cocoa, palm-wine, and a cock, in their barks. The men were naked, had two gold rings at their ears, and jewels faſtened with

with gold to their arms: with cocoas they refreſhed their ſick: they gave an account of a people near this iſland, whoſe ears reached down to their ſhoulders; they had daggers, knives, and lances, ornamented with gold. About this iſland they found many others, and therefore named that ſea, Archipelago di San Lazaro, that is, the great ſea of St. Lazarus, lying ten degrees above the equinoctial towards our pole, and an hundred and ſixty-one from the place whence they departed. The people of this iſland are Gentiles: they go naked, ſaving that they cover their privities with a cloth made of the rind of a certain tree. The chief men have about their hands a ſilken needle-worked cloth. They are groſs and broad ſet, and of an olive-colour. They anoint their bodies with the oil of cocoas, to defend them againſt the heat of the ſun, and the dryneſs of the wind.

The 25th of March they departed from thence, and directed their courſe weſt and ſouth-weſt, and ſailed between four iſlands, named Canelo, Huinangham, Hebuſſon, and Abarein.

The 28th of March they came to the iſland of Buthuran, where they were honourably received by the king and the prince his ſon, who gave them much gold and ſpices. The captain gave the king a veſture of red cloth, and another of yellow, made after the Turkiſh faſhion, and alſo a red cap; he alſo gave to thoſe that came with him, knives, glaſſes, and beads of cryſtal. After that, the captain ſhewed the king the ſecrets of his ſhip, and ſuch merchandize as he had therein. He cauſed a piece of canon ſuddenly to be fired off, at which the king was terribly frightened; but the captain ſoon comforted him. He ordered one of his men to be clad in armour, and three others to ſtrike him with their ſwords, at which the king marvelled greatly, and ſaid to the interpreter, (who was a ſlave, born in Molucco) that one of thoſe armed men was able to encounter with an hundred of his men; but he was more ſurprized when the captain told him, that he found the ſtreight by the help of the compaſs and loadſtone, and how many days they were without ſight of any land. The king then aſking leave to depart, the captain ſent two of his men with him, one of whom was Antonio Pigafetta. When they were landed, the king lifted up his hands to the ſky, and then to the Chriſtians, as did all the company about him: the like ceremony they uſed in drinking to one another.

The king's palace was like a houſe, covered with palm and fig-leaves, built on high lofty timbers, that they were forced to uſe ladders to get up to it. They ſit at meat croſs-legged, like taylors. They make light with a gum of a tree, wrapped in leaves of palm-trees.

When the king ſaw Antonio Pigofetta write the names of many things, and afterwards rehearſe them again, he marvelled yet more, making ſigns that ſuch men muſt deſcend from heaven. The king brought them firſt to his palace, where be entertained them honourably, and gave them many gifts, as did alſo the prince in his palace, being in another iſland called Caleghan.

As they ſifted a certain mine of earth in the king's iſland, they found pieces of gold, ſome as big as nuts, and others as big as eggs. All the king's veſſels were of gold, and his houſe well furniſhed.

In the whole nation, there was no man of comlier perſonage than the king. He had his hair long, down to the ſhoulders, and very black, with a veil of ſilk rolled about his head, and two great rings of gold hanging at his ears. He had about his head a cloth wrought of cotton and ſilk, trimmed with gold, and reaching down to his

knees. On one ſide he had a long dagger, with a hilt of gold, and the ſheath of a fair kind of carved wood. He had on every finger three rings of gold, and had his body anointed with oil of ſtorax and Benjamin. The natural colour of his face was like the colour of an olive, and all the reſt of his body painted with divers colours. The king's name was Rata Colamba, and the prince was called Raia Seagu.

They eaſily underſtood each other, by means of a ſlave, which they carried with them, taken before at Sumatra. One man offered for ſix threads of cryſtal beads a crown of maſſive gold, with a collar; but the general would not permit ſuch barter-ing, that they ſhould not perceive more account to be made of their gold by one than by the other of the Spaniſh wares.

The men of this iſland are nimble, go naked, but paint themſelves. The women are clothed, from the waiſt downwards, and their long black hair hanging to the ground. They wear ear-rings of gold, in divers forms. They are always chewing arecca, a fruit like a pear, cut in quarters, and rolled up in leaves of a tree called bittre, or ve-tele, like bay leaves, which having chewed, they ſpit forth. It makes the mouth red. They ſay they do it to comfort the heart, and could not live without it.

The captain or general cauſed a croſs to be brought forth, with nails, and a crown of thorns, commanding all his men to give reverence thereto; and ſignifying to the king, by the interpreter, that that banner was given him by the emperor, his lord and maſter, who commanded him to leave the ſame in all places where he came, for the great benefit and profit of all who would reverently receive it as an aſſured token of friendſhip; and that he would therefore leave it there, to accompliſh the commands of his royal maſter, and alſo, that if at any time any Chriſtian ſhips ſhould chance to come that way, they might, by ſeeing that croſs, perceive that the Spaniards had been well entertained there, and would therefore not only abſtain from doing them any hurt or diſpleaſure, but would aſſiſt them againſt their enemies. He therefore requeſted liberty to erect that croſs upon the top of the higheſt mountain, that it might be ſeen from the ſea on every ſide; and if they would reverently pray unto it, they ſhould not be hurt by thun-der, lightening, or tempeſts.

When the kings heard theſe words, they gave the captain great thanks, promiſing to obſerve and fulfill all the things he deſired. The captain then aſked whether they were Moors or Gentiles. They anſwered, that their religion conſiſted in lifting up their hands, joined together, and their faces towards heaven, and calling upon their God, Abba. The captain was pleaſed with this anſwer, becauſe the Gentiles are ſooner perſuaded to the Spaniſh faith.

The Spaniards now departing from hence, were conducted by the ſaid kings pilots to the iſlands of Zelion, Zubut, Meſſana, and Calaghan. Zubut is the beſt of theſe iſlands, and has the moſt trade. In Meſſana they found dogs, cats, hogs, hens, goats, rice, ginger, cocoas, millet, barley, figs, oranges, wax, and gold, in great quan-tities. This iſland is above the equinoctial line towards our pole nine degrees and two-thirds, and one hundred and ſixty-two degrees from the place they departed from.

They remained here eight days, and then directed their courſe towards the north-weſt, paſſing between the iſlands of Zelon, Bohol, Canghu, Barbau, and Cathigan. In Cathigan there are great bats as big as eagles, one of which they caught. They are good to eat, and taſte like a hen. Here are alſo ſtock-doves, turtle-doves, popin-jays, and fowls as big as hens: theſe fowls have little horns, and lay great eggs, which

they

they cover a cubit deep in the ſand, by the heat of which and the ſun they are hatched, and the young birds creep out of the ſand by themſelves.

From the iſland of Meſſana to Cathigan is twenty leagues, ſailing weſtward. As the king of Meſſana could not follow the ſhips, they ſtaid for him about the iſlands of Polo, Ticonbo, and Fozon, where the captain took him into his ſhip, with ſeveral of his principal men, and purſued their voyage towards the iſland of Zubut, which is about fifty leagues diſtant from Cathigan. The ſeventh of April, about noon, they entered the port of Zubut; and paſſing by many villages and habitations among trees, they came to the city, where the captain commanded the mariners to ſtrike their ſails, and prepare for a battle, cauſing all the ordnance to be ſhot off, at which the iſlanders were much frightened. The captain then ſent an ambaſſador and interpreter to the king of Zabut. When they approached near to the city, they found the king with a great company of men, much aſtoniſhed at the noiſe of the guns; but the interpreter told them it was always the cuſtom of the Spaniards, when they came to ſuch places, to diſcharge their ordnance in token of friendſhip, and to honour the lord of the city. This quieted the king and his company. The interpreter then told them, that the captain, his maſter, commanded the ſhips of the greateſt prince in the world; that they went to diſcover the iſlands of Molucco; that being told, by the king of Meſſana, of his good name and great fame, they determined to viſit him, and to requeſt proviſions in exchange for their merchandize. The king anſwered, that he was contented; that they were heartily welcome; but it was a cuſtom in that place for all ſhips that entered the haven to pay tribute, and that a few days before, a ſhip, laden with gold and ſlaves, did ſo. To this the interpreter anſwered, that the captain never paid tribute to any perſon in the world, and would not now begin; that if he would accept the peace now offered him, he ſhould enjoy it; but if he preferred war, he ſhould have his hands full.

One of the merchants (a Moor) who was with the king, addreſſed him in the following manner: "Take heed, Sir; for theſe are the men who conquered Calicut, Molucco, "and the greateſt part of India. They are of ſuch power, that if you do not treat "them well, you will, when too late, know that they are able to do more than they "did at thoſe places." The interpreter replied, that his prince had much greater power than the king of Portugal; that his dominions were more extenſive, and his ſhips of greater force, and more in number; that he was king of Spain, and emperor of all Chriſtendom; that if he would not be his friend, he would ſoon ſend thither ſuch a number of armed men as would deſtroy his whole country. The Moor confirmed all this to the king, who ſaid he would further deliberate with his council, and give them a final anſwer the day following. In the mean time he ſent them a quantity of proviſions and wine.

When it was known that the captain did all theſe things by the adviſe of the king of Meſſana, who was, next to himſelf, the chief perſon there, and lord of many iſlands, he repaired to the king of Zubut, and told him of the great humanity and courteſy of the captain. Shortly after, Magellan ſent ſeveral of his men with the interpreter to the king of Zubut, to know his pleaſure, and what anſwer he would make. As they went towards the court they met the king in the ſtreet, accompanied by many of his chief men. He cauſed the Spaniards to ſit down by him, and aſked them if there was more than one captain in their company, and whither they deſired him to pay tribute to the king of Spain. They anſwered, that they only wiſhed to exchange merchandize

chandize with him. The king ſaid he was willing to do that, but deſired the captain would, in token of friendſhip, ſend him a little of the blood of his right arm, and he would do the like.

When they returned to the city they found the king in his palace, ſitting upon a floor made of the leaves of date-trees, wrought after a curious device, like a certain kind of mats. He had upon his body no apparel, but only a cloth of bombazeen cotton hanging before his private parts. On his head he had a veil of needle work, and about his neck a chain of great value. At his ears hung two rings of gold, wherein were incloſed many precious ſtones. He was of ſmall ſtature, but ſomewhat groſs, and had his body painted of different colours, ſome like flaming fire. Before him he had two veſſels, made of the fine earth, called porcelain, with ſodden eggs; alſo four veſſels of porcelain, full of wine, made from date-trees, and covered with many odoriferous herbs.

The prince brought them to his houſe, where he had four daughters, who were well made, and had white complexions. He cauſed them to dance naked, and to ſing and play on timbrels made of metal.

While they were at this iſland, a Spaniard died in one of the ſhips; and when they aſked leave of the king to bury him on ſhore, he anſwered, that as he and all his people were at the command of the king of Spain, how much ought the ground ſo to be! They much admired the ceremonies performed at the funeral, and honoured the croſſes which were ſet at both ends of the grave.

They live with juſtice, and have weights and meaſures. Their houſes are made of timber and boards, and are ſo built above the ground, upon props and poles, that they get to the ſame by ſtairs. Under their houſes they keep their hogs, goats, and hens. They told a ſtory of ſome water-fowl, as big as crows, called ſagham, which are ſwallowed by the whales there; but the fowls afterwards kill the whales by eating their hearts. The fleſh of theſe birds is delicate, but the ſkin is black.

When they came to barter with the Spaniards, they gave gold, rice, hogs, hens, and ſeveral other things for trifles of ſmall value. Ten pieces of gold, each worth a ducket and an half, were received for fourteen pounds weight of iron. They eſteem nothing more precious than drinking-glaſſes.

After this the king of Meſſana, with the king of Zubut, his nephew, (who was the prince), and ſeveral other principal perſons, came to the ſhips, and brought the captain many good preſents. They entered into converſation on many ſubjects, and the captain perſuaded them to embrace the Chriſtian faith, which they gladly did; and took ſuch pleaſure in hearing the articles of it, that tears fell from their eyes for joy. They were then baptized, as were moſt of the people of the iſland ſhortly after.

When the king was baptized, which was done with great ſolemnity, the captain admoniſhed him not to be afraid of the firing of the ordnance, becauſe it was the cuſtom ſo to do at ſuch ceremonies. The king was named Charles, after the king of Spain; the prince Ferdinando, after his majeſty's brother; the king of Meſſana was named John, and the Moor, Chriſtopher. To the reſt they gave ſuch names as are commonly uſed in Spain; and thus, before maſs begun, five hundred men were baptized.

After this the captain cauſed them to break all their idols, and to ſet up the croſs in divers places, and directed them to pray to it every morning and evening, kneeling on their knees, and holding up their hands joined together.

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The queen was alſo baptized, with forty of her principal women, and her daughter, the prince's wife. The queen was very young and fair: her body was covered with a white cloth! her lips were red; ſhe had on her head a hat, on the top of which was a triple crown, much like the pope's; this crown and the hat were made of leaves of date-trees.

Within eight days all the inhabitants of the iſland were baptized, except one village of idolaters, who would not, in this particular, obey the king's command; the captain therefore ſent a party of his men thither, who burnt the town, and erected a croſs in that place, becauſe the people were Gentiles, that is, idolaters.

The queen came to the place to hear maſs with great pomp and ſolemnity. Before her went three young damſels and three young men, with their caps in their hands. She was dreſſed in white and black, a veil of ſilk, fringed with gold, covered her head, and hung down to her ſhoulders; ſhe had alſo a great train of women following her, all barefooted and naked, except that upon their heads and privities they wore certain veils of ſilk, and went with their hands ſpread.

Before the king of Zubut was baptized, he was named Raca Humabuon. When the captain demanded of him, "Why all the idols in the iſland were not burnt according to his promiſe?" he anſwered, "That they eſteemed them no more as gods, but only made ſacrifices to them for the prince's brother, who was very ſick, and was as noble and valiant a man as any in the iſland." The captain replied, "That if he would burn all his idols, and believe faithfully in Chriſt, and be baptized, he ſhould be immediately reſtored to health, or he would give them leave to ſtrike off his head." By theſe words and perſuaſions of the captain, he conceived ſuch hope of recovery, that, after he was baptized, he felt no more of his diſeaſe. This was a manifeſt miracle wrought in our time, whereby divers infidels were converted to our faith, and their idols deſtroyed, and alſo their altars overthrown on which they were accuſtomed to eat the ſacrificed fleſh.

The people of this iſland pay their king a portion of victuals for their tribute, which is alſo done by all their cities and villages.

Not far from Zubut is the iſland of Mathan, whoſe inhabitants uſe marvellous ceremonies in their ſacrifices to the ſun, and burying their dead. Before their ſacrifice they ring bells; then they bring three platters, in two of which are rice and honey, boiled, and rolled up in loaves, and roaſted fiſh; in the other is a linen cloth, with two fillets or ſtrings, which is ſpread on the earth: then come two old women, each with a reed trumpet in their hand. Theſe mount upon the cloth, and having worſhipped the ſun, cover themſelves with a cloth. One of them applies one of the ſtrings or fillets, with two horns, to her forehead, holding the other in her hand, and thus ſounding and dancing round, calling to the ſun. The other followeth: both praying, ſounding, and dancing round about the hog, which lies tied in the midſt. The one-horned beldame mumbles to the ſun; the other anſwering. Then a cup of wine is brought, and after making ſemblance to drink, and divers mutual mumblings, ſhe poureth it on the hog. After which, this horned mother hath a lance brought her, with which, after a deal of mocking and mumbling ceremony, ſhe kills him. All this while a light is burning, and then is put into the mouth of the ſwine. The other beldame waſheth the head of the trumpet in the blood; and with her finger, embrued with blood, firſt ſigns her huſband's forehead, and then the other mens. Which done, they both diſrobe themſelves, and eat the vineyards. Women only

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are ſuffered to communicate with them. They ſinge the hog; the fleſh whereof they dare not eat, till it be thus conſecrated by theſe witches. They go naked, except a little cloth before their privities. The males, both great and ſmall, make a hole through their foreſkin, and therein a gold ring is put, as big as a gooſe-tail. They take as many wives as they will; but one is principal. When a man of note dies, the principal women go to his houſe, and ſet boughs in cords, faſtened about the corpſe; in every bough a piece of cotton; ſo that the place is like a tent. Herein they ſit arrayed in white cotton, each having a girdle, with a fan of palm-tree, to cauſe wind. Then one comes with a knife, and cuts off, by little and little, the hair of the deceaſed. After which his principal wife lieth upon him, applying her lips to his; her hands to his hands, and her feet to his feet. While the one cutteth, the other laments; when the one ceaſes to cut, the other ſings about the chamber, where there are porcelain diſhes with fire, on which they burn myrrh, ſtorax, and other ſweet herbs. This ceremony laſts five days; at which time, at midnight, (they ſay) there comes, as it were, a raven, which pitches on the houſe, and cries: the dogs, with howling, holding pace with the raven's crying, for five hours each night. After all this they encloſe the corpſe, in a houſe, with wood.

The iſland is governed by ſeventeen princes; whereof one is named Zula, and another Celapulaſſu. This Celapulaſſu refuſed to pay tribute to the king of Spain. The captain went againſt him, in perſon, with ſixty of his men, armed with coats of mail and helmets. Celapulaſſu divided his army into three diviſions, each conſiſting of two thouſand and fifty men, armed with bows, arrows, darts, and javelins hardened at the points with fire. The conflict continued long and ſharp: the captain being a valiant man, and expoſing himſelf too much in the battle, was ſorely wounded by a venomed arrow, and afterwards with a lance of a cane which was thruſt in his face, of which he died, the barbarians chiefly directed their force againſt him. Eight Spaniards, beſides the captain, fell in this engagement; of the enemy fifteen were killed, and many wounded.

After the death of the captain, they choſe two others in his room, Odoardo Barboſa, a Portugueſe, and Juan Serrano, who was ſhortly after betrayed by the interpreter, and taken priſoner with divers others. The enemy would not permit Magellan's body to be ranſomed at any price.

Some days before the captain's death, they had knowledge of the iſlands of Molucco, which they chiefly ſought; departing therefore from the iſland of Mathan, they ſailed for, and came to the cape of another iſland called Bohol.

In the midſt of this main ſea, which they named Archipelagus, they determined to burn the ſhip Conception, becauſe they had but few men left, and to furniſh the other two ſhips with the artillery thereof. Thus directing their courſe toward the ſouth-weſt, they came to another iſland, named Paveloghon, where they found black men. Shortly after, they arrived at another great iſland, whoſe king was named Raca Calaver; who treated them very friendly in all things, as the king of Meſſana had done. This iſland is rich in gold, and has plenty of rice, ginger, hogs, goats, hens, and divers other things. It is named Ehippet, and is eight degrees above the equinoctial line toward our pole, and in longitude, from the place whence they firſt departed, one hundred and ſeventy degrees, and about fifty leagues from Zubut. The king, in token of peace, drew blood from his left hand, and therewith anointed his body, face, and the tip of his tongue. The like was done by the Spaniards. Pegafetta was entertained by the

the king and his two wives in an elegant ſtile. Here he ſaw much gold, but a ſcarcity of proviſions.

Departing from hence, they came to another iſland, named Cahacan, forty leagues from Chippet, between weſt and ſouth-weſt. This iſland is very large, but thinly inhabited. The people are Moors, baniſhed out of the iſland of Borneo, by ſome called Perne. They uſe poiſoned arrows, and have ſtore of gold. About twenty-five leagues weſt and north-weſt from thence, they found an excellent fruitful iſland, named Pulaon, lying toward our pole above the equinoctial line nine and one-third degrees, and in longitude from the place of their departure one hundred ſeventy-nine and one-third. It is ſtored with rice, ginger, hogs, goats, very large figs, and others of a leſſer kind: cocoas, battatos, ſugar canes, and a kind of pleaſant root.

The king, in token of friendſhip, wounded his breaſt with a knife, touching with the blood his tongue and forehead; and the Spaniards did the ſame. They go naked; uſe poiſoned arrows; keep large cocks for fighting, but not for food, through ſuperſtition. They make wine of rice, which is better than that of palm-trees, and more intoxicating.

From hence, ten leagues towards the ſouth-weſt, they ſaw another iſland, which ſeemed ſometimes to mount as they ſailed along the coaſt. In entering the port, a boiſterous and dark ſtorm aroſe, but ceaſed as ſoon as the fires of the three ſaints (of which we have before ſpoken) appeared upon the cables. From the beginning of this iſland to the port, are five leagues. It is large and rich: the chief city contains twenty-five thouſand houſes. The king entertained them very friendly, and ſent many preſents: he alſo ſent two elephants, trapped with ſilk, to carry the captain to his palace. He had a magnificent court, with a ſtrong guard, and many concubines. The king is a Moor, and is named Raja Scripada. He has a mighty power, and has under him many other kings. The iſland of Borneo is above the equinoctial line toward our pole five degrees and a quarter, and in longitude from the place of their departure one hundred ſeventy-ſix and two-third degrees. They uſe betle, arecca, and rice-wine, called arrack. Their reverence to the king is, to cloſe their hands over their heads three times; then to lift up their feet, one after another, and laſtly to kiſs their hands. The king has ten ſecretaries, who write on barks of trees. His houſehold is conducted by women, daughters of his chief men.

On the 29th of July, they were aſſaulted by a number of Proas and Junks: they captured four of them; among whom was the ſon of the king of Luzon, captain-general to the king of Borneo, who was juſt returned from the plunder of Jao, a city in the iſland of Java, (for the Ethnikes, or natives, and the Moors of this iſland, were at war with each other.) Had not the pilot, for a bribe, let him eſcape, he would have proved a valuable prize to the Spaniards. The king had two pearls of the bigneſs of a hen's egg each, and ſo round, that, when put on a plain table, they would be in a perpetual motion. Here grows camphor, which is the gum of the caper-tree; cinnamon, ginger, merabolas, oranges, lemons, ſugar; cucumbers, melons, ſwine, goats, hens, deer, elephants, horſes, &c.

Departing from Borneo, they came to an iſland, called Cimbubon, eight degrees ſeven minutes above the equinoctial line. Here they remained forty days, to repair their ſhips, and provide themſelves with freſh water and fuel, which cauſed them much pain and trouble, as they were almoſt bare-footed and naked, their cloaths being worn out in ſo long a voyage. In the woods they found a tree, whoſe leaves, as ſoon as

they fall on the ground, ſtir, and remove from place to place, as if they were alive; they reſemble mulberry-leaves, and have on every ſide, as it were, ſhort and blunt feet. When they are cut, or broken, though there is no blood in them, yet, when touched, they ſuddenly ſtart, and move. Antonio Pegafetta kept one of them in a platter for the ſpace of eight days, and whenever he touched it, it moved about the platter. He ſuppoſed they live by the air. Here were alſo crocodiles, wild hogs, and oſtriches. They caught a fiſh, whoſe head reſembled a ſwine, and had two horns; the reſt of the body appeared like bone, with a ſaddle on the back.

Departing from hence, they directed their courſe by the weſt quarter, to the ſouth-eaſt, to find the iſlands of Molucco, and ſailed paſt ſome mountains, where the ſea was full of weeds and herbs. From thence they came to the iſlands of Zolo and Jaghina, where they found large pearls. The king of Borneo had his two pearls from hence, as a ranſom for his father-in-law, who had been his captive. Following their courſe toward the north-eaſt, and then ſouth-eaſt, they arrived at a great city, called Mangdando, lying above the iſlands of Buthuan and Calagham, where they took a canoe with ſome of the inhabitants, who informed them of the iſlands of Molucco, they altered their courſe to the north-eaſt, cloſe in with the Cape of Buthuan. They were told, that on the banks of a certain river there dwelt a people called Benjamin, who were overgrown with hair, and ate human fleſh, with the juice of oranges and lemons. They are tall and ſtrong, and uſe bows and ſwords made of wood. In theſe iſlands grow the beſt cinnamon, where the Spaniards exchanged twenty-ſeven pounds for two knives. Here is the great city Mangdando, being in ſix degrees, ſeven minutes, they ſtood ſouth-eaſt, and encountered four iſlands, Ceboco, Biramboco, Saragani, and Candingar.

On the 24th of October, they experienced tempeſtuous weather, when they went to prayers: preſently the three lights appeared on their ſhrouds; the clouds diſperſed, the ſtorm ceaſed, and the weather became ſerene, whereupon they reſolved to free a ſlave, in honour of the three ſaints, Helena, Nicholas, and Clare. How much more reaſonable (ſays our author) is the adoration of the Ethnicks to the ſun and ſtars, than adoring inferior meteors? to give glory to frail man, when it only belongs to God.

After the ſtorm, they anchored in the harbour of Saragani, where they heard there was much gold and pearls. Here they took, by force, two pilots for the Moluccos. They paſſed eight more iſlands, ſome inhabited, and ſome not: their names were, Ceana, Canida, Cabiaco, Camuca, Cababu, Chiai, Lipar, and Nunza. They then came to an iſland, called Sanghir, in three and an half degree, where four Gentile kings reigned. They paſſed five other iſlands, and eſpied four others, which their pilot ſaid were the Moluccos.

This was on the 6th of November, and the twenty-ſeventh month after their departure from Spain. Being therefore joyful, and giving thanks to God, they diſcharged all their ordinance.

All along the coaſts of thoſe iſlands, even unto the iſlands of Molucco, they ſounded with their lead, and found the depth of the ſea to be no leſs than one hundred and two yards; which is contrary to the account of the Portugueſe, who affirm, that no ſhip could paſs that way without great danger, by reaſon of the ſhallowneſs, and rocks or ſhelves, and on account of the darkneſs which the clouds cauſe on the heaven. All which things they fancied, with an intent that no other ſhould attempt greater diſcoveries.

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The 8th of November, before the riſing of the ſun, they entered into the port of the iſland of Tidore, being one of the chief iſlands of Molucco, where they were honourably entertained by the king, who declared that he had long dreamed that ſhips would come from a far country to the iſlands of Molucco, where they would be honourably entertained. To gain more knowledge of this event, he had frequently conſulted the ſtations of the moon, and obſerved therein the coming of theſe ſhips and men. He then offered to enter into a league of friendſhip with the Spaniards, and treat them as brethren and children, deſiring them to come on ſhore, and uſe his houſes as their own. He ſaid that iſland ſhould no longer be called Tidore, but Caſtile, in honour to the king of Spain, whom he conſidered as his lord and maſter.

This king was a Moor, named Raia Sultan Mauzer. He ſwore by the Alcoran, laying it three or four times on his head, and repeating certain words, to be a friend to the king of Spain.

The Molucco iſlands are five in number, called Tenate, Tidore, Mutir, Macchian, and Bacchian. Ternate is the chief, and the king of that iſland is ſometimes lord of them all. Mutir and Macchian were now governed by the people. Bacchian had a king.

The clove-trees in theſe iſlands are tall, and about as big as a man; the boughs are large in the middle, and pointed at the top; the leaves like thoſe of a bay-tree; the bark of an olive colour. The cloves grow in cluſters, ten or twenty together, at the tops of the boughs; at firſt they are white, red when ripe, and get black in drying. They are gathered twice a year, viz. in June and December; if not taken then, they grow hard. The leaves, bark, and wood, when green, taſte as ſtrong as the clove. Every man has his own trees, and beſtows little huſbandry on them.

The women are brutiſh, and go naked, except that before their private parts they wear a covering made of a tree, which being ſteeped in water, they beat into as large a form as they will, till it is as thin as ſilk.

Directly againſt Tidore is another large iſland called Gilolo, inhabited by Moors and Gentiles. The Moors have two kings, one of whom has ſix hundred children, and the other ſix hundred and fifty. The Gentiles have not ſo many. When they come from their houſes in the morning, they pray to the firſt thing they meet, and honour it as their God for that day. The king of the Gentiles is very rich in gold. In this iſland are reeds as big as a man's leg, and full of clear water, which are wholeſome to drink.

The 12th of November the king of Tidore appointed the Spaniards a warehouſe in the city, where they might ſell their merchandize. The manner of exchange was as follows: For ten yards of good red cloth they received one bahar of cloves, which amounted to four cantars. A cantar and ſix pounds is an hundred weight. For fifteen yards of cloth, ſomewhat worſe than the other, they received in exchange one bahar; for thirty-five drinking-cups of glaſs, one bahar; for ſeventeen cathels of quickſilver one bahar. They came to the ſhips every day, in barks laden with goats, hens, figs of a ſpan long, a fruit called cocoas, and ſeveral other kinds of proviſions, in very great abundance. They alſo furniſhed the ſhips with freſh water, which is hot when it iſſues from the ſpring, but very cold when it has ſtood a little while in another place. It ſprings from the mountains where the clove-trees grow. They ſaw a cloud riſe every day, which encompaſſed the ſaid mountains. Some nutmeg-trees alſo grew on theſe mountains.

The king of the iſland of Bacchian ſent the king of Spain two dead birds of ſtrange form, about the ſize of turtle-doves, with little heads, long bills, long and ſmall legs, and no wings, but long feathers, of various colours in the room of them, and tails like turtle-doves; all their other feathers were of a tawny colour. They cannot fly, except when the wind blows. The Moors are of opinion that theſe birds come from Paradiſe, they therefore call them the birds of God.

In the iſlands of Molucco are found cloves, ginger, bread of ſagoe, rice, goats, ſheep, hens, figs, almonds, ſweet pomegranates, ſour oranges, lemons, and honey, which is made by bees leſs than ants; alſo ſugar canes, cocoas, melons, gourds, and a very cold fruit, which they name Camulicai, and divers others; likewiſe white and red popinjays, and other birds of various colours.

It is not fifty years ſince the Moors firſt came to theſe iſlands, which were before inhabited only by Gentiles.

The iſland of Tidore lies in about twenty-ſeven minutes north, from the place from whence they departed, and from the Archipelago, which they named the Iſland of Thieves, nine degrees and an half. Ternate is under the equinoctial line. Machian is fifteen minutes towards the ſouth pole; and Bacchian one degree. Theſe iſlands are like four ſharp mountains, except Macchian, which is not ſharp. The largeſt of all theſe is Bacchian.

When the Spaniards departed from the Molucco iſlands, the kings accompanied them with their canoes to an iſland called Mare, where they laid in a ſtock of freſh water and fuel. The kings of Molucco, after ſending many preſents to the king of Spain, and embracing the crews of the ſhips, departed with tears in their eyes. On departing, the Spaniards fired their ordnance.

In the iſland of Mare they perceived that one of their ſhips leaked, by which they were forced to ſtay there three days; but ſeeing that they could find no remedy, they determined to leave her, giving orders, that if afterwards ſhe ſhould be repaired, they ſhould return into Spain as well as they could.

Departing from the iſland of Mare, and directing their courſe towards the ſouth-weſt, with only forty-ſix men and thirteen Indians in their ſhip, they paſſed by ſeveral iſlands.

They remained fifteen days in the iſland of Mallua to repair their ſhips. All the fields of this iſland are full of long and round pepper, and is ſituate towards the antarctic pole eight degrees and an half, and is in the longitude of one hundred and ſixty-nine degrees and forty minutes. The people are men-eaters. The women uſe bows and arrows. The men wear their hair and beards in caſes. In this iſland there grows much pepper, both long and round, with leaves like mulberries, and climbing like ivy.

A. D. 1622. The 26th of January they departed from Molucco, and the day following arrived at a great iſland, named Timor, being five leagues diſtant from Molucco, between the ſouth and ſouth-weſt. In this iſland is found the wood of white ſaunders, ginger, and divers kinds of fruits; alſo ſundry kinds of beaſts, and plenty of proviſions, and gold. The people of the iſlands of Giava, Molucco, and Lozon, reſort to this iſland for ſaunders. The inhabitants are Gentiles. They ſay, that when they go to cut the wood of ſaunders, the devil appears to them in divers forms, and aſks them what they have need of; and after this viſion, many of them are long ſick. In all the iſlands of this Archipelago reigns the French diſeaſe more than in any other place in the world. This iſland lies in ten degrees

grees ſouth. Far from this, between the weſt and north-weſt, they came to an iſland, named Euda, in which grows great plenty of cinnamon. In this tract are found many iſlands, lying in order, as it were, directly behind one another, even to the iſland of the greater Giava, and unto the Cape of Malacha, in the Eaſt Indies. Giava the leſs is as big as the iſland of Madeira, and is but half a league diſtant from Giava major.

On the 11th of February they departed from the iſland of Timor, and took their courſe between the weſt and ſouth-weſt, leaving the north coaſts on their right, fearing, if they ſhould ſail toward the firm land, they might be ſeen by the Portugueſe, who have great power in Malacha, and therefore directed their courſe without the iſland of Sumatra: and more ſafely to paſs the Cape of Good Hope, they ſailed about forty-two degrees toward the ſouth pole, and remained ſeven weeks about that cape, with their ſails continually aloft. The Cape of Good Hope is in thirty-four degrees and an half ſouth, and one thouſand ſix hundred leagues from the Cape of Malacha, and is the greateſt cape in the world. When they had paſſed this cape certain of them, for want of proviſion, as alſo on account of ſickneſs, were obſerved ſtanding in for a haven belonging to the Portugueſe, named Mozambique; but the others reſolved to go directly for Spain. They therefore followed their courſe, ſailing toward the ſouth-weſt, for two months, without touching at any port: in which time there died about twenty-one of their company, and the reſt were in danger of dying by famine. In fine, being forced by neceſſity, they put into one of the iſlands of Cape Verde, called St. Jago, belonging to the king of Portugal; where, as ſoon as they arrived, they went on ſhore for proviſion, declaring to the Portugueſe what neceſſity they were driven to, and what miſeries they had ſuſtained; informing them further of their voyage, and ſuch things as they had ſeen: they obtained ſome meaſures of rice. But when afterwards thirteen of them returned for more, they were detained; the reſt on board, fearing the like treatment, departed with crowded ſails, on the 7th of September, for the haven of St. Lucar, near Seville, where they immediately went to the great church, in their ſhirts, and bare-footed, with a torch before them, to give thanks to God, who brought them ſafe to their own country, and reſtored them to their wives and children.

After this ſhip San Victoria, which returned, and had diſcovered the ſtreights, they were called the Streights of Victoria; which name paſſed afterwards to that of Magellan.

The other ſhip, which they left behind them to be repaired, returned afterward by the Archipelago aforeſaid, on the coaſt of the Weſt Indies, and arrived at Darien.

The Portugueſe took the Trinity and the Caſtiliana at Tidore, and overthrew their factory. They built alſo, by leave, a fort in Ternate, and eſtabliſhed a factory for themſelves.

John Sebaſtian Cano, who brought home the ſhip Victoria into Spain, was well rewarded by the emperor. But much ſtriſe grew betwixt the crowns of Spain and Portugal, each challenging the Moluccos to his own diviſion: coſmographers were appointed to determine the controverſy, with pilots and judges on both ſides; and after many delays, the Portugueſe took the advantage of the emperor's marriage to the lady Iſabel, ſiſter to king John of Portugal, who having need of money, pawned the iſlands and trade of ſpicery (going then into Italy to be crowned, 1529) to the ſaid king, for three hundred and fifty thouſand ducats, without term limitted. In the year 1548, Cortes offered to repay that money for ſix years profits of that trade, and to

leave

leave the ſame after that to the crown; but the emperor would not conſent to it, and ſo continued till the crown of Portugal itſelf was annexed to that of Caſtile.

Before that time, ſome alſo attempted this diſcovery out of New Spain, by the South Sea; but unluckily, as appears by by the relation of Juan Gutain, a Caſtilian pilot, who ſet ſail from the port of Nativity, in twenty degrees, in the year 1542, and came to the Moluccos, where the king of Tedore gave them kind entertainment; but the weakneſs of their ſhip forced them to agree with the Spaniards.

EXTRACT *from* HERRERA.

At length Magellan ſailed on board the ſhip Trinity: though late in the year, the king of Portugal having uſed all imaginable endeavours to obſtruct it; but the king of Spain aſſured him, that nothing ſhould be attempted which might be prejudicial to the rights of Portugal; however, the Portugueſe comforted themſelves by ſaying, that all the expence of thoſe ſhips would be thrown away, for Magellan was a talkative man, who had little in him, and conſequently would make nothing of that undertaking.

They held on their courſe ſouth and by weſt, on which the captains queſtioned Magellan for not ſteering ſouth-weſt, as he had promiſed to do at Seville; he anſwered, that they ſhould follow him, and aſk no more queſtions. They ſtill contending, that the courſe they held would bring them in upon the coaſt of Guinea. He replied, that it was their duty to follow his flag by day, and his light by night, and no farther account would be given them. Thus the fleet ſailed on fifteen days to the coaſt of Guinea, where they were ſo becalmed for twenty days more, that they did not advance three leagues; after which they had contrary winds for a month, with ſuch dreadful ſtorms, that they were ſeveral times upon the point of cutting away their maſts, their round tops almoſt touching the water. During thoſe tempeſts, the ſeamen ſaid, they ſaw the light on the round tops, which the Spaniards call Santelmo, and the ancients named Caſtor and Pollux, being ſome ſort of exhalation, which is accounted a good preſage. At this time Magellan ordered the men ſhould be brought to a ſettled allowance of half an azumbre of wine, three quarts of water, and a pound and a half of bread.

Whilſt they were in the river of Janeiro, on Sunday the 17th of December, at thirty minutes after four in the morning, being ſeven hours and thirty minutes before noon, the moon appeared above the eaſtern horizon, twenty-eight degrees and thirty minutes, and Jupiter above her, in thirty-three degrees fifteen minutes. Deducting the altitude of the moon from that of Jupiter, the difference was four degrees and forty-five minutes. Sunday the 18th of December, having taken the ſun's altitude, in the ſame river Janeiro, they found it in eighty-nine degrees and forty minutes, whence deducting the declination, they found themſelves in twenty-three degrees forty-five minutes of ſouth latitude. They ſtaid in this river till Chriſtmas-eve, when they fell down to the mouth of it, and departed on St. Stephen's day. On the feaſt of St. John, being the 27th of December, they ſailed along the coaſt till Saturday the 31ſt of December, when they found the ſun's altitude eighty-ſix degrees forty-five minutes, and the ſhade to the northward; the complement to ninety is three degrees fifteen

fifteen minutes, to which, adding twenty-two degrees eight minutes declination, they found themſelves in the latitude of twenty-five degrees twenty-three minutes.

Magellan departing from Rio de Janeiro, at the latter end of the year 1519, held on his courſe till they found the latitude thirty-four degrees. The 11th they ran along the coaſt, which is very low, ſo that they could not make any other land-marks, except three hills that looked like iſlands, which the pilot ſaid were Cape St. Mary, and knew it by the account he had from John de Liſboa, a Portugueſe pilot, who had been there The 12th they came to an anchor, and rode a great part of the night in a violent ſtorm at eaſt, though their anchors dragged; but the next morning, being the 13th, they ſailed again, and ran ſeven leagues and an half, when they anchored again in ſeven fathoms water, the bottom black ſand. The ſame day they entered the river of Solis, ſince called the river of Plate, and ſailed two days up it; but would proceed no farther, becauſe they found only three fathoms water in the deepeſt place, and there was much murmuring among the men. Thus they coaſted along about a league by day, and five or ſix by night, till coming to a very fine bay, Magellan went into it, to ſee whether it was not a ſtreight; but finding no bottom to come to an anchor, they turned out again, calling it the Bay of Matthias, becauſe they found it on his day. They were then in forty degrees of ſouth latitude, and felt much cold; beſides, that the farther they went, the fiercer the ſtorms grew, and ſometimes three or four days paſſed before the ſhips could come together again.

Advancing under theſe difficulties, they came to an anchor in a bay to wood and water. A ſkiff with ſix men in it was ſent aſhore, and the coaſt being dangerous, came to an iſland where there were many ſea-calves, and ſuch quantities of penguins, that the men were amazed. When the ſkiff was ready to go off, ſo great a ſtorm aroſe, that they were obliged to ſtay on the iſland all night, where they expected to have been devoured by theſe ſea-calves, or ſtarved with cold. In the morning a boat came with thirty men, ſent by the admiral to look for thoſe ſix; they found the ſkiff forſaken, among ſome rocks, and fearing that the ſea-calves had devoured thoſe ſix men, they cried out aloud, whereupon above two hundred of thoſe ſea-calves came out from among the rocks; they killed fifty, and the reſt got into the ſea. They went on to the rocks from whence thoſe calves came out, and found the ſix men hidden, almoſt dead with the cold, the water having come up to them. When their yards were hoiſted in order to ſail, there blew ſuch a tempeſt in upon them, that the admiral's cables gave way, and he came ſo near ſome rocks, that if one cable had not held at laſt, every man muſt have periſhed.

They held on their voyage, and came to a very fine bay, which had a narrow mouth, but was ſpacious within, and thinking it a proper place to winter, becauſe that ſeaſon came on in thoſe parts, for it was then April: they went into it, and met with great ſtorms. All that while, the men, who had gone in a ſkiff for water, could not return, but were forced to feed upon muſcles, making a fire at night, that if any ſhip ſhould be drove aſhore, they might know whither to make. At length it pleaſed God to carry them out of that bay, which they called De los Travajos, or of Sufferings; and ſailing along the coaſt, put in to the river of St. Julian, on Eaſter-eve.

On Eaſter-day, the admiral and all the men went aſhore, to hear maſs. Having reſolved to winter there, he ordered the men's allowance to be ſhortened; whereupon, and conſidering the barrenneſs of the country, and the extreme cold, the men intreated him, that, ſince he ſaw that the country ſtretched away directly towards the antarctic pole,

pole, and no ſign of any end appeared, nor any ſtreight, the winter coming on ſevere, and ſome had already died by faring hard, that he would either give them a larger allowance, or return back; urging, that it was not the king's deſign that they ſhould proceed upon impoſſibilities; that it was enough for them to have gone farther than any perſon ever yet durſt venture, and that if they went on nearer to the pole, ſome outrageous blaſt of wind might perhaps caſt them into a place where they could never get out, but muſt all periſh.

Magellan, who was a man of reſolution, immediately put a ſtop to any further innovation, by a ſpeech, with which, the common people being fickle, and eaſily to be led away, were ſatisfied at that time, though there was murmuring ſtill, for which he ſlightly puniſhed ſome of them. However, their ſtay being very uneaſy there, many afterwards were upon the point to mutiny, and Magellan ſending his ſkiff to the ſhip St. Antony, to take in four men to fetch water; before it came to the ſhip, a man on board bid thoſe in the ſkiff not to come near, becauſe captain Gaſpar de Queſada was there, who had confined Alvaro de la Mezquita, Magellan's kinſman, by him appointed captain, upon depoſing of John de Cartagena, and the pilot John Rodriguez Mafra, and that he had murdered the maſter. Magellan hearing this account, ordered the ſkiff to return to the ſame ſhip, and the reſt, and aſk, who they were for? Aboard the ſhip St. Antony, captain Gaſpar de Queſada anſwered, that they were for the king and him; aboard the Victory, Lewis de Mendoza anſwered the ſame, and John de Cartagena ſaid the like in the Conception, for he had been ſet at liberty. Captain John Rodriguez Serrano, aboard the Santiago, ſaid the ſhip was for the king and for Magellan; for he knew nothing of what had happened that night aboard the other ſhips. Hereupon Magellan conſidering the mutiny was ſo far advanced, that there was more occaſion for boldneſs than lenity, ordered all his men to arm, and the guns to be ready. He then put thirty choſen men he could confide in into the long-boat, and five into the ſkiff, which laſt he ordered to go aboard the Victory, and deliver a letter to captain Lewis de Mendoza, and whilſt he was reading it, boldly to ſtab him, and then the thirty that were in the long-boat were to come in to their aſſiſtance. Magellan did this, becauſe he knew there were many aboard that ſhip of his ſide, and what he appointed was punctually put in execution; by which means the ſhip returned to his obedience without any oppoſition.

When he was informed that Lewis Mendoza was killed, he ordered the men to be upon the watch, leſt the other ſhips ſhould make their way out, it being then about midnight. Soon after they ſaw the ſhip St. Antony going down the river towards the admiral and the Victory, whereupon they both made ready, imagining they were coming to fight; but it was the current that cauſed her motion, the anchors not being able to hold her. Magellan diligently obſerved what that ſhip would do, no man appearing beſides catpain Gaſpar Queſada, who was upon the quarter deck, with a ſpear and a target, calling his men, but they did not ſtir; then the admiral's great guns played upon the ſides of the St. Antony. By this time Magellan had boarded the Victory, and entering his men, they ſecured Gaſpar de Queſada, and the other guilty perſons, whom they ſent aboard the admiral; and ſetting captain Alvaro de Meſquita and John Rodriguez Mafra at liberty, he commanded a boat with forty men, to know who the Conception was for? and they anſwered, they were for Magellan. They aſking again, whether they might ſafely go aboard? were anſwered, they might; which

which accordingly they did, ſeized John de Cartagena, and carried him on board the admiral.

He ſpent ſome days in examining into that mutiny, and found above forty men deſerved death, whom he pardoned, becauſe he had occaſion for them, and did not think it convenient to gain ill will by too much ſeverity. However he condemned Gaſpar de Queſada to be quartered, and John de Cartagena to be left in that country. This did not put an end to the diſturbance; for a French clergyman that was on board the ſhip St. Antony, endeavoured to raiſe a mutiny among the men, and none conſenting to him, he was diſcovered, ſecured, and adjudged to be left in that country with John de Cartagena.

The winter beginning then to decline, Magellan commanded captain Serrano to ſail along the coaſt, to ſee if there was any ſtreight, and if he found none within a certain number of leagues, to return. At twenty leagues diſtance he found a fine river, that was a league over, and that day being the feaſt of the "Invention of the Holy Croſs," which is on the 3d of May, he gave it the name of Santa Cruz, or the Holy Croſs, and ſtaid in it ſix days, fiſhing, and killing ſea-calves. Serrano would have gone farther, but a guſt of wind rent all his ſails, and the ſhip plunging, the helm ſtarted out, but it pleaſed God, that before another ſea came, the head ſtruck a-ground upon a flat; ſo that all the men got ſafe on ſhore: the ſhip was ſtaved, and all that was in her periſhed. They fed eight days upon ſhell-fiſh they found among the rocks, and intending to return to the other ſhips, knew not how to get over that great river; but finding ſome planks on the ſhore they carried them on their backs, and being very weak, ſpent four days in coming to it, though they were but ſix leagues from it, eating herbs all the way. There were thirty-ſeven of them, and yet all the planks they carried could only make a little boat to hold two men, becauſe being ſo weak, they had dropped them by the way.

Two men having paſſed the river, travelling along the country, at the end of ſeven days, they arrived at the ſhips in ſuch miſerable plight, that they could ſcarce be known,

Magellan was much troubled for the loſs of the ſhip, but well pleaſed that the men were ſaved. He ſent twenty men loaded with bread, wine, and other proviſions, by land, to relieve thoſe in diſtreſs, becauſe the ſea ran ſo high, that there was no venturing on it. They had ſuffered very great want, and were forced to thaw the ice to drink. When the bread came, they ſpent two days in paſſing over the river in the little boat; Magellan diſtributed them on board the ſhips, and made John Serrano captain of the Conception. As ſoon as thoſe men were recovered, Magellan gave orders to refit the ſhips, and for their greater ſecurity on ſhore, though they had ſeen no Indian as yet, built a ſtone houſe, where the forge was fixed. Here the men ſuffered ſo much by the ſnow, that three of them loſt the uſe of their hands; for that river is in forty-nine degrees latitude, and ſomewhat better, and the days were very ſhort. The admiral ſent four men, well armed, up the country, directing them to erect a croſs at thirty leagues diſtance; and if they met with any inhabitants, and the ſoil was good, to ſtay there; but finding no people or water, and the country being a mere deſert, they returned.

When the ſhips had been in that bay two months, ſix Indians appeared, and made ſigns that they would come on board. The ſkiff went for them, and when on board, the admiral ordered them a kettle of pottage, made of broken biſcuit, to eat,

which would have ſatisfied twenty Spaniards, but thoſe ſix ate it all, being ſo large, the leaſt of them was much bigger and taller than the largeſt men in Spain. They were cloathed in mantles made of ſkin; their arms, large bows, and the point of their arrows of ſharp flints. When they had eaten, and ſeen the ſhips, they ſaid they would be gone, and ſet on ſhore. The next day two Indians came, and brought a doe, their mantles being of ſuch ſkins. Magellan gave them two red jackets, and they went away well pleaſed. The next day one came with a doe, and ſaid, he would be a Chriſtian. They gave him the name of John Giant, and he ſeeing ſome mice thrown into the ſea, aſked for them, becauſe he would eat them, and for the ſpace of ſix days, he carried on ſhore all the mice that were killed, and then returned no more.

During the ſpace of above twenty days, no Indians were ſeen, and at length four of thoſe that had been there before returned. Magellan ordered two of them to be kept on board, to carry them into Spain, and the other two ſet aſhore. Some fires being ſeen at midnight, ſeven men were ſent at break of day to ſearch that place; who, finding no people, followed the track on the ſnow, till ſun-ſet, when being about to return, they ſaw nine Indian archers, naked, with each three parcels of arrows hanging at a leather girdle, one before, and the other two on their ſides, and another thong about their heads, with three other parcels of arrows, that being their cuſtom in war. They attacked the Spaniards, who had but one muſket, and were ſo dexterous at ſhooting their arrows, that they killed one of them, and had it not been for their targets, they had all periſhed; however they cloſed, and with their ſwords put them to flight. Then returning to the ſtation of the Indians, they found much fleſh, half raw, with which they loaded themſelves, and retiring into the wood, ſupped at a fire they made. Magellan was very ſorry for the death of the Spaniard, and ſent twenty men to bury him, and either take or kill the Indians; but though they travelled about eight days, they found none, and having buried the dead man, returned.

The five winter months, that is, April, May, June, July, and Auguſt, being over, Magellan ordered the ſhips to be made ready to ſail, and upon a good obſervation, found the latitude to be forty-nine degrees eighteen minutes. When all things were ready, John de Cartegana and the French clergyman were ſet on ſhore with a good ſtock of bread and wine, all the reſt much pitying them, and the ſhips ſailed out of the bay of St. Julian on the 24th of Auguſt, this year 1520, and proceeded to the river of Santa Cruz, or the Holy Croſs, which had been diſcovered by John Serrano, and there they continued all September and October, taking abundance of fiſh. Whilſt they were in that river, on the 11th of October, they obſerved the eclipſe of the ſun, which happened here, at eight minutes paſt ten in the morning. When the ſun was come into the altitude of forty-two degrees and an half, his brightneſs faded, and turned to a duſky colour, inflamed into a dark red, without any intermediate cloud, between the eye and the body of the ſun; yet not ſo as to have his body quite darkened, either in the whole, or in part, but only the brightneſs of it looked as it does in Spain in the months of July and Auguſt, when ſtubble is burning near at hand, and this continued till he arrived at the latitude of forty-four degrees and an half, when the full brightneſs returned.

The ſhips departed out of that river at the end of October, and coaſted along to the ſouthward, with much difficulty, by reaſon of the bad weather, proceeding to Cape Virgins, ſo called by Magellan, becauſe diſcovered on the feaſt of St. Urſula. Thinking there was a great depth, he ſent two ſhips ſeverally to view it, with orders

to

to return in five days. They did ſo; and the one reported, that they had found nothing but ſome bays of ſhoal water, with very high banks. The others ſaid, that it was a ſtreight, becauſe they had ſailed three days, without finding any end, the farther they advanced, the more the ſea drove, and ſometimes when they caſt their lead they found no bottom; beſides, that the currents being ſtronger than the ebb, that arm of the ſea, or ſtreight, muſt of neceſſity go farther. Magellan having heard the account given by both ſhips, and gone a league up the ſtreight, came to an anchor, and ſent a ſkiff with ten men on ſhore, to diſcover what there was. At about a quarter of a mile diſtance they found a houſe, in which there were above twenty graves of Indians: for it is their cuſtom to come to the ſea-coaſt in the ſummer, and there they bury thoſe that die; and in the winter they go up their country. At their return, they ſaw a prodigious large whale, dead, near the ſhore, and abundance of bones of them; whence they concluded, that it was a very tempeſtuous place.

On the 28th of October, being three leagues to the weſtward of Cape St. Severin, upon obſervation they found the latitude fifty-two degrees fifty-ſix minutes ſouth. Hereupon, it being then the beginning of November, the length of the nights only five hours, and the arm of the ſea, or ſtreight, lying eaſt and weſt, Magellan concluding it was what he ſought after, was reſolved to take a further view, and to that effect ſent the ſhip St. Antony, which paſſed into the South Sea, and returned to the great joy of the admiral and all his men.

Then Magellan ſummoned the captains, pilots, and other prime men, to council, and ordered them to compute what ſtore of proviſions they had, concluding there was now a certain paſſage to the Molucco iſlands. There being ſtill ſufficient proviſions for three months, and he ſo full of courage, the generality concluded, that it was fit to proceed, and finiſh what they were about, not thinking it proper to return into Spain in a pitiful condition, when they had been out ſeven months. Stephen Gomez, pilot of the ſhip St. Antony, anſwered, that ſince they had found the ſtreights to paſs through to the Molucco iſlands, they ſhould return to Spain, to bring other ſhips, becauſe they were to croſs a large ocean; and if they ſhould meet with any calms, or ſtorms, they muſt all periſh. Magellan, very ſedately, told him, that he would go on, though he was ſure to eat the hides that were about the yard. He then ordered proclamation to be made on board the ſhips, that no man ſhould preſume, on pain of death, to talk of the voyage, or of the proviſions, becauſe he was to ſail the next morning. It was obſerved that the country was very ſharp and cold, and becauſe they ſaw many fires in the night, he called it Terra del Fugo, that is, the Land of Fire.

The next morning the ſhips ſailed, and advanced fifty leagues along the ſtreights, the lands on both ſides appearing very beautiful. In ſome places the breadth of it was ſomewhat better than a muſket ſhot, and in others it formed very fine bays. When paſſed thoſe fifty leagues, they entered between ſome mountains covered with ſnow, except upon the edges of the ſtreight, where there were great woods of tall trees of ſeveral ſorts. Perceiving that another arm of the ſea turned off among certain mountains, he ordered the ſhip St. Antony to go that way upon diſcovery, and to return in three days. When gone, the admiral advanced one day with the other ſhips, and came to an anchor to wait for her, and laying there ſix days, when he ſent the ſhip Victory in queſt of the St. Antony; which not being found in three days, he went himſelf with three ſhips to ſeek her, though Andrew of St. Martin adviſed him not to trouble himſelf, becauſe he believed that ſhip was gone back to Spain. However he

ſpent ſix days in ſeeking after her, and being concerned for want of the proviſions, held on his voyage.

On the 27th of November he came out into the South Sea, being the firſt that ever went that way. They reckoned this ſtreight to be about one hundred leagues in length. Coming out of it, they perceived the land bear away to the northward, which they looked upon as a good ſign, though the ſea was very black and boiſterous. Magellan ordered public thankſgiving, and ſailed away to the northward, to get out of the cold.

The ſhip St. Antony returned to ſeek for Magellan, and not finding him, fired ſome guns, and made ſmokes; captain Alvaro de Mezquita, would have gone on in queſt of the admiral, but the pilot, Stephen Gomez, a Portugueſe, and Jerome Guerra, whom Magellan had appointed treaſurer, ſeized, wounded, and kept him confined, on pretence that he had adviſed Magellan to execute the perſons before ſpoken of. They made Guerra captain of the ſhip, and directed their courſe for Guinea, to return to Spain. Magellan ſteering his courſe to the northward, was in a great ſtorm, till the 18th of December, when they were in the latitude of thirty-two degrees twenty minutes; then the admiral gave order to ſteer north-weſt, and weſt-north-weſt, till they ſhould come near to the equinoctial.

The 24th of December, upon an obſervation, they found twenty-ſix degrees two minutes of ſouth latitude, having held that courſe above thirty days, without ſeeing any land, with much hardſhip, for proviſions grew ſo ſhort, that they were fed by ounces, and drank ſtinking water. Beſides boiling their rice in ſea-water, which was the death of twenty men, and as many more fell ſick. At length they diſcovered two ſmall iſlands, not inhabited, which they called Las Deſventuradas, or the Wretched, becauſe they found in them neither inhabitants, nor comfort, nor any refreſhment.

Magellan entered the South Sea, advancing with his three ſhips into
A. D. 1521. that ocean, which daily appeared more immenſe, finding the ſun in his zenith in twenty-one degrees fifty minutes of ſouth latitude, ſteered ſtill on to the northward, hoping to find ſome iſlands, where he might get proviſions, and ſailed two thouſand leagues without ſeeing any thing beſides two deſert iſlands in the midſt of the ocean. They advanced eight hundred leagues farther, and on the 20th of January found themſelves in the latitude of fifteen degrees forty-eight minuets, where they ſaw two very beautiful iſlands, inhabited by abundance of brutiſh people, who worſhipped idols, and paſſed from one iſland to the other, being eight leagues diſtant, in canoes, the biggeſt of which could carry only ten men. They had well-ſhaped ſhoulder-of-mutton ſails, made of palm-tree leaves; their food was cocoa-nuts, yams, and ſome ſmall rice. So many of the natives going on board, that the ſhips could not hold them, Magellan ordered them to be turned out, which was done by force, becauſe they would not go. Thoſe Indians being provoked at it, returned in their canoes, and threw ſo many ſtaves hardened in the fire, that though at firſt he had ordered that they ſhould not be hurt, not being able to endure it any longer, he cauſed the great guns to be fired, which killed ſome, yet they came again to barter what they had for ſuch things as they liked on board the ſhips.

One afternoon, as they were cruizing by one of thoſe iſlands, the Indians looſened the ſkiff that was at the commander's ſtern, and carried it away. The next morning he ſent two boats with ninety armed men, to a place at the foot of a mountain, whither

ther they had carried the ſkiff. The Indians ran up the hill, and threw ſo many ſtones as if it had hailed; but as ſoon as the muſkets were fired, they fled; then the Spaniards entered the town, ſet fire to it, killed all they found there, and carried off the proviſions. The Indians ſuppoſing that to be done for the ſkiff, turned it out to ſea, which Magellan ſecured, watered, and divided the refreſhments, many of the men being ſick for want.

The next day he ſailed from thoſe iſlands, which he called De las Velas Latinas, that is, of the Shoulder-of-Mutton Sails, advanced three hundred leagues weſtward, and diſcovered many iſlands, where there were plenty of proviſions, and they underſtood the language of an Indian Magellan had with him.

Paſſing through them, they anchored at a ſmall iſland called Mazagua, near a little town. The king ſent a canoe with ten men, to know who they were, and what they wanted. Magellan anſwered, by his interpreter, who underſtood them, that they were ſubjects of the king of Spain, who wiſhed to conclude a peace, and trade with them, deſiring to be ſupplied with proviſion, which ſhould be paid for. The king anſwered, that he had not enough for ſo many men, but would part with what he had. They carried on board th ſhipse four hogs, three goats, and ſome rice. That being Eaſter Sunday, Magellan ordered all the people to go on ſhore and hear maſs, and a great croſs to be ſet up on a high hill, to the intent that if other ſhips happened to come thither, they might ſee that Chriſtians had been there before.

Magellan aſked the king, whether there were any place where he might be furniſhed with proviſions? He anſwered, that there was a great iſland twenty leagues off, the king of which was his relation, and would ſupply him with as much as he required; and being deſired to ſend pilots to ſhew the way, he offered to go himſelf. Magellan made him ſome preſents, beſides what he had given before. The king embarked with ſome Indians, and when they arrived at the iſland of Zebu, for ſo it was called, above two thouſand men came out of the town, armed with ſpears and large ſhields, who gazed on the ſhips with aſtoniſhment, having never ſeen any before. The king of Mazagua went on ſhore, told the king his relation that thoſe were peaceable people, that had valuable commodities to barter; and deſired he would furniſh them with proviſions, becauſe they were in great want. The king of Zebu ſent to inform Magellan, that he would in the firſt place have him eſtabliſh peace; who returned for anſwer, that he was very willing. The king ſent again to acquaint him, that his cuſtom was, when he made peace with any ſtrange nation, that the two prime men ſhould be let blood in the breaſts, and that they ſhould drink one another's blood. Magellan ſaid that he was willing it ſhould be ſo. The next morning, when he expected the king on board to perform the ceremony, he ſent word, that he took his good will for the deed, and looked upon the peace as concluded; on which Magellan ordered all the guns to be fired for joy, which ſo aſtoniſhed the Indians, that if it had been done before the concluſion of the peace, all the inhabitants would have fled out of the town. The Indians immediately carried on board the ſhips a great quantity of fowls, hogs, goats, rice, cocoa nuts, yams, and other ſorts of fruit, all which was purchaſed for hawks bells and glaſs beads.

Four days after, when the men were recovered by the plenty of proviſions, Magellan went on ſhore with his men to hear maſs. The king, queen, their ſon, and all the prime men, flocked to ſee what the Chriſtians would do; and the prieſt, by means of the

the interpreter, gave them ſome account of the Catholic faith, whereupon they ſaid they would be made Chriſtians. The prieſt baptized them and all the inhabitants of the town, and Magellan ordered a great croſs to be ſet before the church.

He then cauſed a houſe to be built for a factory, in order to barter for proviſions; and having got ſome information of the iſland of Borneo, reſolved to ſail thither, hoping to get better information of the Spice Iſlands.

There were ſeveral kings in this iſland of Zebu, which is one of the Philippines, and they were ſometimes at war. The king before ſpoken of being become a Chriſtian, and owning himſelf ſubject to the crown of Spain, Magellan ſent to command the other kings of the iſland to ſubmit themſelves to this Chriſtian king. Two of them complied, but the other two took no notice of his orders; on which he ſet out at midnight, with two boats full of armed men, burnt one of their towns, and came away with a good ſtore of their proviſions.

The next day he ſent word to the king of Matan, that he would burn his town if he did not ſubmit to the Chriſtian king. He anſwered, that he might come, and he would expect him. Although the Chriſtian king adviſed Magellan not to go, becauſe he was informed that the two kings who had ſubmitted, and the other, whoſe town he had burnt, were already at Matan, with ſix thouſand men; he ſet out with ſixty men in three boats, and the Chriſtian king bore him company, with one thouſand men in canoes. He arrived at Matan two hours before day, but the tide being out, the boats could not come within a croſs-bow-ſhot of the town. Magellan would have made the attack immediately, but the Chriſtian king perſuaded him from it till day-break, when he landed with fifty-five men, and finding no body in the town, he ſet fire to it, and was immediately attacked by two bodies of Indians, with whom he maintained a fight moſt part of the day, till the muſqueteers had no more powder, nor the croſs-bow-men ſhafts; which the natives perceiving, they preſſed forward, and Magellan thought fit to retire, the Chriſtian king looking on all the while, as he had been commanded. In the retreat Magellan was killed through his own raſhneſs, together with ſeven Spaniards. The king ſeeing the reſt ſo diſtreſſed, came to their relief, and brought them
A. D. 1521. off. This happened on the 27th of April, when the Phillippine Iſlands were firſt diſcovered.

Upon the death of Magellan, the Spaniards choſe Edward Barboſa for their commander in chief, who being invited on ſhore by the Chiſtian king, went with ſeveral of his men, who were all treacherouſly murdered there, as they were ſitting at an entertainment provided for that wicked end.

Thoſe that remained on board the ſhips underſtanding what had happened, appointed John Carvallo their commander, and ſailing away, arrived at a large iſland called Quepindo, the natives whereof were Gentiles, but in the ſea-ports there were Mooriſh merchants, from Molucco and Java.

Finding no rice there, they proceeded to the iſland of Puluan, where they purchaſed plenty of rice, hogs, fowls, goats, and other things, for pieces of linen cloth, knives, ſciſſars, glaſs beads, &c.

Thence they proceeded to Borneo, where, entering the river, three veſſels, called canamizes, the ſterns whereof were like ſerpents heads gilt, came from the king, to enquire what ſhips thoſe were, and what they wanted. On board one of them was an old man, the king's ſecretary. The ſhips ſaluted him with their guns, and he went on board

board the Spaniſh ſhip, embraced the commodore in a loving manner; and being informed that they had ſeveral commodities to trade, ordered great plenty of proviſions to be brought; and the commander ſent by him preſents to the king, beſides what he gave to him and his attendants.

Sailing from this iſland, they arrived at a bay, where they refitted. There they depoſed John Carvallo from the chief command, and conferred it on Gonzalo Gomez de Eſpinoſa, at the ſame time John Sebaſtian del Cano was made captain of the ſhip Victory.

After many difficulties, by the aſſiſtance of a Moor they had taken, they arrived on the 8th of November at Tidore, one of the Molucco iſlands, which they had been ſo long in ſearch of. The king of this iſland, whoſe name was Almanzor, came on board. He bid the ſailors that were repairing the buoys welcome; and when in the ſhip, he ſtopped his noſe, by reaſon of the ſmell of bacon, becauſe he was a Mahometan, tho' thoſe people had not been in the iſland fifty years, they being before inhabited by Gentiles, who kept themſelves then in the mountains. The Spaniards having paid the proper reſpect, made preſents to him, his ſon, and all that attended him, and aſked leave to trade in his iſland, which he readily granted, bidding them kill any man that offended them. He then viewed the ſtandard, and looking upon the Spaniſh coin, ſaid, he knew before, by aſtrology, that Chriſtians would come thither for ſpice, which they might take in a good hour. He then took off his mitre, embraced them, and departed. After this the king took an oath that he would always be a friend to the king of Spain, and ſupply his ſubjects when they came to his iſland, with cloves and ſuch other ſpices as he had, in exchange for linen, cloth, and ſilks.

The kings and governors of the other iſland came on board, and took the like oath, ſubmitting themſelves to the crown of Spain, and ſending many preſents and ſome youths.

When the ſhips were ready to ſail, the Trinity, the admiral's ſhip, was found leaky, and there being no poſſibility of refitting it, without turning up the keel, which would take up much time; it was reſolved, that captain John Sebaſtian del Cano, in the ſhip Victory, ſhould ſail away for Spain, by the way the Portugueſe uſed to take from India, and to carry the letters and preſents of the kings of the Molucco iſlands to the king of Spain.

A. D. 1522. At the beginning of this year, the ſhip Victory ſailed from Tidore, one of the Molucco iſlands, with ſixty Spaniards, and ſome of the natives. They touched at an iſland in eight degrees and an half latitude, that produces pepper; and then at Timor, where they took in white ſaunders, and ſaw much ginger and gold. Paſſing by Sumatra, they ſtruck out into the main ocean, and ſteered ſouth-weſt, to avoid meeting the Portugueſe, and left all the coaſts of India on the ſtarboard ſide, making for the Cape of Good Hope. Thus they came into forty-two degrees of ſouth latitude. They met with ſome ſtorms and ſuffered much want, by which ſome died, and had not God favoured them with fair winds, they muſt all have periſhed.

At length they arrived, in much diſtreſs, at the iſland of Santiago, near Cape de Verde. Thirty men went on ſhore to get ſome water, and buy proviſions, and got ſome blacks to pump, the ſhips being leaky, and many of the Spaniards ſick. The Portugueſe commander there ſeized them and the boat, and endeavoured to poſſeſs himſelf

himſelf of the ſhip; but captain John Sebaſtian del Cano hoiſted ſail, and arrived at St. Lucar, in Spain, on the 6th of September, with his men very weak and fatigued.

They ſpent three years wanting fourteen days on this voyage, and miſtook one day in their reckoning. They ſailed ten thouſand leagues; or, according to others, fourteen thouſand. Captain John Sebaſtian del Cano gained immortal renown, being the firſt man that ever went round the world.

As ſoon as the ſhip Victory arrived at St. Lucar, ſhe was unladen. Her cargo conſiſted of five hundred and thirty-three quintals, or hundred weight of cloves, ſome cinnamon, nutmegs, ſaunders, and other ſmall matters. The men went on ſhore in proceſſion to return thanks to God for their ſafe arrival after ſo long a voyage. The king of Spain received captain John Sebaſtian del Cano very affectionately, rewarding him and all his men as they really deſerved for having been the firſt People that ever ſailed rouud the world.

The ſhip Trinity, which ſtaid at Tidore to refit when the Victory came away, attempted to ſail to Panama, but was forced back to the Molucco iſlands, and there periſhed. Some of the men who ſurvived all their ſufferings were at laſt brought over in ſome Portugueſe ſhips from India, five years after their departure from Spain.

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